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The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

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Spring, 1951
Winter 1952

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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

Dr. Charles Evans, *Editor* Muriel H. Wright, *Associate Editor*

EDITORIAL AND PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

The President
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Volume XXIX **Number 1**

Spring, 1951

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OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Receives High Honor
From
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, TWENTY-THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA

RESOLUTION

ENROLLED HOUSE
RESOLUTION NO. 21

BY: ALEXANDER, BERRY
EDGECOMB, AND TAYLOR

A HOUSE RESOLUTION COMMENDING THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, DR. CHARLES EVANS, SECRETARY, AND THE STAFF OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THEIR DILIGENT WORK IN PRESERVING THE MEMENTOS AND RECORDS OF OKLAHOMA HISTORY AND THE MARKING OF HISTORICAL SITES.

WHEREAS, the Board of Directors, Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary, and the Staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society have acted with diligence and foresight in collecting the mementos and records of Oklahoma Territory and of earlier days in the State of Oklahoma; and

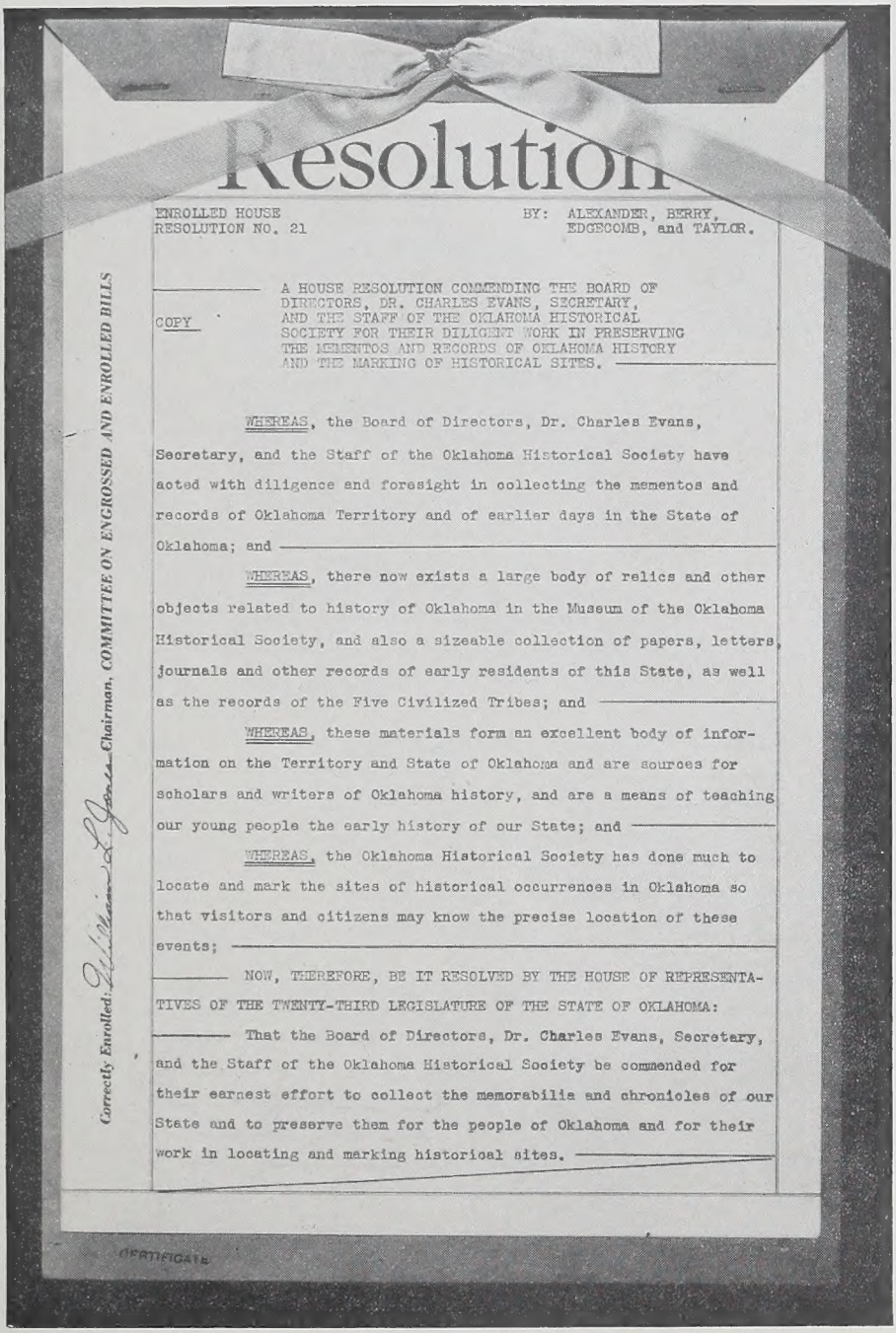
WHEREAS, there now exists a large body of relics and other objects relating to history of Oklahoma in the Museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and also a sizeable collection of papers, letters, journals and others records of early residents of this State, as well as the records of the Five Civilized Tribes; and

WHEREAS, these materials form an excellent body of information on the Territory and State of Oklahoma and are sources for scholars and writers of Oklahoma history, and are a means of teaching our young people the early history of our State; and

WHEREAS, the Oklahoma Historical Society has done much to locate and mark the sites of historical occurrences in Oklahoma so that visitors and citizens may know the precise location of these events;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE TWENTY-THIRD LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA:

That the Board of Directors, Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary, and the Staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society be commended for their earnest effort to collect the memorabilia and chronicles of our



Resolution

ENROLLED HOUSE
RESOLUTION NO. 21

BY: ALEXANDER, BERRY, EDGECOMB, and TAYLOR.

COPY

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Correctly Enrolled: [illegible] Chairman, COMMITTEE ON ENGROSSED AND ENROLLED BILLS

CERTIFICATE

House Resolution Commending Oklahoma Historical Society, 1951
Twenty-third State Legislature

State and to preserve them for the people of Oklahoma and for their work in locating and marking historical sites.

Adopted by the House of Representatives the 13th day of February, 1951.

James M. Bullard
Speaker of the House of Representatives

Correctly Enrolled: William J. Jones, Chairman
Committee on Engrossed and Enrolled Bills

STATE OF OKLAHOMA } SS CERTIFICATE
COUNTY OF OKLAHOMA }
I, Guy K. Horton, the duly appointed, qualified, and acting Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma, do hereby certify that the above and foregoing is a true and correct copy of as passed by the said House of Representatives on the date appearing therein and as now appears upon the Journals of said House.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this the 13th day of February 1951

Guy K. Horton
Chief Clerk
House of Representatives

TWO OKLAHOMANS HONORED

By Charles Evans

The Oklahoma Historical Society, according to its By-Laws and Regulations, meets quarterly. Most often these meetings consist of routine business. Close record is made of all business transactions and this is printed in the quarterly magazine put forth by this Society, known as *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* under the heading of "Minutes."

Due largely to a remarkable awakening as to the importance of the work and functions of the Society, the last two quarterly meetings of the Board of Directors have included so many factors of dynamic history of Oklahoma that no set of Minutes could possibly embrace or preserve for the members of the Society, for the schools, and all interested, now and hereafter, the proceedings of the quarterly meeting.

Every little while it will be well for a State Historical Society to state its chief purpose. Without any hesitation, the answer may be made that its chief end and dissemination is the preservation of history. In the beginning of, and in all subsequent stages of civilization, a knowledge of history has been recognized as the first step in moral or intellectual development. *History alone teaches the healthy reward that awaits cowardice or courage, virtue or vice; history alone, teaches the true philosophy of life.* It might be said that there are two types of history—latent and active. History recorded in a book or set forth in books, papers, letters, etc., often lie hidden and ineffective. Even the youth of today get a very faint picture of the potential lives of men and women if they depend on a latent text and interpreted by a dormant teacher. It is appalling to know that American history in our schools is one of the subjects of least interest and most avoided by seventy percent of the youth of our high schools and colleges. History, the most essential, alluring and fascinating of subjects demands that those who write or speak it should present it in factual but living colors.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma is the chief exponent of the history gathered by this Society. Its editors should use the highest standards of recording and presenting Oklahoma history. The largest group reading and using the material found in *The Chronicles* should be the youth of Oklahoma as found in the grammar, high school, college and universities of the State. These are the most susceptible to inspiration. From the romance and valor recorded in the lives and deeds of Oklahomans, past and present, our youth not only are called upon to fight the battles of the present, but must in the future be the savior of our way of life.

So it is altogether right that such historical characters and events —statewide and national in their scope, as revealed in the reception of the Whipple Papers of October, 1950 and the ceremonies centering around the Tompkins-Hurley program of January 25, 1951, should be presented to all *The Chronicles'* readers. They should as nearly as possible see these distinguished persons in action and live with them through the events of their day and generation.

The Oklahoma Historical Society had issued some very attractive programs of the official meeting of the Board of Directors and the reception and honors extended to Mr. Tompkins and General Hurley of January 25th.

The Oklahoma Press at once revealed its interest. The cosmopolitan journals—the *Daily Oklahoman* and the *Tulsa World* and *The Tribune* treated this event as of profound interest to the whole State.

On the morning of January 24th, as General Hurley and his wife were arriving in Oklahoma City, the editorial page of *The Daily Oklahoman* presented a tribute of more than half a column by Elmer T. Peterson, one of its leading writers, under the heading, "If Our Pat Hurley Had Had His Way." It read in part as follows:

"Today Maj. Gen. Patrick J. Hurley, former secretary of war and former ambassador to China, comes back to his native state and tomorrow he will be honored by the Oklahoma Historical Society. A bronze bust of the distinguished guest will be unveiled and presented to the Society.

In view of the critical turn of affairs in Korea, it is interesting at this time to re-examine the American foreign policy, as it applies to the far east, and the part played by Gen. Hurley during the critical years in which the present surge of communist aggression was nurtured and encouraged by our own state department.

The party in power always has a great advantage in presenting its case to the people. It has access to secret papers. Every act lends itself to wide publicity. Critics or dissenters usually are ignored or relegated to the back pages.

For this reason comparatively little is known about the convictions, policies and acts of those who have sought to steer our foreign policy into sound channels, as in the present instance.

Gen. Pat Hurley, though a Republican, had behaved in such an exemplary manner, from the standpoint of the Democratic command, that President Roosevelt, on Oct. 17, 1944, asked him to become ambassador to China. The cablegram made it plain that this was virtually a command, for we were in the thick of the war and Gen. Hurley was in the army. Gen. Hurley's background, which made him a logical choice for this extremely important post, was ideal.

As Secretary of war, in the cabinet of the president of the United States, he was in Shanghai, China, on Sept. 18, 1931—the day of the Mukden incident which was the forerunner of the Japanese effort to conquer China. He was a close student of affairs, on the ground. . . . ."

The papers and programs had awakened the State as to the coming of this national and international character who was to receive honors at the hands of the State Historical Society.

On the evening of January 24th, the directors of the Society gave the distinguished donors a dinner in the Crystal Room of the Skirvin Hotel. Due to a previous engagement, Mr. Tompkins was not present. General Hurley met many of his former friends, and under the spell of old-time associations, he set forth some of the pivotal events of his life as a public servant. It was an eloquent and forceful address and it is with regret that much of valuable history was lost because a record was not kept of his remarks.

"Behold that man diligent in business; he shall stand before kings." This statement from that famous volume of history called the Bible, found forceful proof in the halls of the Oklahoma Historical Society on that morning of January 25, 1951.

A distinguished company comprised of the Governor of the State, Honorable Johnston Murray, Lieut. Governor, James E. Berry, Supreme Justice of Oklahoma, Hon. Ben Arnold, together with other members of the court, heads of the departments of state, distinguished citizens from all parts of Oklahoma, had assembled to pay tribute to two of its remarkable and celebrated sons—Honorable Charles Tompkins of El Reno and General Patrick J. Hurley of Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The Oklahoma Historical Society had received at the hands of Mr. Tompkins a large and very valuable collection of the rodeo life which he and his famous equestrienne wife had developed in 1880-1890 and brought to excellence and renown. In truth, in their thirty or more years of prowess in this field, they were honored by America's greatest and received plaudits and laurels from the kings and queens of Europe and the far east.

The friends of Patrick J. Hurley, aware of the bronze bust of him, executed by Bryant Baker—world renowned sculptor, the artist who had fashioned the Pioneer Woman, placed by Ex-Governor Earnest H. Marland at Ponca City, decided that so distinguished a son of Oklahoma should have a place in the halls of fame in his native state.

Early in October, Mr. John D. Mayo, famous owner and manager of the Hotel Mayo of Tulsa, called upon the Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society for a discussion of the most suitable place for this piece of statuary.[1] Mr. Mayo seemed to think the State

[1] JOHN DANIEL MAYO. Born in Clifton Hill, Missouri, November 15, 1881. He was the son of John Allen Mayo and Emma Burch McDavitt. His Grandfather Mayo came from Virginia while his paternal grandfather McDavitt entered Missouri from Kentucky. His ancestors were of that plain, good and God-fearing American stock which has made this Republic the most powerful nation on earth. They were

Presentation of the bronze bust of General Patrick J. Hurley,
Board of Directors Room, Historical Building.
Left to right: Mr. John D. Mayo (who presented the bronze bust),
Gen. Hurley, Dr. Charles Evans

Capitol Building was best adapted. The Secretary raised the question: "Why are monuments raised to men and women of power, worth and eminence?" He answered his own question. History places tributes of bronze, marble and granite to leaders of thought and action because they tell a story to present and succeeding generations, which inspires the impressionable, the receptive and ardent mind to reflect, to emulate, and to pattern their lives after these heroes. Then if that be true, the bust and marble pedestal telling the story of this man, born in poverty at Savannah, Indian Territory, growing from a miners' pit boy, until as Secretary of War, leader of great armies of America in times of peril, ambassador for Roosevelt and Truman, standing in the courts of premiers and kings, should be placed where the largest number of Oklahomans and Americans could see and study it best. Then it followed that the halls of the Oklahoma Historical Society should present this statue of General Hurley to 25,000 or more, grammar, high school and college youth who enter the Society building each year; hundreds coming with their teachers, and studying often with pencils and note books, Oklahoma and American leaders and their deeds.

It was agreed, after a conference with General Hurley, that Oklahoma youth should be served, and so this piece of bronze and pentelic marble stands in the corridor of the fourth floor of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

It was the view of Mr. Mayo, after the inspection of the halls and rooms, that the bust be placed next to the bust of Will Rogers as he and young Hurley had ridden the ranges of Northeastern Oklahoma as boys together, and had been warm friends through the years. So it stands outside the door which leads into the truly great hall where Oklahoma enshrines with pride and tribute many of its noted men and women.

Presentation of the Honored Donors

General William S. Key, President of the Board of Directors, opened the business session of the Board of Directors promptly at ten o'clock a.m. Although the crowd was gathering, he called for order and for thirty minutes dispatched business of the Society.

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prosperous farmers, merchants, dealers in real estate and bankers. In 1903, a young man of twenty-two, he set up business in Tulsa, then a town of from three to five thousand people. He prospered from the first and in the second decade of the 20th century he and his brother were proprietors of one of the finest retail furniture stores in the West. In a few years, he defined Tulsa as one of the coming cosmopolitan centers of the country and erected the Hotel Mayo which ranks among the most imposing and beautiful hotels in America. He married in his early career Miss Lillian Cecillia Van Blarcom to whom he attributes his happiness and success. They have two children living in Tulsa, Mrs. D. R. Feagin and John Burch Mayo, Assistant Manager of the Mayo. Mr. Mayo has been the acknowledged leader in the building of modern Tulsa and is at the present time, giving that city and all of Oklahoma his talent and his energy to their development.

At ten thirty, President Key arose and in an impressive manner, announced that the ceremonies honoring the two citizens of Oklahoma would now begin. He gave hearty words of welcome to the distinguished company present and stated his regret that time forbade introductions. He told of the character and world-wide fame of Mr. Charles Tompkins and the genius of his wife, Mrs. Mabel Tompkins, the leading equestrienne of her time, and introduced Mr. Tompkins.[2]

Tall, gray, but rugged and powerful despite his seventy-nine years, Mr. Tompkins captured his audience with his very appearance. In home made Western style he spoke in part as follows:

"Mr. President, Honored Guests and Friends: May I have the privilege of introducing Mrs. Dorothy Schwartz, a Sioux Indian. Her mother was with Mabel and me in 1903 when I was manager of the Forepaugh Shows. It was one of the biggest circuses in the United States at that time. I have another friend here who is the only living member of the organization that I had at the Worlds Fair in 1904. At that time, I had the greatest organization of riders and ropers in the world at St. Louis. I want, therefore, to present Rene Stone.

"Another of my friends was Will Rogers, I don't believe there is a man living that knew Will Rogers any better than I did. He and I were pals; we were together for many years. He worked for me and I worked for him. It is said that if a man works for you long enough, after a while you will be working for him. It has been said also, that the famous Will Rogers had his first experience on the stage in my rodeo. I invited a man to come today who was on the stage with Will from the first. This man was Ted McSpadden. It might be well to say that they received the handsome sum of $25.00 for a week's work at the Standard Theater in St. Louis.

"The rest of my brief talk is going to be in reference to trail days and in tribute to my wife Mabel. The original Chisholm Trail starts at Red River Station which is four miles the other side of Terrell and runs to Abilene, Kansas. In Texas to Red River Station, it was the Eastern Trail. The Western Trail crosses at Doan's Store and goes on up North to Dodge City. I started punching cattle when I was very young. I made my first trip into this country in 1886. The last time I went to Kansas was in 1887. The Legislature there passed a law that the Texas animals had ticks and that our animals should be quarantined, so we were ruled out and we went on to Montana.

"May I pay tribute to my beloved partner and wife. Lucille Mulhall was a great rider, but Mabel Hackney Tompkins was the

[2] A biographical sketch of Charles H. Tompkins appears as *Appendix A*, also an itemized list of the Tompkins Collection, in this article.

Charles Tompkins in his home at El Reno

greatest rider of them all. She took premiums from Maine to Florida in equestrian exhibitions. She rode horses, chariots, and all forms of riding that she found interesting. She was accepted throughout two continents as one of the great horsewomen of the world. There are over 200 pictures of her in the collection that I give to you today. There is a picture in this group of her on "Skyrocket", one of her favorite horses, when she jumped 22½ measured feet over a table where a number of people sat. Mabel wore a divided skirt. She won some fifty prize ribbons. She could tell more about the nature and power of a horse than anyone I have ever known. Forty-seven years ago we were married and all that life has given me, I owe to her. This is all I have to say. And now, I wish to present to this Society these trophies which may be seen in the adjoining room on exhibit."

Dr. I. N. McCash, a veteran minister of the State for many years and Ex-President of Phillips University and a director of the Society, followed Mr. Tompkins in an address accepting the Tompkins gift for the Society.

Dr. McCash said: "Less than a year ago, I came in contact personally with Mr. Tompkins in going from El Reno to Wichita Falls, and I was astonished as we went along with what he told me. He hadn't been in Wichita Falls for twenty-four years and yet he was able to tell me just how to reach the Marksman Hotel. I learned that he had a large collection of relics, maps, charts, documents, that ought to be preserved and I began to persuade him that they should be placed here in this Society, and I told him that this collection would not only be permanently preserved in this Society, but a favor would be conferred on the generations of students that are coming to this Historical Building continually by the thousands. In this collection are many scrap books, which give the history of the middle southwest for over fifty years, they offer to the student an insight to the peoples who were here in that period. They are dramatic in many particulars; literary in many ways. I was told by a witness who is here today that this man Tompkins was more nearly like Will Rogers in spirit than any man he knew. More than that, since this man's career ended, he has been serving as a useful and distinguished citizen. He literally built Taft Stadium in Oklahoma City. He was Mayor of the City of El Reno and was rated as its most useful and beloved citizen. He put in an underpass on a very busy street in El Reno so that no child should be hurt; he is a Christian and a benefactor and he and his wife when they were in show business were like Will Rogers—always served the church. He has a lovely home in El Reno, and has lately drawn up his will in which that home will be the parsonage of the First Christian Church after his death. It can never be sold nor rented, and if ever there is a misuse of it, it will become a home for the aged. Mr. Chairman, fellow workers and visitors: I feel that the State

of Oklahoma has been honored while we honor Mr. Charles Tompkins in accepting this collection. Mr. Chairman, I make the motion that Mr. Charles Tompkins be made a Life Member of the Oklahoma Historical Society."

This motion was duly seconded and unanimously approved.

The Introduction of General Hurley

At the conclusion of the remarks of Dr. McCash, President Key took up the part of the program honoring General Patrick J. Hurley.[3] He dwelt upon his friendship through many years with "Pat"—as he called the General. He expressed the delight of the Society and the whole State to have their beloved and noble son back in Oklahoma. He expressed the sorrow of all that Mrs. Hurley, the beautiful and gracious wife of General Hurley was prevented by illness from being present.

General Key introduced Hon. John D. Mayo of Tulsa as one so well known that anyone who had not shaken his hand must have at least stopped at his magnificent hotel—The Mayo of Tulsa. He said that through Mr. Mayo, the Society had received a splendid work of art and a rich historical possession. Would the audience join with him in tribute to one of Oklahoma's most worthy citizens, Hon. John Mayo, who would make the presentation address?

Hon. John Mayo spoke as follows:

"President Key, Officers and Directors, Honored Guests, Fellow Oklahomans: We are gathered here to pay tribute to one of Oklahoma's most illustrious men. My honor in speaking to you today is two-fold: first, the privilege of making a presentation of lasting historical value to this Society, and secondly, an honor equally as great, the privilege of having been Patrick Hurley's life long friend.

"As a resident of Oklahoma for nearly half a century, I have watched with great interest the development of the Oklahoma State Historical Society and I would be remiss in my services here today without first paying my respects to the Officers and Directors who perpetuate the history and culture of Oklahoma in this beautiful museum for untold generations to come.

"We who are gathered at this historic shrine are well aware of the regional, national and international recognition long since accorded to General Hurley. We know of his humble beginnings and of his rise to political, military and professional prominence. In positions of highest national responsibility, even during times of great stress and strain, General Hurley has served his country steadfastly in the finest of American tradition.

"The bust which we are about to unveil not only will commemorate the achievements of General Hurley, but also will serve as an

[3] A biographical sketch and other data on Gen. Patrick J. Hurley appears as *Appendix B.* in this article.

MRS. PATRICK J. HURLEY
(Daughter of Admiral Henry B. Wilson)

eternal symbol of inspiration to the future Pat Hurleys who will, we trust, carry on the great traditions not only of Oklahoma but of our nation as well.

"It is for these achievements and for his staunch Americanism that we honor General Hurley, and better than any word I can further say, let this inscription on the bust of General Hurley speak of his good deeds for all time:

PATRICK JAY HURLEY
January 8, 1883
National Attorney, Choctaw Nation, 1911-17
Officer U. S. Army, France 1917-18
Secretary of War, 1929-33
Colonel, Brigadier General, Major General
U. S. Army, Australia, Java, Russia, China
1941-45. Wounded, Darwin, Australia, while
Running Japanese Blockade 2-42. Awarded
Silver Star, Distinguished Flying Cross
and Purple Heart Medals.
Minister to New Zealand, 1942
Personal Representative of President
Roosevelt in twenty-one Different
Nations, 1942-44
American Officer with Russian Army, Battle
of Stalingrad and in Caucasus
Author of Iran Declaration While Special
Ambassador to Iran, 1943
Ambassador to China, 1944-45.

"It is now my privilege to present this bust of General Patrick J. Hurley to the Officers, Directors and Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society."

RECEPTION ADDRESS OF HON. EDGAR S. VAUGHT, JUDGE OF U. S. COURT

The Master of Ceremonies, General Key, after hearty applause accompanying the unveiling of the Hurley bust by Mr. Mayo, presented Judge Edgar S. Vaught. General Key said in his introductory remarks that Judge Vaught was Oklahoma City's foremost jurist, and to his friends, the greatest in America. He said smilingly that one of the biggest positions, of course, that Judge Vaught holds is that of Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and as a director, Judge Vaught would now make an acceptance for the Society of this wonderful gift of General Hurley. He spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, Members of the Society, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have often felt that I would like to attend my own funeral. I would like to hear what the preacher said and what others thought. I have attended funerals where I thought the deceased ought to have had an opportunity to reply. On this occasion we have this magnificent bust, an image of bronze of my good friend, General Hurley. I have wondered at the consistency of this situation. It is awfully

hard for me to think of General Hurley in any kind of a 'bust.' I never knew him to make one, and it is just a little difficult for me to try to conceive of him in bronze. Whoever would accuse Patrick Hurley of having brass.

"Mr. Mayo in making this presentation made a suggestion that is worth while and should be emphasized—that one purpose in presenting this to the State of Oklahoma and the Oklahoma Historical Society was to show the youth of our state what can be accomplished. Not long ago in court, an attorney made a plea for a boy. He said, 'This boy never had a chance. His parents were poor. If he had been given a chance, he might have made something of himself.' I was tempted to reply: 'Pat Hurley didn't have a chance, Abraham Lincoln didn't have a chance, and those who contributed most to our country and to our state are those who in the beginning didn't have a chance.' The greatest men that we have in this nation today are those who started from the bottom. They weren't pampered children; they weren't born in mansions; they didn't have a silver spoon to play with or eat with. They knew poverty in their early days; this added to the strength of their character in later days. We have an example of this in Oklahoma. It is not necessary for us to go back to the old states to find a practical demonstration of the development of the under-privileged child into the man of power. *And the one thing that I think the teachers of our schools should impress upon the child is that the boy who succeeds never knows what the word failure means.* He can be down today and down tomorrow, but the hope of being up the next day is always with him. Pat Hurley as a miners' pit-boy in Eastern Oklahoma drove a mule. I have always wanted to see a picture of Pat and that mule. They grew up together but there must have been some kind of friction developed between that mule and Pat, because in his later life he parted company with that mule and what the mule represented.

"I was in Washington when the General was Secretary of War and of course my standing in that city at that time depended largely upon the fact that I could claim that I was a friend of General Hurley. I went over to see him. We had a large crowd down at the Mayflower Hotel, many from Oklahoma and more from Texas. We were attending a convention. I told my friends that I was going to run over to see the General. I did, and the General said, 'Have you been over to see the President?' Up to that time, it hadn't occurred to me that the President wanted to see me. The General said, 'The President will be glad to see you at a certain hour.' I saw the President. I will not say what I said to him because that is supposed to be confidential. After our interview, I started to go back to my hotel and I thought I was going to walk back, but there was one of the presidential cars waiting for me with not only a driver, but a footman. When we reached the hotel, he stepped outside and bowed. My friends saw the presidential car drive up and

they saw me get out. I walked by that bunch and never looked at them.

"We are proud of Patrick J. Hurley in Oklahoma, not only because of what he has stood for, but also for the things he has accomplished personally. He believes in the building of manhood and womanhood. He believes in our state, and while he has given an excuse for leaving the State, rather than to make any judicial determination of that subject, I am perfectly willing to leave it to the jury.

"On behalf of the State of Oklahoma and the Historical Society, it is my privilege by delegation of the President to accept this magnificent bust honoring one of our greatest citizens, a man whom we all love and a man who will continue to be loved through the years."

General Key said, "Thank you, Judge Vaught, for your acceptance of this splendid bust."

Governor Johnston Murray Introduces General Hurley

Sitting at the left of General Key throughout most of this program had been the new and popular Governor of Oklahoma, Hon. Johnston Murray, inaugurated January 8th, some seventeen days before his first visit to the Oklahoma Historical Society as Ex-Officio member of the Board of Directors.

President Key said, "We have as our guest, the Governor of our State and I know that he would like to present the man whom we honor today. I will ask Governor Johnston Murray to say a few words and introduce General Hurley."

As the Governor arose to speak, the audience arose and gave him a long and enthusiastic greeting.

Governor Murray said: "I would like to have you know that I am not a guest here. I am an official of this organization, one of the fellow directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

"I have a particularly good memory, Judge Vaught, and it doesn't have anything to do with an elephant. But back when I was a child, I heard my folks talking with neighbors; this was in 1904. Charles Bliss was talking about Kansas and Dad was talking about Texas, as was Judge Hefner. They hadn't yet learned that they were in the greatest State of the Union. Gradually, through association with their own children who were born here, and their children's children, and such native born citizens as we honor today, there sprang a patriotism that is going to exceed that of Texas and we won't have to brag about it. And through the exchange of ideas of people, we are going to let the northern and the eastern part of the United States, who still think that Oklahoma is an oil well or

an Indian who can't read or write, or a bucket of sorghum, know that this is the greatest state of the Union.

"Judge Vaught, we have separated General Hurley from that mule, but we will never separate him from the love and thoughts of the people of this great state.

"I would like now to present a new friend of mine, an old friend of my Father, and a friend of the State of Oklahoma—General Patrick J. Hurley."

General Hurley arose to speak. Tall, something more than six feet, trim and straight, every inch a soldier, his features clear cut and impressive, despite his sixty-eight years, he was the same Patrick Hurley as in the courts, or on the battlefield, or the man who had been cabinet member and personal ambassador for two presidents. Here was the Oklahoman who had stood in the presence of premiers and of kings and potentates of the Nations of the world. Pat Hurley standing beside his image in bronze looked a genuine Oklahoman.

In a most informal manner, General Hurley talked to his old friends and neighbors, saying in part:

"Mr. President, General Bill (General Key) my old comrade, John Mayo my life long friend. John and I used to sit out and talk in the evening on Main Street in Tulsa before they put in sidewalks. I am exceedingly happy that my distinguished friend, Judge Vaught, Members of the Supreme Court and the Governor are present on this occasion. I am grateful to all you fine, reputable citizens, you members of the Supreme Court and the Governor, and to all who were my neighbors not so long ago, and to other dignitaries that are here today that I may also call my neighbors. I am happy that so many folks from Boggy Depot are here. I want to tell you about its beautiful women. One of these, the sweetheart of the Choctaw Nation is at my side—Mrs. Michael Conlan. The sweetheart of the Chickasaw Nation is here—Mrs. Jessie Moore. And you know, in those days there were two most wonderful girls—Chockie and Chickie—the beautiful LeFlore belles. I see that their niece, Mrs. Perry is near me here. And then over there is Mary Bentley, her niece. And there are the Locke girls coming in to be counted. There is Dick Locke's daughter, Vivia. Dick was my inseparable friend throughout those days. In talking of the Choctaw girls, there is Miss Muriel H. Wright, now a great historian. Then, of course, there is old Bob Hefner and Wilburn Cartwright. All these people are of my youth, people who are entwined in my memory and about my heart, especially these people from the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations. They are my own people and wherever I go on earth, my heart goes back to the old Red River country and the Choctaw and Chickasaw people. Down there where I grew up, it is said we lived where the screech owl crows, where every woman is a queen and

where every man is a moonshiner or a politician.' Now that is my country. God bless it.

"I would like to express, if I may, my gratitude to my friends, John Mayo and Dr. Evans and the Board of Directors and the Oklahoma Historical Society in doing me the great honor of placing this bronze bust of me in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building. I want you to know that sincerely, it is with humility that I stand before you on this occasion.

"At this moment, my memory goes back to a beautiful young woman who died in an unequalled strife in the contest between the pioneers and the frontier. She died when she was still young. With my father she is sleeping on a little sun-baked hill down there in that Choctaw country. I wish that they could be here on this occasion.

"I have had some vicissitudes but I want all of you Oklahomans to understand that I never weaken when they are fighting me; it is only when they are kind to me.

"I would like also to say in deep humility that it makes me exceedingly happy to learn that you, my own people in Oklahoma have found some incidents or some achievements in my career that you have deemed worthy of recording. And I again thank all of you for this splendid honor that you have bestowed upon me. I express to you my deepest gratitude.

"Now let me become practical for just a moment and say particularly to John Mayo and Dr. Evans that they are going to put me out in the hallway close to Oklahoma's greatest citizen and most worthy son, Will Rogers. I knew Willie and I worked with him before the world knew that he was great. There was never any doubt in my mind about that. But when I saw Will's bust sitting on the white 'pine stump' in these halls and then looked at the beautiful base upon which my bust sits, reflecting the work of Bryant Baker, I know that I will not be happy until you give Will Rogers and Wiley Post as high a horse as I am on. I hope that you folks will see that the splendid busts of Oklahoma's greatest son, Will Rogers and Oklahoma's intrepid flyer, Wiley Post, will soon be placed on a pedestal such as this is and I am saying this only in appreciation of the fact that you have done such a beautiful job, presenting such a magnificent work of art, and I hope that you will place marble columns in the same way for those boys who are more worthy than I.

"I should like to express my regrets that my better nine-tenths is not able to be here. It is the first time I can remember that she has been ill. It is unusual for her not to attend a meeting of this kind.

"Now in closing, I want everyone to know that I went to school at a little school known as Bacone College, close to Muskogee. It

has kept Muskogee on the map for a long time, and over there, they taught me a little quotation that has stayed with me all of my life:

" 'Let all the ends thou aim'st at be thy country's,
Thy God's, and truth's.
Be noble, and nobleness that lies in other men
Sometimes sleeping, but never dead
Will rise in majesty to meet Thine own.'

"I thank you."

Adjournment

At the conclusion of General Hurley's remarks, General Key said, "I know that General Hurley would welcome an opportunity to demonstrate the fact that he hasn't lost the common touch. He knows most of you and I am sure it will warm his heart and yours to exchange handshakes with him before you leave this room.

"I want to thank the Governor for honoring us with his presence, the eminent state officials and the fine representation of the civic and business leadership of Oklahoma. We have honored ourselves by accepting this splendid likeness of our friend, Pat Hurley."

APPENDIX A

Charles H. Thompkins

Charles H. Tompkins, who was born in Round Rock, Texas, in 1873, is perhaps best known for his ownership and participation in the Tompkins Wild West Show and Frontier Exhibition 1913-16. This show consisted of Mexicans, Arabs, Frontiersmen, Cowgirls, Russian Cossacks, Cowboys, Scouts, Indians, Cowboy Ban, Wire Walkers, Acrobats, Tumblers, Clowns, Trapeeze Performers, Bicycle Riders and Trick Mules.

In the year 1904 he married Mabel Hackney. She began her career in 1898 when she appeared in the "Buffalo Bill Show." She liked to recall that it was in this show that she knew and had as her friend the famous Annie Oakley.

In 1905, the Tompkins toured Europe as feature performers with Mac-Caddom's Shows, a circus transported by 105 railroad cars. Mr. Tompkins was presented as "The King of the Cowboys" and his wife was billed as "The World's Greatest Equestrienne."

On returning to this country, they were featured performers on the eastern fair circuits appearing in practically every city of size in the eastern half of the United States.

In 1908 they operated their own wild west show during the summer months and during the winter seasons they performed for the Roundup Company as stage attractions in many of the nation's largest cities. In 1912, they discontinued their appearances with the Roundup Company in order that they might devote their entire energies to their own show which they operated until 1917, when they retired from the entertainment field.

Charles and Mabel Tompkins made El Reno their home in 1918, at which time Mr. Tompkins established an automobile business, retaining its ownership until 1933.

Charley Tompkins started working on a ranch at the age of twelve, and continued working at various phases of ranching until 1895. He drove trail herd for the T-Diamond Ranch from Abilene, Texas to Dodge City, in 1886-87. 1888-89 he worked on the range as an "outside man". Then again drove trail herds in southwest Texas to Buckle-B range above Snyder in 1890-91. From Dalhart, Texas, to Montana, he drove 25000 head of steers for the X I T ranch in 1892-93, and 1895. In 1894 Charley herded from Anson to New Mexico for Larry Chittenden, rancher and author of *Ranch Verse*. In 1895 Charley Tompkins won a roping contest in Chicago, the beginning of his career in the entertainment field.

From 1933 until recently, Mr. Tompkins served in numerous administrative capacities for the federal, state and county government. The city of El Reno will always remember Mr. Tompkins particularly for his erection of an underpass to insure the safety of school children in that city, and his fine administration of the office of Mayor. His friends like to also recall that he erected Taft Stadium of Oklahoma City, considered by many as the foremost highschool stadium in the State of Oklahoma.

Primarily as a tribute and memorial to his beloved wife, Mabel Hackney Tompkins, who died on March 29, 1950, Mr. Tompkins has presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society the unusual and invaluable collection acquired through their histrionic and amazing career. The Society accepted with pride and appreciation The Tompkins Collection on January 25, 1951.[4]

List of Mabel and Charley Thompkins Collection, Presented to the Oklahoma Historical Society, January 15, 1951[5]

1. Indian Head Dress.
2. Indian Knife Scabbard.
3. Indian Dirk Scabbard.
4. Indian Knife Scabbard.
5. Beaded Watch Purse.
6. Indian Bridal Rossetts.
7. Indian Watch Chain.
8. Indian Painted Purse.
9. Indian Watch Fob.
10. Indian Beaded Purse.
11. Indian Beaded Purse.
12. Indian Tobacco Pouch.
13. Riding Crop.
14. Indian Calf Head Hand Bag.
15. Horse Shoe (Vardius, the dancing horse).
16. Mexican Spurs, made in San Francisco 1909 by Sone Saddlery for Mabel Tompkins.
17. Spurs used by Mabel Tompkins on her dancing horses.
18. Side Saddle Spurs.
19. English Stirrups of an English officer's saddle used in World War I.
27. Cane presented to Mabel Tompkins by Ralph T. Hemphill.
28. Miniature Mexican Ox Cart.
29. Miniature Overland Stage Coach.
30. Miniature Texas Long Horn Steer.
31. T-Diamond Cup presented by Senator W. J. Bryan, Abiline, Texas.
32. Copy of Story of Custer's Last Fight from Bismarck, D. T., *Tribune*, July 6, 1876.

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[4] Notes compiled for the last two paragraphs in this sketch by M. J. Hansen, Librarian, Oklahoma Historical Society.—Ed.

[5] All items are numbered here as they were listed by Mr. Chas. Tompkins when he presented the collection to the Oklahoma Historical Society.—Ed.

33. Tackberry Buckle.
35. Membership Certificate, Texas Cowboys Reunion, Stamford, Texas.
36. Single Argentine Rope used by Argentine Cowboys.
37. Mexican Reata, presented to Tompkins by Pablo Rodiiquez.
38. Bridle and Breast Strap used for years by Tompkins.
39. Texas Steer Horns, presented to Tompkins by Tom Ellison.
63. State Championship Polo Cup, July, 1923.
64. Charley Tompkins Individual Championship Cup, July 8, 1923.
65. Gentlemen Road Hacks, won by Tompkins.
66. Ladies Road Hacks, won by Mabel Tompkins.
67. High Jumping Cup, won by Mabel Tompkins, El Reno, Nov. 8, 1922.
68. High Jumping Cup won by Mabel Tompkins, Fort Reno, 1924.
69. Lady Road Hacks, won by Mabel Tompkins, Oklahoma City Fat Stock Show 1923.
70. Ladies Road Hacks, won by Mabel Tompkins, Fort Reno, 1925.
71. Polo Sticks used by Jim Minnick and Charley Tompkins in State Championship, July 8, 1923.
74. Prize Ribbons.
75. Membership Badges, Texas Cowboys Reunion, X I T Reunion, and Texas Trail Drivers.
76. Navajo Blanket presented to Mabel Tompkins by Blanche Beutler.
77. Racing Surcingle used by Mabel Tompkins.
78. Stetson hat made for Charley Tompkins, 1908. Horse hair band made by a Mexican in San Francisco and presented to him in 1909.
79. The last pair of boots belonging to Mabel Tompkins.
80. Annie Oakley Saddle.

PICTURES IN THE MABEL AND CHARLEY TOMPKINS COLLECTION

20. Buffalo Painting by Chief Charging Hawk.
21. Mabel Tompkins and her Jumping Horse Skyrocket.
22. Mabel and Friends at Hillside Park, Newark, N. J., 1908.
23. Bridle-less Horse in front of the New York Public Library.
24. Down Memory Lane, by Roy P. Stewart, Sunday Oklahoman, July 10, 1949. (Framed article, photostat).
25. Picture back of Heralds used by Tompkins Wild West Shows, 1911 to 1917.
26. Picture front of Heralds used by Tompkins Wild West Shows.
34. Charles H. Tompkins, San Francisco, "Round Up Co", 1908.
34 (A). Cowboy and his horse.
40. Colored print of Rosenben, Famous Race Horse.
41. Colored print of Colin, Famous Race Horse.
42. Buffalo Bill Wild West Show, Chicago, 1886.
43. Buffalo Bill Show at Mormon Temple, Salt Lake City, 1902.
44. Christmas, 1914, in New Jersey.
46. Charles Tompkins, 1912.
46 (A). Mabel on Valentine, great jumping horse.
47. Mabel H. Tompkins, Philadelphia, 1914.
48. Mabel and Circus, her trained bull terrior.
49. Mabel and the Annie Oakley Saddle.
50. Charles H. Tompkins, San Francisco, "Round Up Co", 1909.

BOOKS IN THE MABEL AND CHARLEY TOMPKINS COLLECTION

45. *A Century of Texas Cattle Brands.*
51. Carey, Henry L. *Story of Boot Hill, Dodge City, Kansas.*
52. Hunter, J. Marvin. *Trail Drivers of Texas.*
53. Haley, J. Evetts. *Life of Charles Goodnight.*
54. Adams, Andy. *Log of a Cowboy.*
55. James, Will. *Cowboys North and South.*
56. Murray, John. *The Round Up.*
57. Keith, Harold. *Story of Will Rogers.*
58. Hildreth, Sam. *Smell of the Turf.*

Mabel Tompkins on her favorite horse "Skyrocket," making the first "table-jump" of 22½ feet, in 1898.

59. Werner, M. R. *P. T. Barnum.*
60. Rogers, Will. *Prohibition.*
61. Chittendens, Larry. *Ranch Verses.*
62. Russell, Charles M. *Good Medicine.*
72. Scrap Books of Mabel and Charley, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 & 9.
73. McGinty, Billy. *Route Book of Buffalo Bill Show 1900.*

APPENDIX B

Patrick Jay Hurley

HURLEY, PATRICK JAY, lawyer and diplomat, was born in the Choctaw nation, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), Jan. 8, 1883, son of Pierce and Mary (Kelly) Hurley. He had only a limited schooling in his youth, going to work as a mule driver in the mines of the Atoka Coal & Mining Co. when he was only eleven years old, and later working as a cowboy. Subsequently he attended Indian University, now Bacone (Okla.) Junior College, and was graduated A.B. in 1905. He then studied law at the National University in Washington, D. C., and following his graduation with the LL.B. degree in 1908 was admitted to the bar of Oklahoma and began the practice of law in Tulsa. Four years later he was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States. He was national attorney for the Choctaw Indian nation during 1912-17. When the United States entered the first World war, being then a captain in the Oklahoma national guard, he was commissioned major in the national army and later served in France as judge advocate, army artillery, 1st army, performing in addition the duties of adjutant general and inspector general. At the close of the war he held the rank of colonel. While in France he took part in the Aisen-Marne, St. Mihiel and Meuse-Argonne offensives and received the Silver Star for gallantry. After the armistice, as judge advocate of the 6th army corps, he secured from the grand duchy of Luxemburg permission for U.S. military forces to march across the grand duchy en route to the Rhine as a part of the army of occupation of Germany. The citation for the Distinguished Service Medal which was later awarded him referred to the "sound judgment, marked zeal and keen perception of existing conditions" which he displayed at that time. After his return to the United States he resumed the practice of law in Oklahoma. In the course of his legal career General Hurley developed various business interests. He is the owner of a number of business properties in Oklahoma and Kansas and the Shoreham office building in Washington, D. C. At one time he was president of the First Trust & Savings Bank of Tulsa and a director of the First National Bank of that city. A Republican in politics, he was a delegate at large to the Republican national convention in 1924, was chairman of the Oklahoma state Republican convention in 1926 and campaigned for the nomination and election of Herbert Hoover for President in 1928. Following the inauguration of President Hoover he was appointed assistant secretary of war and after the death of James William Good (q.v.), secretary of war, in November 1929, General Hurley was appointed to succeed him. As such he was also chairman of the war policies commission, a nonpartisan body, created by congress to prepare national policies and plans for application in time of war. He also urged increased development of the army air force and the mechanization of the army. He remained a member of the Hoover cabinet until March 1933 when he resumed the practice of law in Washington, devoting his time largely to international law and corporation law. In 1935 he was chief counsel in the reorganization of the Richfield Oil Co., of California, and in 1940 he represented five American oil companies whose properties in Mexico had been expropriated by the Mexican government in the negotiation of a settlement of their claims. The agreement reached received the full approval of the department of state and the Mexican government,

which later conferred on him its highest decoration, the Order of the Aztec Eagle, for his efforts in this connection. As colonel in the officers reserve corps he was called to active military duty in the fall of 1941 and after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor he was promoted to brigadier general in January 1942, and ordered to the southwest Pacific to direct efforts to run the Japanese blockade of the Philippines with supplies for Gen. Douglas MacArthur's forces on Bataan peninsula. General Hurley was wounded in the first Japanese bombing attack on Port Darwin, Australia, Feb. 19, 1942, and upon recovery he was appointed U. S. minister to New Zealand. While holding that post he was recalled to Washington in the summer of 1942 to receive instructions for a special trip to Moscow to consult Generalissimo Joseph Stalin. On that mission he and his two aides made a reconnaissance of the Stalingrad and Caucasus battle fronts, being the first foreign military observers accorded this privilege. On his return to Washington to report he was awarded an oak leaf cluster in lieu of a second Distinguished Service Medal. Resigning as minister to New Zealand in March, 1943, he was sent to the Near East as a special representative of the President to confer with government officials and military leaders in various countries in that region. Before returning to Washington he was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross in recognition of many hazardous wartime aerial missions he had undertaken. Traveling again as a special representative of the President, he returned to the Near East in October 1943, also making trips to India and China. Later he participated in the Cairo and Teheran conferences and at the latter, where he held the temporary rank of ambassador, he prepared the first draft of the Iran declaration, guaranteeing the pastwar sovereignty and territorial integrity of Iran and reaffirming the principles of the Atlantic charter. In December 1943, he was promoted to major general and in August 1944, when civil strife in China was threatening to bring about the collapse of the nationalist government, he was sent to Chungking to prevent that catastrophe and keep the Chinese army in the war and to harmonize the relations between the Chinese and American military establishments and between the American embassy in Chungking and the Chinese government. Later he was appointed U.S. ambassador to China and in this capacity he succeeded in initiating conferences between the government and Chinese Communist leaders designed to end the civil war in that country. He remained in China until November 1945, when he returned to the United States and resigned his post with a vehement protest against what he termed "the wide discrepancy between our announced policies and our conduct of international relations," charging certain "career" diplomats in the state department with sabotaging his efforts to restore peace in China. In 1946 he was awarded the Medal for Merit by Secretary of War Robert Patterson in recognition of his services in China. General Hurley is a member of the American and Oklahoma State bar associations, the American Legion, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Sigma Chi (president 1946) and Phi Beta Kappa. He was married in Washington, D. C., Dec. 5, 1919, to Ruth, daughter of Adm. Henry Braid Wilson and they have four children: Patricia, Ruth, Wilson and Mary Hope Hurley.

—*THE NATIONAL CYCLOPAEDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY*, CURRENT VOLUME 8, 1943-1946, (JAMES T. WHITE & CO., NEW YORK).

What President Franklin D. Roosevelt and President Truman Thought of Patrick Hurley

In reading the columns, "The Letter of F.D.R." by Elliott Roosevelt, it is revealed that General Patrick J. Hurley was defined by F.D.R., President of the United States, as one of the great central figures of his time.

As early as January 1943, when China, Australia, and all those regions were developing the most perplexing problems of modern times, Roosevelt wrote to Edward J. Flynn that he was appointing him as Minister to Australia. He says to Mr. Flynn that Hon. Patrick J. Hurley, in addition to being Minister to New Zealand is a General in the army, and he further points out that he is using Hurley's services as ambassador in many places outside of New Zealand and for many ways and purposes which may be considered as Roosevelt's special spokesman.

Again in 1944-45, in order to strengthen morale in the China region, President Roosevelt sent General Hurley on a political and military mission. The President's purpose was as far as possible to bring about a recognition between Chiang Kai Check and General Stillwell.

On March 25, 1944, General Hurley received a letter from Roosevelt in which this quotation was found: "Your letter of December 1st, 1943 concerning Iran contains suggestions of very great interest." The letter goes on to say that Roosevelt was thrilled with the idea of Hurley that Iran had been won over by the presentation of an unselfish American policy. It is interesting to note in this day of 1951 that Roosevelt revealed in this letter that if he had the right kind of American experts who would remain loyal to their ideals, he felt that his policy of aiding Iran (rich oil field regions) would succeed. In this letter were the words, "You are right that the distribution of lend-lease supplies throughout the Middle East should be taken over by our own people and I have let the Secretary of State know my views in this regard."

It should be remembered in this connection that General Hurley on this special mission to the Near East had helped prepare the Three-Power Declaration at Teheran which pledged Iran's independence. It is revealed that Hurley considered Britain to be practising imperialistic policies in Iran and urged the President to distribute lend lease supplies through American agencies.

In the late summer of 1944, President Roosevelt sends a letter to Chiang in which he states that he is presenting to the Generalissimo "my two very good personal friends, General Hurley, former Secretary of War and now a Major General, and Mr. Donald M. Nelson, the head of the War Production Board. Hurley is to be considered my personal representative on military matters and you can talk to him with the utmost freedom." In order to fortify these two ambassadors, he says to Chiang, "Both literally are my personal representatives." At this time, the Chinese front was breaking down in face of strong Japanese attack, and wished to obtain through Hurley better relations between Chiang and Stilwell, and to also obtain for Stilwell complete command of all armed forces—Chinese and American.

It is needless to say that these comments on the relations existing between President Franklin Delano Roosevelt and General Patrick J. Hurley were based upon the highest and most noble grounds. It is well to say that this ambassadorship of General Hurley to China and many other countries of the Far East was continued under the administration of Truman until Hurley sent in his resignation under the protest of President Truman and his assurance of complete faith in Hurley's power and ability to serve America in the Chinese region.

Patrick Hurleys Are Listed Among First 400 U. S. Families

From *SANTA FE NEW MEXICAN*, Sunday, March 26, 1950

"In the March issue of the Cosmopolitan magazine, Igor Cassini, who writes under the name of Cholly Knickerbocker in a New York paper, has prepared a list of the first Four Hundred families in the United States today. General and Mrs. Patrick J. Hurley of Santa Fe and Washington are included in this list. The basis for the selection of the names included in the list of the FOUR HUNDRED, according to Cassini, is prominence in social, political, business and governmental affairs.

"In looking over the list which includes some of the Rockefellers, Vanderbilts; Secretary of State Dean Acheson and many other nationally known names, the inclusion of General Hurley probably sets a record on several scores. He is the only ex-mule driver from coal mine No. 6 of Phillips, Indian Territory, who is recorded among the FOUR HUNDRED; he is the only ex-Private in the Indian Territory Voluntary Cavalry who is listed in the FOUR HUNDRED; he is the only man who has run twice and been defeated twice for the Senate in New Mexico, whose name appears among the FOUR HUNDRED.

"General Hurley, as many Santa Feans know, has had a most distinguished career. He was the outstanding national attorney for the Choctaw Indian Nation, a Republican appointed by Woodrow Wilson; he served with distinction in World War I; he was Secretary of War in the Hoover cabinet; he was a general in the Army in World War II; he was wounded in action at Darwin, Australia on February 19, 1942; he became successively President Roosevelt's Minister to New Zealand; then he was returned to the Army and became President Roosevelt's personal representative in Russia; he was with the Russian army in the Battle for the Encirclement of Stalingrad; he served as President Roosevelt's special ambassador in Iran and ambassador to China. During the war he was the personal representative of President Roosevelt in 21 different nations.

"Mrs. Hurley, who is also listed among these distinguished Americans, is an outstanding social and civic leader in both Washington and Santa Fe, and is known throughout the United States for her beauty, brilliance and charm.

"It is reported that Pat is getting some good-natured ribbing about being included in the list of the FOUR HUNDRED. We don't know what he is saying, but we suspect he probably replies, "Well that's pretty good for an ex-Oklahoma coal miner."

"General and Mrs. Hurley are expected to return to Santa Fe in June."

JEREMIAH HUBBARD, HOOSIER SCHOOLMASTER AND FRIENDS MISSIONARY AMONG THE INDIANS

*By Ezra Brainerd**

Jeremiah Hubbard, a child of Quaker parents affectionately known as "Uncle Jerry",[1] was born in Henry County, Indiana, April 7, 1837, the eldest son of Joseph and Matilda (Bailey, nee Johnson) Hubbard." His early life was spent on his father's farm near Lewiston. He attended school in a log schoolhouse until he was sixteen when his parents moved to Wayne County and settled at Chester four miles from Richmond. He attended school there until he was twenty one.

He was married on November 6, 1858, to Mary G. Sheward, daughter of Dr. Isaac and Louisa Sheward, formerly of Wilmington, Delaware, and on December 4th following began his first experience as a school teacher. He described the schoolhouse, located on Nolan's Creek, five miles northwest of Richmond, Indiana, as a brick building with a door in the west end and three windows on each side. The interior was described as having a blackboard and

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* Ezra Brainerd, Jr., a native of Vermont, is engaged in the practice of law, with his office in the Shoreham Building, Washington 5, D. C. Soon after his graduation (LL.B.) from the University of Michigan in 1904, he was admitted to the bars in Vermont and in Oklahoma, and located at Muskogee where he practiced until 1927. He served as Judge in the Oklahoma Constitutional Election in 1906; and as master in chancery, U. S. Court, Eastern District of Oklahoma, 1907-14. He was member of the firm Brainerd, Gotwals & Gibson at Muskogee, 1918-27, and was general counsel and vice president of First National Bank of Muskogee, also director of Farmers National Bank (Ft. Gibson), and of First National Bank (Braggs). He was admitted to U. S. Supreme Court, 1921, and was member of Interstate Commerce Commission 1927-33 (Chairman, 1931). He is member of American Bar Association and of other bar associations, and is a Presbyterian and Mason (*Who's Who in America*, Vol. 26 (1950-51).—Ed.

[1] Uncle Jerry was named for his great uncle, Jeremiah Hubbard of Guilford County, North Carolina, who was a prominent member of the Society of Friends during the period from 1811 to 1860, before the great migration of Friends from North Carolina to Indiana, took place. Sallie W. Stockhard, in *The History of Guilford County*, Knoxville, 1902, states, pp. 83, 123-4, that in 1830, Jeremiah Hubbard, Douglas Clark and others were appointed a committee to prepare an address to the subordinate meetings on the subject of schools; that seven years later Guilford College, now the seat of learning of Friends in the South, was founded as New Garden Boarding School, and that among the best friends of the Institution have been the Mendenhall family, the Cox family, Jesse M. Bundy, Dr. Joseph Moore, Francis T. King, Dr. J. C. Thomas and Jeremiah Hubbard.

We have before us a copy of an enlarged picture drawing of the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends held in Richmond Indiana in 1844. The only individuals whose names are identified thereon, are three men standing together, Elijah Collin, John Peasa of England, and Jeremiah Hubbard. The latter is pictured as very tall and slight, wearing a beaver hat and a Prince Albert coat.

a platform extending across the east end, and as having good patent desks, a good stove and an ample supply of charts, maps etc. It was a subscription school with a term of three months. There were about fifty pupils in attendance during Uncle Jerry's term ranging from little boys and girls to young men and women. In his writings he noted that the term closed with "good satisfaction, the pupils having made rapid progress".

In the spring of 1859, Uncle Jerry moved to Miami County and that summer he commenced his second school one half mile west of Xenia in what was than an undeveloped part of Indiana. It, too, was a subscription school, but with a two months' term. The school house, which stood just at the edge of the timber, was built of logs and was about fourteen feet square, it had slab benches, no desks and only a small blackboard. About thirty pupils were enrolled, most of them small.

He began his third school in the winter of 1859-60, at a place located in the northeast corner of Howard County, being employed for three months at a salary of twenty-five dollars a month, one half to be paid from public funds and one half by the parents of children who attended the last half of the term. The school house, like the one near Xenia, was built of logs, twenty by twenty-four, and had wooden desks large enough to accommodate six or eight pupils. The school, with an enrollment of forty-seven pupils, had the reputation of being the hardest to manage of any in the county. However, Uncle Jerry experienced no serious trouble for he "laid down the rules and held to them."

During the summer of 1860, he and his wife taught a subscription school in Xenia. It was held in a large room, sixty feet long and twenty-one feet wide, which was located on the second floor of the Addington building. There were sixty-five pupils in attendance. Many of them were unruly, but after Uncle Jerry whipped seventeen of them all in one day, he had no further trouble; on the contrary, all took an interest in their studies and the term closed with mutual good feeling. Xenia was a pleasant place and he enjoyed teaching in town much more than he had in the country. The following winter he was employed to teach in the public school in Xenia. Classes were held in the Methodist Meeting House, as the district had no school building. It was a large school with nearly a hundred pupils in attendance. Eli Wall, an elderly man, was employed as an assistant. It was necessary for the two men to go to Peru to be examined for their teacher certificates. So they started one very cold morning, with one horse between them which they rode "turn about". They traveled eighteen miles through snow, before reaching Peru. Wall went to put up the horse, while Uncle Jerry went to locate Mr. Effinger, the lawyer and school examiner. Entering the latter's office and finding Mr. Effinger in, Uncle Jerry introduced himself and stated his business. "Tell me,"

JEREMIAH HUBBARD

said Mr. Effinger, "what is the interest on one hundred dollars for twelve days at six percent—work it mentally." After giving a satisfactory answer, he was asked to name the capital of one or two states. This done, Uncle Jerry was handed a certificate. About this time Wall came in and, after being introduced to Mr. Effinger, was asked by him to name the capital of Kentucky. Wall was so surprised he could not answer; the examiner then asked him a few more questions and gave him a certificate good for eighteen months. Each paid the examiner fifty cents and they departed for home. Wall proved to be a poor assistant. He apparently not only lacked system in his work, but was a poor disciplinarian. He reputedly demoralized the pupils by chewing tobacco in school.

During the next two years, 1861-63, Uncle Jerry taught school at various places in Miami County, and in 1863 or 1864, he removed to New London, a Quaker settlement ten miles west of Kokomo, in Howard County. He was occupied in teaching in this neighborhood during the next four or five years; a part of that time in the Porcupine district, a rowdy place, where it was said a spelling bee could not be held without a fight. Uncle Jerry proved equal to his task. He decided to hold a series of religious meetings. Many conversions resulted, and after a few weeks the entire neighborhood became quiet and orderly.

On taking up their residence in New London, Uncle Jerry and his wife associated themselves with the Society of Friends by whom they were heartily welcomed and during their residence there they took an active interest in the religious work of that society. Erastus, their first child, was born in New London in 1864; two other children were born to them there, a boy and a girl, but both died in infancy.

After the close of the Civil War, a great migration was started by people from Illinois and Indiana seeking land and adventure further west. Joseph Hubbard, Uncle Jerry's father, who had migrated from North Carolina to Virginia and thence to Indiana, was one of such a group in 1870. He had decided to move to Missouri, an adventure in which he was joined by his son-in-law, Joseph Robins, who was then living in Illinois, and by his four sons; Jeremiah (Uncle Jerry), Gameliel, Henry, and Joseph Asher. They all settled in Alba, a few miles north of Carthage, in Jasper County, Missouri, where Uncle Jerry again engaged in teaching school.

In 1873, he was employed by the Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs for a period of five months as teacher and general manager of the Wyandotte Mission School which was located on Lost Creek, in the Quapaw Agency, in the then Indian Territory, about ten miles southeast of the present town of Miami, Oklahoma. Uncle Jerry assumed his duties at the Mission on March 3. The school was a boarding school for Wyandotte, Shawnee and Seneca

children. Some of the odd names which he noted were: Ida Mud-eater, Elizabeth Choplog, Margaret Splitlog, and Susan Bearskin, among others. Uncle Jerry loved the children and made many enduring friends among them. He visited in their homes, and took the boys swimming in the river. He also conducted religious services. The school term closed pleasantly in August. At a Wyandotte ceremonial held at that time Uncle Jerry was given the name of Te-ya-we-da-ya, meaning "strong like a rock."[2] He returned to his home in Alba, Missouri, in September, 1874. A year or two later he removed with his family, then consisting of his wife and six children; Erastus, Henrietta, William, Lucy, Holton, and Lennie, to Timbered Hills, a Friends' settlement near the present town of Columbus, in Cherokee County, Kansas. A seventh child, Josephine, was born soon after the family's arrival in Timbered Hills. She died Nov. 29, 1880 in her second year.

After having taught twenty-seven terms of school in Indiana, Missouri, Kansas, and Indian Territory, Uncle Jerry abandoned school teaching to engage in missionary work among the Ottawas, Wyandottes, Modocs and Senecas. In the latter part of the winter of 1879-80, he made a few visits to these Indians for the purpose of holding religious meetings among them. Nicholas Cotter, a member of the Wyandotte Tribe who had been a scout with Freemont in his expedition to California in 1849, accompanied Uncle Jerry as guide and interpreter. Soon after their arrival at the Wyandotte Mission they received word from the Chief of the Senecas not to come among his people. Uncle Jerry knew that the Senecas as a Nation were opposed to Christianity. However, he was not perturbed by the message he had received, and went on to the Seneca Nation. He and Cotter arrived at John Winney's, (in the Seneca Nation) 14 miles southeast of the Wyandotte Mission at about four o'clock in the after-

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[2] A few small tribes were brought to the northeast corner of the Indian Territory soon after the Civil War. In an early day, this region had been given to some small bands of Quapaws, a few Senecas, and a band of Shawnees. After the Civil War other small tribes, mostly from Kansas were brought there, and they were given little reservations in this area. These were the Peorias and related bands, the Miamis, the Ottawas, the Wyandottes, and a small band of Modocs who were brought there from the lava beds of Oregon. Altogether, within a few years after the Civil War, eight tribes or fragments of tribes occupied seven small reservations in northeast Oklahoma.—Buchanan and Dale, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1924), p. 160.

The present Associated Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs was founded by a group of Yearly Meetings in 1869 to carry out the agreement with President Grant that Friends would operate Government Indians Agencies in Kansas and Indian Territory. Although the Government later relieved Friends of these responsibilities, this joint committee continues to support workers at the Wyandotte Mission, now a Government Indian boarding school; and at three other stations in Oklahoma, namely, at the Seneca Council House, located at a country cross-roads in the Ozark foothills a few miles southeast of Wyandotte; at Hominy, on the Osage Reservation; and at the Kickapoo Friends' Center, near McLoud, in Pottawatomie County. Solenberger, Robert R., *Work and Concerns of A. E. Committee of Friends on Indian Afairs,* (Richmond, n.d.).

noon. They found John sitting on the porch smoking his pipe. He was a full-blood Seneca and his wife, Lucy, a full-blood Wyandotte. John could speak little English, but Lucy could speak it very well. Uncle Jerry and his companion went up to where John was sitting, shook hands with him and said: "How!". We assume that Uncle Jerry was acquainted with John and Lucy for although John was opposed to Christianity they were cordially received by both of them. That evening about dark a half dozen Seneca Indians came in and Uncle Jerry spoke to them, Cotter acting as his interpreter. This was the first religious meeting held among the Senecas. Many more visits were made among them during the following years.

In May, of that same year 1880, Uncle Jerry attended a meeting of the Executive Committee of Friends on Indians Affairs, held at Richmond, Indiana, and as a result of discussions held at that meeting, he was asked to spend seven days each month working among the Indians located in the Quapaw Agency. He readily assented on the condition that he would have the privilege of doing as the Master directed. "Go, and the Lord go with thee and bless thy labor", was the reply.

The missionary effort of the Friends at this early period was more extensive in the Indian Territory than elsewhere. Dr. Rayner W. Kelsey, professor of History at Haverford College, in his book *Friends and the Indians,* Philadelphia 1917, states, pp. 204-205:

"Asa and Emeline Tuttle had done missionary work for many years among the Ottawas, Quapaws and Modocs in this district and Jeremiah Hubbard, John M. Watson, Thomas Stanley and others about 1880-1881, had made progress in holding meetings among them and among the nearby Senecas. At the request of Jeremiah Hubbard about ninety Indians of the above mentioned tribes were received into membership by Timbered Hills Monthly Meeting, Kansas. It was then decided to establish four preparative meetings among the Ottawas, Senecas, Modocs and Wyandottes, respectively, and of these four meetings was composed Grand River Monthly Meeting set up September 3, 1881".

In a small book compiled in 1913, when Uncle Jerry was in his 77th year, he gives an interesting account of his early struggles, his experiences as a school teacher, and of his forty years' ministry among the Indians. He states that after his return from Richmond, Indiana in the Summer of 1880 he began making week-long visits each month among the Indians in the Quapaw Agency.

On February 8, 1881 he and his wife accompanied by Alphens Townsend, an elder in the Friends Church, left Timbered Hills on such a visit. Crossing Spring River on the ferry at Baxter Springs, Kansas, they passed down the east side of the river to the Modoc camp. Thomas Stanley, a co-religious worker, had arranged for their meeting and quite a number of Modocs were in attendance. Uncle Jerry and Mr. Stanley spoke through an interpreter; Long George, one of the leading Modocs, spoke in his native tongue as did

others. The next day they went six miles southwest to the Wyandotte Mission where they held an evening meeting, and on the 10th they attended the opening exercises of the Misson School. That afternoon, with Nicholas Cotter as their guide, they left for the Seneca Nation. After traveling through some rough country, they arrived at John Winney's in time for supper. After dark they held a rousing meeting. Mr. Stanley made a good talk and Aunt Mary, Uncle Jerry's wife, offered a very earnest prayer, especially interceding for John Winney and his wife, Lucy. The next day the wind blew hard from the north with snow. At 11 o'clock they held a meeting with several Indians and an interpreter was present. Sampson Smith and his wife were converted and joined the Friends. After dinner, Uncle Jerry and his party left for Matthias Splitlog's. Reaching a river, they found that the water was high and it was hardly safe for them to cross. However, four of them got in the hack and crossed safely so they sent the hack back for the others. The road from the river to Splitlog's was rough. When they arrived, they found that their visit had been anticipated; a beef had been killed, 50 pounds of butter made and 20 dozen eggs gathered.

On the 12th Uncle Jerry received word that John Winney's daughter, Lizzie, had died and the funeral was to be held the following day. He returned immediately to Winney's home. All was quiet and solemn. Many of the Senecas attended the funeral services the following day. Three days later, when Uncle Jerry was back at the Mission, he was asked to conduct funeral services for the wife of Armstrong Spicer, sister of Frank Whitewing. Their home was about six miles south of the Mission. The burial services must have been very impressive there in the valley of Sycamore Creek, down deep in the timber with a white mantle of snow on the ground and the solemn faced Indians gathered about. When the coffin was lowered into the grave, Frank Whitewing dropped on his knees and offered a prayer in the Wyandotte language.

On February 16th, Uncle Jerry and his wife left the Mission for their home in Timbered Hills, Kansas, twenty-eight miles north. Reaching Spring River they found the ice flow so strong they hesitated to cross; turning back, to Asa Tuttle's their wagon broke down leaving them stranded in the woods. Uncle Jerry built a fire to keep warm until Alpheus the young man he had with him obtained another wagon which enabled them by ferrying at Baxter to reach home late that night.

Uncle Jerry returned to the Mission on the 19th and held splendid meetings with excellent results. It was on one of these visits while conducting meetings at Splitlog's, that John Winney came to Uncle Jerry and said he wished to be a Christian. With his mind fully made up he placed his hand in Uncle Jerry's and "gave his heart to the Master". Lucy, John's wife, had been

urging him for many months to take this step, but Winney, like nearly all of the older and middle-aged Senecas—he was seventy-five at the time, had been loath to adopt the Christian religion. Doctor Kelsey in his book *Friends and the Indians* says that these consecrated Christian Indians were for long years faithful workers among the Senecas and largely by their own labors built up a flourishing meeting at Cayuga; that they were Elders in the Seneca Meeting and were held in highest esteem by all who knew them; that he had the privilege of meeting Lucy Winney in 1913, a short time before her death, and could testify personally to the grace of her beautiful Christian character.[3]

Uncle Jerry continued to spend one week each month among the Indians in the Quapaw Agency, and in May, 1881, at the request of the Executive Committee of Friends in Indians Affairs, he began spending two weeks each month among them. This arrangement continued until August of that year, when the Committee engaged him to spend all his time among the Indians in the Quapaw Agency. He rented a house near the Wyandotte Mission and moved his family there on September 1, 1881.

There were a number of large streams in this part of the Territory and in making his rounds Uncle Jerry traveled in a two-horse cart. If he found the water too deep, it was an easy matter to turn about and drive out, whereas, a buggy would have locked on a short turn and spilled its occupant. An editor of a Missouri newspaper remarked that one of the two spotted ponies Uncle Jerry drove was a Methodist the other a Campbellite. He said that the Methodist pony would swim with half his sides out of the water, the Campbellite with only his head out, while the Quaker rode high and dry! At John Winney's one day, Winney asked Uncle Jerry to go with him to the barn where he showed him a handsomely painted cart. "You take him", Winney said. "But", said Uncle Jerry, "I have no money to buy a cart". John replied; "You take him—you best friend."

During the early years, there were in the Territory a great many gun carrying desperadoes and fugitives from justice. Occasionally some of them attended Uncle Jerry's meetings, but they never gave him any serious trouble for he always treated them kindly.

On many of his early journeys Uncle Jerry was accompanied by Elwood Weesner, later to be sent by the Timbered Hills Monthly Meeting as a missionary among the Indians in Alaska. In January, 1884, Weesner and Uncle Jerry made a visit to the Sac & Fox Agency in Oklahoma Territory. They went by train as far as Tulsa, which at that time was the terminus of the Frisco Railroad. The following morning they took the mail-hack and traveled sixty miles west to the

[3] Kelsey, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

agency where they spent the night at the home of Jacob V. Carter, the Indian Agent. The next day they called on David Bowles, who was engaged in religious work among the Indians; and later on William Hurr, the Indian Baptist Missionary, formerly at the Ottawa station in the Quapaw Agency. They had dinner at the Government Indian School which was under the care of Silas Moon and his wife. They thought the school was well managed and doing excellent work. In the evening they attended a meeting at Hurr's Meeting House, and on the 6th day, accompanied by Mr. Hurr, they went some thirty miles to the Mexican Kickapoo station in charge of John Clinton and his wife. Meetings were held there. On the 7th day Mr. Carter and John Elliott of Shawneetown took them to Wagoya, some forty miles distant, where the government day school for the Pottawatomies was located. On the 1st day, Sunday, they attended the Bible School and an evening meeting. On the 2nd day they went to Shawneetown and held a meeting at the Government boarding school which was in charge of Lindley Cox and wife. They reported that Thomas W. Alfred, one of the teachers, was very much liked and had a great influence with the Shawnees. On the 3d and 4th days, meetings were held at Franklin Elliott's. Turning back, they stopped again at the Kickapoo Agency where a series of meetings were held. On the 6th day they reached Agent Carter's home at the Sac & Fox Agency where an interview was held with Chief Keokuk who said that Agent Carter was doing good work for his people.

Some nine years later, 1893, Uncle Jerry and John Winney made a similar visit among the Sac & Fox, Kickapoo and other Indians in Oklahoma Territory. They left Pierce City, Missouri, April 3d on the Frisco train for Wichita, Kansas, some two hundred miles distant, and there boarded the Santa Fe train for Guthrie. It was spring and the weather was warm and pleasant; farmers were busy planting; pens were filled with cattle and in Kansas the great fields of wheat extended as far as one could see. They spent the night in Guthrie, and the next morning they were met by William Hurr, an old friend, who escorted them to the Sac & Fox Agency twenty-two miles east. A meeting was held that evening in the Oak Grove School House. The weather was extremely warm for that season of the year, so Uncle Jerry and Winney slept on the ground out of doors. The next day they set out for the Iowa village; on their way they stopped for lunch at Kerwan Murray's, and then proceeded two miles further to Ford's camp where they spent the night. Most of the Indians there were living in tepees although a few of them had small houses. Winney and Uncle Jerry held their usual evening meeting. The weather that night being somewhat cooler, they slept in a guest-tepee. A breakfast, consisting of coffee, flap-jack bread and molasses, was served to them by the Indian women. Leaving the camp, they traveled twenty-five miles south to the old Iowa Mission in charge of Charles Pearson and his wife. After an over-night stop,

they left the mission and traveled nearly all that day to reach the Kickapoo Mission. Several days were spent there. Four or five more days were spent at Shawnee and Tecumseh. All meetings were well attended.

They returned home on the 18th, after an absence of 15 days, feeling that their visit had been greatly blessed. Uncle Jerry moved to Miami, Oklahoma, in the Spring of 1900, and continued his ministry among the Indians from that station until his retirement in 1913. He died in Miami February 3, 1915, in his 79th year; his wife died August 16, 1917. They had ten children, four boys and six girls, only one of whom Erastus Hubbard of Miami, now in his 86th year, is living.

Doctor Kelsey in his book *Friends and the Indians*, states that "Jeremiah Hubbard, 'Uncle Jerry,' . . . . began religious work among the Indians in the winter of 1879-80, and for many years labored faithfully and efficiently among the Wyandottes, Senecas, Ottawas, Modocs and other Indians in northeast Oklahoma and that perhaps no other missionary to the Indians was so widely known among Friends of the United States."[4]

[4] Kelsey, *op. cit.*, footnote p. 203.

WILLIAM PENN ADAIR

*By Cherrie Adair Moore**

Mrs. Will Rogers wrote, in her book of Will's life: "On November 4, 1879, the last of Clem's and Mary's eight children was born and christened William Penn Adair, after a famous Cherokee statesman and soldier." It is a disappointment not to find the name of the donor, also, but perhaps no one had told Mrs. Rogers there was a guest in the home on that auspicious night. The guest was Mrs. William Penn Adair—"Aunt Sue", as every one called her. Aunt Sue said that she officiated at Will's birth and when she found no name had been definitely chosen for the newly born son, she suggested the full name of her husband. Will's father might have chosen the name even if Aunt Sue hadn't suggested it, for he and William Penn Adair were friends of long standing and had a lot in common. They had grown up under the same conditions in new country, had gone through the Civil War together and each had taken an active part in governmental affairs.[1]

There was also a kinship between the Rogers and William Penn's youngest brother's wife, Mary Delilah (McNair) Adair. She was a granddaughter of John Rogers. Clement Vann Rogers was the grandson of Robert Rogers. John and Robert married sisters, Sarah and Lucy Cordery. In another generation, William Penn's maternal great-great-grandfather, Joseph Martin, and John Rogers, Clem's great great paternal grandfather, married sisters, Susannah and Elizabeth Emory.

The pioneer father of the Adairs was John Adair, a Scotsman, who married Gehoga Foster, a Cherokee. Their son, Walter Adair, married Rachel Thompson, daughter of William Thompson, an Englishman. Walter and Rachel's son, George Washington Adair, married Martha Martin, June 25, 1829, in Georgia. They were the parents of eight children and of these, William Penn Adair was the oldest. The others were Brice Martin, Walter Thompson, Mary Ellen, John Ticonoaly, Benjamin Franklin (the writer's father), Rachel Jane, and Cherokee Cornelia—for whom the writer was named. Their maternal grandfather was John Martin, who was a

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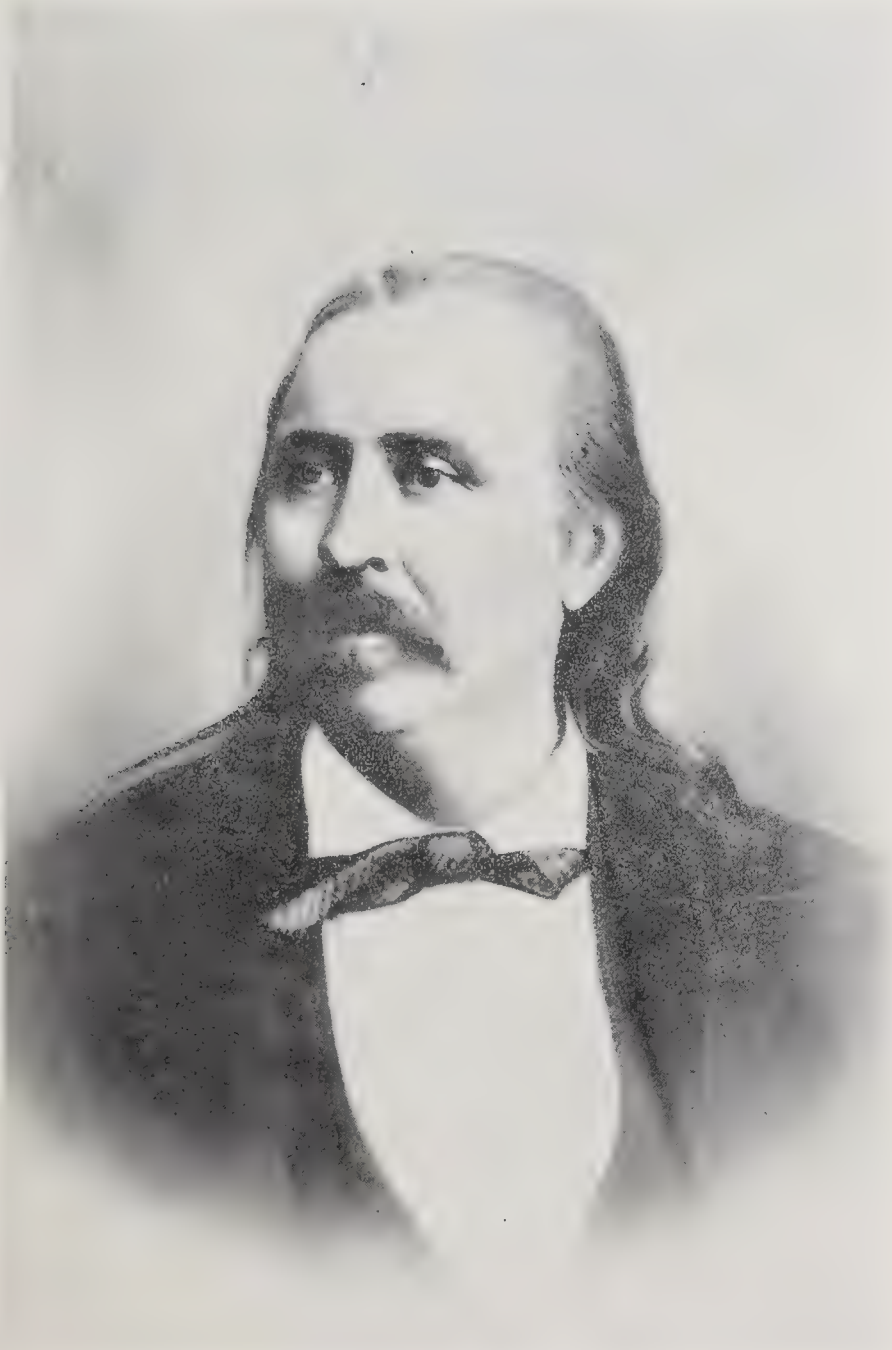
* Cherrie Adair Moore is a descendant of the noted Adair family of the Cherokee Nation. She and her husband, Junnis B. Moore, make their home at 631 South Bois D'arc, Tyler, Texas.—Ed.

[1] A statement signed by the writer, Cherrie A. Moore, lists the following as her sources used in the preparation of this article: Emmett Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921); Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "A Creek Pioneer" (Notes Concerning "Aunt Sue" Rogers and Her Family), *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1943); data from the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society; stories handed down in the Adair family; McNair and Adair genealogies; the Adair Family Bible; and her father's "Day Book."—Ed.



WILLIAM PENN ADAIR

member of the Cherokee Constitutional Convention of 1828, and was the first treasurer, and first Chief Justice of the Cherokee Nation.

William Penn Adair was born in Georgia on April 15, 1830. This year saw the enactment of a law providing for the removal of the eastern Indian tribes to the West beyond the Mississippi River, a plan that had been first promoted by President Thomas Jefferson. Six weeks after the birth of William Penn, Andrew Jackson, the newly elected President of the United States, signed a Congressional act setting forth the provisions for the removal of the Indian tribes to an Indian Territory lying west of the states and territories west of the Mississippi River. This act and the issues growing out of it had a deep affect on the life of William Penn Adair: They were the atmosphere in which he lived, they formed his character and gave him his place in the history of the Cherokees.

Following the Removal Act of 1830, pressure on the Cherokees from both U. S. and State officials finally culminated in a treaty at New Echota, the Cherokee capital in Georgia, December 29, 1835, providing for the sale of all the Cherokee lands in the East and the removal of the tribe to the Indian Territory. George Washington Adair, father of William Penn, was one of the signers of this treaty, and John Martin, the maternal grandfather, was member of the committee designated in the treaty to recommend those Cherokees who desired and were qualified to remain in Georgia as citizens of the State. Chief John Ross and the great majority of the Cherokee people were bitterly opposed to the New Echota Treaty, and refused to move west but were finally driven out of Georgia by U. S. troops. This was one of the great tragedies in Indian history. Yet those who signed the Treaty were patriotic citizens who did this for the good of all the Cherokees in the midst of grave conditions. These events caused a cleavage among the Cherokees that exists even to this day. Two bitterly opposing political parties arose: the Ross or Anti-treaty Party, led by John Ross, and the Treaty Party, in which the Adairs were outstanding leaders. Chief Ross and his followers arrived in the Cherokee Nation West in 1839. Members of the Treaty Party had left Georgia and settled in the new country west two or three years before this time.

Grandfathers, Martin and Adair, moved from Georgia in 1837, just before William Penn's seventh birthday—one year after the consumation of the treaty between the Chief, headmen, and people of the Cherokees. It isn't known just how long it took the families to make the journey, but with family, slaves and live stock, and only covered wagons in which to move, it must have taken them almost three months, if not more. Grandfather Adair settled on Saline Creek near Salina and Grandfather Martin made his home on Grand River near Locust Grove, two miles south of Grandfather Adair's.

The Adair residence, in Georgia, stood until a few years ago, when a lumber Company bought and wrecked it. The home of the McNairs-Mary Delilah Adair's people, is still standing, or was when some of the descendants visited it about three years ago. Both were large and roomy houses built in the old southern style.

The new homes for the families were soon built. Each was made of hewed logs filled with mortar. Spaces were left for windows, and a breeze-way and later when weather boarding was available, the home was dressed up with that. The house faced north and was two stories high, gabled roof, and, originally, had seven or eight rooms, but during the Civil War the rooms extending south from the west end were partially burned; these were torn away and never replaced. A smaller room extended from the east room called "the little room". Huge fireplace were in each. Living quarters finished, large fields were cleared and fenced; and to beautify the yard, old fashioned lilac bushes were set out. These had large bunches of fragrant lavender flowers, and were growing there so long, one row of five small lilac bushes set out, spread into a wide tangled hedge that was beautiful in the Spring.

It was an ideal place for a large family to live and grow up. Woods in which to hunt, creek and river in which to swim and fish, church and school within riding distance, relatives and friends not too far and who expected you to visit for a day, or week, if you desired. Slaves helped to make living much easier. There were always nurses for the little ones, maids for the kitchen and household chores, and plenty of farm hands. Grandfather planted a large orchard that furnished many a row of apples to roast in front of the fire, winter evenings. Both William Penn and Benjaman Franklin played the violin, and if the evenings were similar to the evenings during the author's life there, playing the "fiddle" was usually the evenings entertainment. Franklin played regular old fashioned "fiddling tunes." "Great big taters in Sandy Land," "Devils Hornpipe," "Pop goes the weasel," and many others.[2] He knew one classic, a cradle song, that was exquisitely lovely.

The Cherokees built many schools, for their greatest wish was to give all their children a good education. There were the Male and Female National Seminaries, which had courses equal to a Junior College, and, also, an Orphan Asylum, in which Cherokee orphans were well cared for mentally, physically and morally. Then there were church schools, or missions, built, by different church denominations. Dwight Mission was originally located in Arkansas, but when the Cherokees moved west into the Territory it was moved with them. Benjamin Franklin Adair spent some of his years there and once told of a scrape he got into. It seemed there was an apple orchard near by and some one suggested raiding it.

[2] The old Adair home burned in October, 1948.

WILLIAM PENN AND SARAH ANN ADAIR
(Married in 1861)

When the boys got there they found no one had brought a sack. Franklin, being the tallest of the bunch, took off his pants and offered them. The legs were tied and filled with apples, and "did fine as a substitute," he said.

William Penn Adair studied in the schools of the Nation, and later in the States, where he graduated in law. In due time, he became a member of the Cherokee Supreme Court, organized under the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation in 1839. This court was given jurisdiction over all members of the Nation whether by birth, marriage or adoption, continuing the jurisdiction of the court that had been established by the Western Cherokees when they moved from Arkansas to this new country assigned them in the Indian Territory, under the terms of their treaty with the United States in 1828. They had arrived the next year and established their government with written laws. A space of one mile square was set apart for the accommodation of the U. S. Agency for the tribe, a location about seven miles east of Fort Gibson. The agency building here was where the Cherokee Court was held in the trial of criminals. This was the meeting place of the court for many years after the arrival of the Eastern Cherokees or Ross Party.

The Masons were active in Arkansas and Flint Lodge No. 74 near present Stilwell was chartered by the Grand Lodge of Arkansas, in 1853. William Penn joined and was chosen secretary. The Grand Lodge was discontinued in 1867 but Flint Lodge continued its organization until the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory was organized at Caddo seven years later. Flint Lodge then applied for membership and was accepted, but became known as Lodge No. 5 of Vinita.

William Penn first married in 1861, Sarah Ann Adair, a second cousin. She was the daughter of Walter Scott and Nannie (Harris) Adair. Two daughters were born. Martha Caroline, who married George H. Lewis; and Mamie Elizabeth, who married Colonel Johnston Harris—chief of the Cherokees from 1893 to 1895. Sarah Ann Adair died in the late years of the Civil War.

In 1868, William Penn Adair married Susannah McIntosh Drew, daughter of William and Delilah Drew. After a honeymoon at Washington they made their home east of Adair, near the mouth of Spavinaw Creek and lived there intermittingly for seventeen years. When not at home they were usually at Washington; he as a delegate representing the Cherokees. They lived in a hotel at first, but found it inconvenient and too small for meetings with the other delegates, so moved to a large apartment. On reading an account of Aunt Sue's life there, as she told it, she leaves an impression that her life as a delegate's wife was more than glamorous. She and William Penn attended the inaugural ball when General Grant became President of the United States, and she frequently went with him on his missions to the White House. She also had

the pleasure of meeting both President Hayes, and President Garfield.

Aunt Sue described Uncle William as "having dark hair and eyes", and said he "stood six feet-two in his stocking feet". "He wore his hair long", and "was quiet and reserved". She also thought him "a fine lawyer." This was also the opinion of the historian, Joseph B. Thoburn, who said that William Penn Adair "was a shrewd lawyer and generally regarded as a leader among his people."[3] The picture of Uncle William verifies the length of his hair. It reached his shoulders and was in the same style and length as the hair dress of the Benjamin Franklin of early days. Starr, the Cherokee historian, said of him, he "was frankly agreeable—the ablest and most brilliant of all Cherokees."

William Penn was also kind, and a man of his word. For he kept to the best of his ability, a promise he made to his brother Brice Martin before his death, the first year of the war. Brice Martin asked him to care for and educate his four sons—the youngest was only a baby; in order that the promise be carried out, William Penn recorded it in his will. In this he spoke of the boys, and his desire. He wrote:

> "Brice Martin left considerable property for them [the four boys] but the U. S. Army, and the ravages of the late war destroyed all the property. I have however, provided for the children out of my own means, and still feel it my duty to do so. I desire my beloved wife, Sue M. Adair, out of proceeds of my claims mentioned, to give these children as good an education as possible and, as far as possible, look after their welfare."

Judging from his roles as mediator, senator, delegate, etc., William Penn's ambition, and one desire, was to use his knowledge of law to promote the welfare of the Cherokees, and their Nation; and the quickest and surest way of doing this was to plunge into politics. So in 1855, at the early age of twenty-five, he ran for the office of senator from Flint District and was elected. He was reelected in 1857 and 1859. Each was for a term of two years. War broke out between the States in 1861, and being a true Southerner, he joined the Confederates.

At first the Cherokees were divided in their opinion as to allegiance. Some thought that because the five civilized tribes, Cherokee, Creek, Chickasaw, Choctaws, and Seminoles, were wards of the U. S. Government they should remain neutral, and decided so. As the war progressed, the Cherokees saw how the Northern Indians were being mistreated, and being in sympathy with the Southern States decided to throw their forces into the Confederate cause. Their chief, John Ross had first talked neutrality, then later in a message to his people, he said that he had decided to make a treaty with the Con-

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[3] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *op. cit.*; Editor (J.B.T.), "The Indian Territory in 1878," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IV, No. 3 (September, 1926).—Ed.

federates with the stipulation that food and clothing be furnished the soldiers. This Treaty was made. In 1862, Chief Ross and Lewis Ross, his brother, who was treasurer of the Cherokee Nation was captured by Kansas troops of the Union Army, which escorted him and his family, and some of his friends to Fort Knox, Kansas. From there they proceeded to Pennsylvania and remained for the duration of the Civil War. John Ross' repudiation of the Confederate cause disrupted the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokees were divided in their sympathies: The followers of Chief John Ross were aligned with the Union cause, and were organized in the Federal Army forces operating in the Indian Territory; members of the old Treaty Party, followers of Stand Watie, remained with the Confederate forces, and were organized within the ranks of the Confederate Army in the Indian Territory. The Confederate Cherokees soon had to depend upon their own resources. The Confederate authorities sent some supplies at first but later supplies for the Cherokees were commandeered at Fort Smith. Then still later, reverses in the fighting and lack of Confederate funds meant discontinuance of everything promised the Indian troops in the Territory.

After John Ross went north the Confederate Cherokees called a Convention, and chose Stand Watie as Principal Chief, and Samuel Taylor, assistant Chief. Each district in the Nation sent three delegates to the convention. From the district of Saline, the delegates were James M. Bell, Joseph Lynch Martin, and Dr. Walter Thompson Adair. All were Adair kin. Dr. Walter Thompson Adair, was William Penn's brother. Leroy Keys, John Scrimsher, and Clement Vann Rogers (Will Rogers' father) represented Cooweescoowee District. Both Federal and Confederate Cherokees maintained a government throughout the war, from 1862 to 1867. Ross was retained as Chief of the Federal Cherokees. Stand Watie had already organized a company in 1861, that became a part of the Confederate Army and William Penn, Benjamin Franklin (brothers) and George W. Adair, (father), were members of Watie's company. George W. Adair was Quarter Master.

A year later a Cherokee Mounted Regiment was recruited, and William Penn was chosen Colonel. Joel Bryan Mayes, who later became the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, became Quarter Master. Clement V. Rogers was First Lieutenant. Later he was made Captain, and Benjamin Franklin Adair, Sergeant.

On October 28, 1863, in the midst of the fighting, Colonel Stand Watie's confederate forces burned the log capitol buildings at Tahlequah. And on the 29th of the same month and year they burned John Ross' home.

The Keetoowhas, or "Pin Indians," as the Cherokee secret society was called, joined the Federals. They were called "Pin Indians", because during the war, they wore two pins crossed on the

left coat lapel as an insignia. The organization was formed in 1859 by the Baptist missionary, Evans Jones for the betterment and good of the Cherokees but its members became partisan in the War. As Federals, they harrassed the Confederate Cherokees and made a practice of capturing valuable property and soldiers for exchange.

Word came to William Penn Adair that the "Pins" were after him, but he always managed to escape. One night, however, his company camped near the old home place and he couldn't resist visiting it and spending the night there. The family being in Texas for the duration of the war, no one was at the homeplace except the slaves who were caring for the place. It was said that William Penn had gone to bed in "the little room" and was asleep when he was awakened by a dream. He dreamed his brother Brice Martin, who had died early in the war, and was buried in the family cemetery nearby, came to him and told him to get up and dress. The Keetoowhas were coming. The dream was so real he got up and dressed, with the exception of his boots, then decided he had been foolish and went back to sleep. The dream came more urgently a second time, but being so completely tired he didn't rise. And the next thing he knew the "Pin Indians" were pulling him out of bed. They wouldn't even wait for him to pull on his boots and took him in his stocking feet. The Federal army headquarters were at Tahlequah at that time and they took him there, but liberated him a month or two later when the war ended.

The war over, both Northern and Southern Cherokees were called in by authorities at Washington to straighten up their national affairs. Each selected a delegation. The Southern delegates were John Rollin Ridge, Richard Fields, Soladin Watie, Elias Boudinot and William Penn Adair.

The Federal party included John Ross. He became ill during the new treaty negotiations at Washington and died there on August 1, 1866.

The gist of the new treaty was that the Ross treaty made with the Confederate States be declared void. The Cherokee Nation was recognized and all properties were restored regardless of any transaction during the War. New and more complete laws were made, giving the Cherokees more jurisdiction over their own affairs. Former negro slaves were given permission to choose their own place of residence. In fact every phase of Cherokee affairs was discussed and rectified to the best advantage. On the return of the delegates from Washington an election was held. Reverend Lewis Downing, who had served in the Union Army as Colonel in the Home Guard, was elected Principal Chief.

The trip to Washington with the Southern delegates began a twelve year period in which William Penn represented his people

regularly from 1866 to 1879 as delegate, with the exception of 1876. He also was mediator, along with H. D. Reece, to parley with the Shawnees in regard to their adoption into the Cherokee Nation, a few years after the War. The payment stipulated was for the land they were to occupy, and for their educational purposes.

Conditions after the war were pretty bad according to an eye witness who had been in the Nation before and after the war. Only blackened chimneys stood where most homes had been. Fences were burned and farms laid to waste. None entirely escaped. So to overcome this sad condition, and to replentish their treasury and try to obliterate all outward traces of the war, the Cherokees sold some of their unoccupied land to various tribes who removed to the Territory. The sale of the Cherokee Outlet, or "Strip", was later made and opened to white settlement by the famous run of 1893.

To bring in more revenue, the Cherokee National Council decided to develop their natural salt springs. These had been reserved by the Nation as national property. The salt springs, near the old Adair home place were leased to William Penn and he was given five years in which to develop the springs into a paying concern. During that time he was to receive all profit from sales of salt, but after the time limit expired, he was to pay the Nation two cents for every fifty pounds he sold. He gave bond, and security, as required by the laws regulating salines in the Nation, and started the project immediately. All springs were deepened. Large hollow logs were inserted, so a clear, clean flow of salt water—free of sand—could be obtained. Huge, very shallow iron pots were placed on brick structures, and in these the salt water was poured and evaporated. The salt turned out to be a dull gray and wasn't saleable, perhaps because of so much sulphur content; so the salt-making plant was abandoned. Full Blood Cherokees made use of the salt pots as long as they were there. They liked the salt; and liked making it. The salt-sulphur water looked very refreshing as it bubbled up out of the hollow logs, and fooled many a thirsty traveler. It took only one sip, however, to convince them it must be "Satan's own brew."

In 1879 the Cherokees bestowed upon William Penn Adair the honor of Assistant Principal Chief, for four years, but he was not to enjoy the distinction long. He died at Washington, October 23, 1880.

On receiving the message telling of his passing, the Council drew up resolutions of respect and grateful appreciation of his services to the Cherokees. The resolutions were as follows:

Whereas Col. Wm. Penn Adair, Asst. Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation died in the City of Washington D. C. Saturday the 23rd day of October 1880.

And whereas his remains now lie in state in the capital of the Nation—and whereas the Senate & Council now in session are desirous of hearing testimony to their high appreciation of the character and public services of their late distinguished fellow citizen—Therefore—

Be it Resolved by the National Council: That we record with deepest sorrow the death of Wm. Penn Adair, Asst. Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation—which occurred in the City of Washington D. C. Saturday the 23rd day of October A. D. 1880.

Resolved that the long, able efficient and faithful services rendered by Col. Adair as a member of the National Council, Asst. Principal Chief and as a delegate from the Cherokee Nation before the Government of the United States, entitle him to the thanks of the Cherokee people.

Resolved that the national Council desire to express of their approval and gratification that the remains of their Assistant Principal Chief have been brought to Tahlequah the seat of Government of the nation for interment—and will adopt the necessary steps to properly mark and perpetuate the place of his burial.

Resolved that a copy of these proceeding be entered upon the Journals of the two Houses of the National Council and also forwarded to the widow of Col. Adair with assurance of our sympathy and condolence for the said afflictions and bereavement which she is called upon to endure in the loss of her husband and protector.

Resolved that as a further testimonial of our respect for the services of Col. Adair as an Officer of the Nation and for his many virtues as a man and a fellow citizen—we will attend his funeral in a body today at such hour as may be appointed for his interment—in the following order towit: first the Masonic Fraternity, next the Executive, Supreme Court & Bar, Senate and the Council, and will wear for the usual time (30 days) the customary badge of mourning and the Capital building shall be draped in mourning.

Resolved that our thanks are due and are hereby tendered to Lafeyette Chapter No. 5 and Columbia Commanders No. 2 of the District of Columbia for the consideration and Honor bestowed upon the remains of Col. W. P. Adair, and also to Col. Graham of Columbia Commanders No. 2 and Lafayette Chapter No. 5 for accompanying the remains to this place.

Resolved that the National Council shall adjourn at 12 M. today to meet at 9 A.M. Tuesday Nov. 2nd 1880.

C. V. Rogers
Senate Committee Eli Spears
R. M. Wolfe

And three weeks later, in his annual message to the Cherokees, Chief Dennis B. Bushyhead—1879-88 said:

"It is with feelings of deepest sorrow and regret, that I inform you of the death of Hon. William Penn Adair, Assistant Chief of the Cherokee Nation. He died in the City of Washington Saturday, Oct. 23rd, at the age of 50 years. It is not necessary for me to repeat the history of his life; for his life is a prominent part of the history of this nation and embalmed in the memory of all its people. . . . . Born in the old nation, Colonel Adair removed to this country in 1837. The foundation of his education was laid in our public schools, to which he added in the State, until he rose to the prominent position of an eloquent member of the bar, of the Supreme Court of the Cherokee Nation. In 1852 he was elected

to the Senate of your legislature, in which he had served since almost continuously. In 1867 he was sent by you to represent and defend interests in Washington and . . . . since, with but two exceptions. In 1879 by the votes of our people, he was elected to serve assistant chief for four years. In the discharge of this honor and trust he acted well his part. A faithful honest and true patriot, and able statesman and kind friend, his death is a National loss—it is more, it is a loss to the Indian race, and will be felt keenly by every Nation and tribe, for his voice has been heard in appeal or defense for all, and they, as well as we, have looked up to him as a leader, counsellor and guide".

The body of William Penn Adair lies in the cemetery at Tahlequah, Oklahoma, formerly the capital of the old Cherokee Nation.

Only a few months elapsed between the birth of William Penn Adair Rogers, and the death of William Penn Adair. William Penn may not have had the pleasure of seeing Will Rogers, his young name sake, but it would have been natural for him to be very proud of him. Will lived six years longer than William Penn, but in their own way, their last days were somewhat alike. William Penn was trying to help the Cherokees regain their pre-war happiness and prosperity; and Will Rogers, home spun comedian, and movie-star, was contributing time, money, and spontaneous fun to lighten the load of our every-day living.

Will Rogers would say, "Get a few laughs, and do the best you can". He wasn't joking, and proved it, when he said, "It's great to be great, but it's greater to be human". He was human and became great. This could also be said of William Penn Adair, of whom Emmett Starr, the Cherokee historian, wrote: "He was frankly agreeable—the ablest and most brilliant of all the Cherokees."

EARLY HISTORY OF THE OKLAHOMA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

By Oscar W. Davison

Education in Oklahoma could not have made the progress it has without the aid and leadership of a number of organizations. Although many individuals have contributed generously of their time and money to improve education in the state, it has been through united effort that education has advanced to its present position in Oklahoma.

The first organizations formed in the state to promote public education were teachers' associations. On October 19, 1889, the first Saturday after the public schools were opened at Guthrie following the run into "Old Oklahoma", a group of far-sighted teachers met at Guthrie and organized the Oklahoma Teachers' Association. Thus was born an organization destined to exert tremendous influence on Oklahoma's educational history.

To the Oklahoma Education Association must go the credit for laying the foundation and continually carrying on the struggle for a state-supported public school system.

Frank Terry, superintendent of schools, Guthrie, was elected temporary president at the Guthrie meeting, with the following assistants: Miss Alma Carson, vice-president, H. A. Decker, secretary, Miss May I. Quick, assistant secretary, and Miss Carrie Anderson, treasurer. Plans were made for holding a territorial-wide meeting at Guthrie, which was called for Christmas day, 1889.

Thirty-two teachers responded to this call, and on December 25, 1889, the first regular meeting of the Oklahoma Teachers' Association was held. Most of the territorial towns were represented. E. P. Babcock, West Guthrie, was elected permanent president and the other officers included Miss Alma Carson of Guthrie, F. M. Umholtz of Oklahoma City, Miss Eliza Taylor of Kingfisher and P. M. Howe, of Stillwater, vice-presidents; Mrs. May D. Meadows of Guthrie, corresponding secretary; Miss Ollie McCormick of Edmond, recording secretary; and Mrs. Allie Kolklosch, Guthrie, treasurer.[1]

A special meeting of the teachers' association was held at Edmond, April 17-19, 1890. The teachers, even at this early date, were taking the lead in attempting to obtain urgently needed school legislation. A precedent was set by these pioneer teachers which has

[1] Clyde M. Howell, "The Oklahoma Teachers' Association," unpublished Master's thesis, 1936, University of Oklahoma, pp. 3-6; Marion Tuttle Rock, *Illustrated History of Oklahoma*, pp. 155, 156.

Past Presidents of Oklahoma Education Association, Photo 1950

been followed by other Oklahoma Education members to the present day. Various names and constitutions have been used as the association has grown in members and in strength from year to year. The state's entire educational progress is linked closely with these teachers' associations which have resolutely taken the lead in furthering Oklahoma's educational development.

At the Edmond meeting Guthrie was chosen as state headquarters, and members immediately began writing other teachers over the Territory, urging support for a free, tax-supported school system. They were anticipating prompt action by Congress in setting up a system of government which would include provisions for schools. They also recommended that another meeting be held soon to "discuss the formation of a school system and code of laws to be submitted to the legislature, to be held soon."[2]

Governor Asked Association to Draft School Code

Oklahoma's first territorial governor, George W. Steele, requested that a committee from the teachers' association be appointed to draft such a code. President Babcock appointed J. A. J. Bagus, Oklahoma City; G. D. Moss, Kingfisher; Mrs. Lucy Twyford, Mrs. Daisy Uhland Svegaberg and W. A. L. Hoff of Edmond; Henry C. Decker of Guthrie and F. M. Umholtz of Oklahoma City on the committee. Umholtz ultimately became chairman.[3] The committee worked tirelessly for three weeks. "Their work served as a basis for public school legislation during the first Territorial Assembly".[4]

The third teachers' convention was held at Norman, December 28, 29, and 30, 1891. A constitution and by-laws was adopted and the following officers were chosen: president, J. H. Parker, Kingfisher; vice-president, Miss Alma Carson, Guthrie; secretary, R. R. Talley, Norman; and treasurer, Miss Ollie McCormick, Edmond.

At the annual teachers' convention at Kingfisher in 1892 resolutions were passed urging the legislature to provide for issuing bonds in order that school houses could be built. The township system of school districts was endorsed. The *School Herald* was chosen as the official magazine of the association. J. H. Parker was re-elected president with the following other officers: vice-presidents, D. R. Boyd, Norman, W. W. Hutto, Stillwater and Sarah L. Bosworth, Guthrie; secretary, Della Smoke, Kingfisher; treasurer, S. E. Sanders, Kingfisher.

Next year the association met in Oklahoma City, December 27-29. A resolution requested that Congress appropriate $100,000 to sup-

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[2] *Ibid.*

[3] E. Sherman Nunn, "A History of Education in Oklahoma Territory," unpublished Doctor's dissertation, 1941, University of Oklahoma, p. 48.

[4] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma, *A History of the State and Its People,* II, p. 729; Howell, *op. cit.,* pp. 95, 96.

port the schools of the Cherokee outlet, which had just been opened to white settlers in the greatest land rush of all history. D. R. Boyd, Norman, president of Oklahoma Territory University, was elected president. According to the *School Herald* of January, 1895, the attendance was small. "The hard times and lack of public funds had compelled many schools to close so that many teachers could not afford the expense. There was no free entertainment and no reduction in hotel rates. Teachers were getting their pay in 60 per cent to 70 per cent warrants." A resolution was adopted asking the territorial legislature to provide a university and normal school for the colored teachers of the territory, to be located at Langston.[5]

An enthusiastic meeting with a large attendance was reported for the 1895 session at Guthrie. At the 1896 meeting in Oklahoma City the following recommendations were made:

1. Establishment of a county highschool in each county.
2. County superintendent to be selected in non-partisan manner.
3. Make the time of the annual school board meeting to follow the time for assessment of property.
4. Changes in the requirements for teachers' certificates:
    a. For third grade certificate, add U. S. history and psychology. Drop composition.
    b. For second grade, drop bookkeeping.
    c. Make provision for renewal of first grade certificates without examination where 90 per cent is average.
    d. 90 per cent in any branch to become a permanent grade.

The next two annual meetings of the association, at El Reno and Oklahoma City, reflected steady growth. Patriotism was stressed during the 1898 meeting, a war year. At the Oklahoma City convention in 1899 an inter-territorial association was proposed. A reception was held for Indian Territory teachers. One of the resolutions opposed the proposed sale of school lands five years after statehood, and a memorial to Congress sought the establishment of a free public school system for Indian Territory.[6]

Teacher Retirement and Weak School Aid Proposed

A territorial tax for weak school aid was first proposed by W. S. Calvert during the 1900 territorial convention at Guthrie, and in 1901 the resolutions asked for a teacher retirement system.

In 1902 the enactment of a compulsory attendance law was sought. A crowd of 50 or more from Oklahoma Territory attended the National Education Association convention at Boston in 1903. Professor A. R. Hickam of Alva organized the western Oklahoma delegation while Superintendent Benedict, Muskogee, always directed the group attending from Indian Territory. Hickam was elected Oklahoma's NEA director for the following year.[7] The 1903 and

[5] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-15.
[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 20-23.
[7] *School Herald*, XI, No. 9 (July, 1903) pp. 1, 8, ff.; Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

1904 OEA meetings recommended the retention of the state school lands forever as the best investment for the school funds. At the 1905 meeting at Enid the chief topic for discussion was the pending statehood bill.[8]

Teachers Associations in Indian Territory

Meanwhile in the Indian Territory, teachers conventions had been organized for several years. Pauls Valley claims the distinction of organizing the first association in the territory. It was known as the Chickasaw Teachers Association, and was composed of teachers in the Chickasaw nation. Superintendent John W. Wilkinson of Pauls Valley issued the original call for the convention. He was later joined by Superintendents N. T. Pool of Purcell, J. R. Hendrix of Ardmore and L. M. Logan of Wynnewood. "A generous response was given this call and many prominent educators from other states attended, among whom was president R. H. Jesse of Missouri University."[9] Apparently this association met at Ardmore May 5, 1899. Superintendent Pool of Purcell was president.[10]

The Chickasaw teachers association met at Wynnewood November 30, 1900. The president was N. T. Pool of Purcell. Professor W. S. Sutton of Texas University lectured at the 1902 meeting, held at Marietta November 27-29. W. H. Woods of Purcell was president in 1905. The association met at Purcell that year, at Pauls Valley in 1904, Wynnewood in 1905 and at Sulphur in 1907. Officers that year were Charles Evans, Ardmore, president; W. C. French, Wynnewood, vice-president; and Essie Bell, Sulphur, secretary. B. B. Cobb, secretary of the Texas State Teachers Association, and French once taught together in Wynnewood Academy. French later became dean of George Washington University, Washington, D. C. The Chickasaw meetings were continued awhile after statehood.[11] The district associations eventually replaced all the territorial associations.

Other Indian Territory associations were the Rock Island Teachers Association, the Choctaw Teachers Association and various county associations. The Rock Island association met at Marlow in 1903, and at Chickasha, Marlow or Duncan for the next several years. It was composed of counties "along the Rock Island railroad, Chickasha and south." The Choctaw association met in various towns in the Choctaw country. In December, 1906, in convention at Poteau, E. E. Eld of Tuskahoma Institute was elected president; and Miss Boyd of Jones Academy, secretary. In 1907 the Choctaw

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[8] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-30.

[9] *Second Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1908, p. 117.

[10] *School Herald*, VII, No. 6 (April, 1899) p. 2 (program of meeting.)

[11] *Ibid;* Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 79, ff.; *School Herald*, XIII, No. 5 (March, 1905) p. 14, *et passim;* No. 6 (April, 1905) p. 2; XIV, No. 4 (March, 1906) p. 36; No. 5 (April, 1906) p. 29.

Teachers Association met with the Indian Territory Association at Muskogee.

Apparently the first meeting of the Indian Territory Teachers Association was held at South McAlester during the Christmas holidays, 1898. The address of welcome was given by Philip Brewer. The association endorsed the recommendations of the Dawes Commission, the Indian Inspector, the Secretary of the Interior, and the President of the United States with regard to the education of citizens of the United States in the Indian Territory. The second annual meeting was held at Wagoner in 1899. Ed Mardaugh was the principal speaker.[12]

The 1900 Indian Territory convention met at South McAlester, December 30, 31. They had an enrollment of seventy-five. Officers elected were: Benjamin S. Coopock, Vinita, president; E. R. Rishel, vice-president; John M. Simpson, second vice-president, and Miss Alice Robertson, secretary-treasurer. At this meeting a resolution requested Congress to provide schools for children of non-citizens in Indian Territory.

In 1902 the Association met again in South McAlester during the Christmas holidays. In their resolutions they pointed out that since the government had provided school land funds for the education of children in Oklahoma, some funds should be provided for children of Indian Territory. William Gay of South McAlester was elected president; J. R. Hendrix, Ardmore, E. L. Enley, Tulsa and Etta J. Rider, Tahlequah, vice-presidents; Claude Goodwin, Wetumka, recording secretary; T. F. Pierce, McAlester, transportation secretary; Eli Mitchell, South McAlester, treasurer; J. G. Masters, Jones Academy, J. W. Pickens, Canadian, and Gabe Parker, Academy, executive committee.

In February, 1903 the meeting was held in South McAlester. There were seventy-five teachers present. Most of the discussion at this meeting centered around the question of entering manual training as a subject in the curriculum.[13]

The Indian Territory Teachers Association met in Ardmore December 28, 29, 1904, with sixty-one teachers enrolled. A nominal enrollment fee of twenty-five cents was charged. "President George Beck of Tishomingo is a master hand with the gavel and did everything possible to make the meeting a success." The convention appointed a committee on "Communications between teachers seeking positions and those desiring to hire them." Territorial Superintendent Benedict's course of study was adopted. At this meeting sentiment developed for a joint meeting with the Oklahoma Education Association the following year. A committee was appointed

[12] *School Herald*, VII, No. 4 (February, 1899) pp. 10, 11.
[13] Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

to organize a School Masters' Club in Indian Territory. Indian Territorial officers elected were: J. G. Masters, Jones Academy, president; W. K. Harris, Sulphur, first vice-president; Bruce McKinley, second vice-president; Alice Fryer, secretary; and Meta Chestnut, Jones Academy, treasurer.[14]

The eighth annual session of the Indian Territory Teachers Association met in South McAlester December 28 to 30, 1905. At this meeting the Superintendents and Principals Association was organized. Over seventy-five attended. Principal G. W. Horton of Broken Arrow was elected president, and G. E. Parker, principal of Armstrong Academy, secretary. Supervisor Walter Fallwell of the Creek Nation spoke on "What Our Schools May Expect From Statehood." Talks on the advantages of consolidation, better attendance and longer terms were made by Supervisor Walter Falwell. Falwell opposed joint statehood, and some spirited debates on this question followed.[15]

Both of these meetings were well attended and the sessions were declared the most successful and interesting in history. One of the Indian Territory association resolutions was:

> To the Senate and the House of Representatives: Whereas, under existing conditions neither the congressional appropriation nor the tribal funds for the support of the schools in the Indian Territory are available after March 4, 1906, and nearly 1000 schools are dependent upon them, we most respectfully and earnestly petition your honorable body to make immediate provision for their continuance during the remainder of the fiscal year.
>
> It is of greatest possible interest to the Indian Territory that there be an emergency bill passed by Congress continuing the country schools. If these schools close on March 4 it will result in great hardship and many of the school buildings will be lost for that purpose as it is agreed that they are to revert to the person on whose land they are located when no longer used for school purposes.

The following officers of the Indian Territory Association for the 1906 term were elected: G. W. Horton, Broken Arrow, president; J. A. Barnes, Nowata, vice-president; Mary S. Ogden, McAlester, secretary; Charles Comstock, Ft. Gibson, treasurer; executive committee: Charles Evans, Ardmore, chairman; C. W. Briles, Muskogee, and J. G. Masters, Wilburton.[16]

The second annual session of the Indian Territory Superintendents and Principal Association met at South McAlester December 27 and 28, 1905. A good attendance was reported. Officers elected were: D. Frank Redd, Muskogee, president; B. H. Locke, South McAlester, secretary; executive committee: Charles Evans, Ardmore, N. S. Cowart, Holdenville, and J. C. Tucker, Coalgate.

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[14] *School Herald*, XIII, No. 4, (February, 1905) p. 2; Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 77.
[15] *School Herald*, XIII, No. 8 (June, 1905) p. 2.
[16] Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 78; *School Herald*, XIV, No. 2 (January, 1906) p. 31.

South McAlester also was set as the place for the third annual meeting.[17]

In April of 1906 an article appeared in the *School Herald,* written by L. B. Snider, making a plea to unite the two associations of Oklahoma.

Muskogee was selected as the host city for the Indian Territorial Teachers convention in 1906. C. W. Briles presided in the absence of the president, G. W. Horton, Colbert, who was attending the meeting of the Oklahoma Territorial Teachers Association at Shawnee. Addresses were made by Col. Robert L. Owen, President A. Grant Evans of Henry Kendall College, and by Calvin Ballard, supervisor of Choctaw schools, Muskogee. Resolutions urged that one uniform constitution be adopted for all the state; that prohibition as required by the Enabling Act for Indian Territory apply also to Oklahoma Territory; that the constitutional convention enact measures prohibiting child labor; and that the convention use all its power so that white residents would not have to bear all the expenses of maintaining the public schools. This meeting gave authority to the officers to combine with the Territorial Teachers Association of Oklahoma and apparently was the last meeting of the organization.[18]

In 1906 the Indian and Oklahoma Territorial Educational Associations held their first joint meeting at Shawnee. G. W. Horton was president of the Indian Territory Association and Robert L. Knie headed the Oklahoma Territory Association. Delegates to each association met separately at first to consider officially uniting. A new constitution combining the two associations was then adopted.

Resolutions favored "consolidation of rural schools; county high schools; two or more normal schools on the east side; permanent retention of the school land; prorating the railroad tax throughout the state; constitutional provision for the office of county superintendent; compulsory education; uniform textbooks; and made the *Oklahoma School Herald* the official organ of the Association." Frank Buck, Guthrie, was elected first president of the combined associations. Other officers elected were N. S. Cowart, Wilburton, vice-president; Maude E. Widdeman, Anadarko, secretary; E. S. McCabe, Kingfisher, treasurer; and J. G. Masters, Tulsa, W. S. Staley, Chickasha, and A. E. Kersey, Newkirk, members of the executive committee.[19]

Local Associations

County teachers' associations were formed soon after Oklahoma was settled. Nearly every county in Oklahoma Territory had a

[17] *School Herald,* XIV, No. 2 (January, 1906) p. 39.
[18] *Ibid.,* XV, No. 1 (January, 1907) p. 19; Howell, *op. cit.,* p. 79.
[19] Howell, *op. cit.,* pp. 31, 32.

county organization by 1892. Many of these revolved around the county institutes held each summer. County associations often have taken the lead in bringing new school legislation to the parent OEA. Few OEA drives would have been successful without the assistance of the local, county, and district associations.

Local associations have been perfected in most of the larger cities. Sometimes these are OEA locals, sometimes they are classroom teacher units. Some of the district associations were organized fairly early. A Northwest district meeting was held at Alva in 1899. A portion of this district withdrew in 1920 and formed the Northern district. The Southwest district apparently was organized in 1899, and the Panhandle in 1912, at Liberal, Kansas.[20]

In the Indian Territory, district associations were not formed until after statehood. The Choctaw, Chickasaw, Rock Island and similar associations were forerunners of the Central, East Central, Southeastern and other district associations.

Many strong sub-divisions of the OEA have been organized. The Oklahoma Association of School Administrators for years has been a potent force in molding favorable public opinion for education in the state. The Oklahoma Association of Secondary School Principals, the Oklahoma Classroom Teachers Association, the Oklahoma Association of County Superintendents, the Oklahoma Rural Teachers Association and others have all worked tirelessly and faithfully to raise Oklahoma's educational standards. When some of these branches were first organized, at times spirited rivalry occurred among them and sometimes between one of them and the parent OEA, but this soon subsided. All groups soon realized that only through united effort could educational victories be won over the forces constantly fighting schools.

The colored teachers of Oklahoma also had organized educational associations similar to those of white teachers. In 1904, for example, their seventh annual territorial convention was held at Guthrie, closing December 28. Addresses were made by L. W. Baxter, E. S. Vaught, G. D. Moss, E. P. McCabe, F. F. Bailey, T. W. Conrad and others. Resolutions endorsed compulsory attendance laws, the Hamilton statehood bill, and commended the work of President Inman E. Page of Langston University. In 1905 the association met at Langston, December 27-29. "Their program was elaborate and carried out with enthusiasm and great practical benefit. The attendance was 175."[21]

The first state teachers meeting after statehood was held at Tulsa, December 26 to 28, 1907. Frank Buck opened the meeting,

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 82, ff.

[21] *Oklahoma School Herald*, XIII, No. 4 (February, 1905) p. 13; XIV, No. 2 (January, 1906) p. 39.

but announced that because he had resigned as superintendent of the Guthrie schools and no longer was a teacher, the constitution forbade him to serve as president. He then presented the gavel to vice-president N. S. Cowart, Wilburton, who presided over the convention. A special train to Glenpool, "the largest oil field in the world" was provided for the teachers by the host city, and several hundred teachers took advantage of the excursion. Resolutions favored establishment of three normal schools and an institute for the deaf and blind in Eastern Oklahoma; the establishment of a teachers college at Oklahoma University to enable normal school graduates to complete their degrees; uniform textbooks, and a textbook commission of six members. Charles Evans, city superintendent of schools, Ardmore, was elected president.

Evans Abolished Reading Papers at Convention

Prior to the 1908 convention at Shawnee, President Charles Evans went into a hardware store and purchased a hammer, which he used throughout the meeting for a gavel! One of his first acts was to abolish the reading of all papers at this convention. A feature of the program was a symposium on "Equalization of Taxes for Public Schools." A resolution requested enactment of a law allowing teachers to contract for three years.[22]

Superintendent Charles Evans was "the chief instrument in welding the two territories together . . . . . He made more addresses to teachers and students than any other man in the state." At the Cleveland NEA meeting in 1908 Evans was elected vice-president. Superintendent Lynn Glover, Bartlesville, was elected NEA director for Oklahoma.[23] A complete list of Oklahoma officers and directors of the National Education Association is shown in the appendix.

An early indication of the strength the OEA some day would have was shown in the election of 1908. A group of lessees had initiated a bill to sell the school lands. They had a powerful organization behind this bill, and were determined to put it over at the polls. When a majority of the teachers of Oklahoma organized against the bill, they accused the teachers of meddling in politics. But the teachers did not back down. They chose Professor L. J. Abbot of Central State Normal, Edmond, to lead their fight against the bill. Abbott was "one of the shrewdest writers in the new state." Typical of his writings is the following:[24]

> There are in the state of Oklahoma, approximately, ten thousand teachers and ten thousand lessees; and these were divided on this issue: "Shall the school lands be sold?" The lessees were interested primarily;

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[22] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-37; personal conferences with Dr. Charles Evans at annual OEA past presidents' dinners, 1947-50.

[23] *School Herald*, XVII, No. 6 (September, 1909) pp. 15-21.

[24] Editorial, "The School Master in Politics", *School Herald*, XVI, No. 10 (December, 1908) pp. 3, 4.

the teachers were interested only for the common good. However, the result of the election showed that the school-master in politics is a power to be reckoned with.

The *Herald* wrote further:

"But against this odds the excellent work of the teachers with pen and pamphlet won a very decisive victory over other political forces and saved the schools of the state from a material loss by the premature sale of public school lands."

The teachers favored the sale of public school lands only when the land had materially increased in value.[25]

Civil service for teachers was recommended by the 1909 convention at Oklahoma City, and E. D. Cameron, president, strongly urged the establishment of rural high schools, or consolidated schools, throughout the state. A change was made in the constitution so that officers would be chosen by an electoral commission composed of one delegate from each county.

President Cameron, speaking on civil service for teachers, pointed out that "the teacher is following a lofty profession and does not work exclusively for money, but he has to have money to live on, and the occupation of the teacher should be made more secure and less uncertain." He also recommended a minimum school term of seven months for every district in the state.[26] The time of holding the annual meeting was changed from December to February. Consequently, no convention was held in 1910. However, two meetings were held in 1911.[27]

Muskogee was host city to the state teachers' convention, February 22-24, 1911. J. B. Taylor, Oklahoma City, presided as president. Hamlin Garland was one of the chief lecturers. Resolutions requested that a State Board of Education be set up; that a constitutional levy be enacted providing sufficient state funds to maintain at least a five months school term; and that an Educational Commission be appointed. An amendment was made in the constitution giving the Executive Committee authority to set the date for the annual convention. The Executive Committee then reverted to the Christmas holidays as the date for the next annual session. Thus two meetings occurred in 1911.[28]

The next session of the state convention was held in Oklahoma City, December 27-29, 1911, with 3,400 teachers present. Thomas W. Butcher, Enid, was president. "Mr. Butcher made an excellent presiding officer. He was determined to keep every semblance of politics out of the association, and the way he dispatched the business

[25] *School Herald*, XVI, No. 10 (December, 1908) p. 4.
[26] *Ibid.*, XVII, No. 6 (September, 1909) pp. 15-21.
[27] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37; *Third Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1910, pp. 21-65.
[28] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41; *School Herald*, XIX, No. 3 (March, 1911) pp. 6, 7.

of the meeting met the approval of all."[29] Some "strong discussions of live topics were presented", among them the hotly debated Akin bill. Recently introduced in the legislature, this bill provided for the abolishment of fourteen state schools. Most teachers opposed the bill vigorously. So intense did the feeling become that the rural teachers section of the OEA flatly refused to allow Mr. Akin or anyone else to discuss the bill during this session.[30]

An organization called the Public School Officers' Association was formed at Guthrie, April 1, 1908, composed of the city and county superintendents. W. E. Gill, Osage county superintendent, made the original suggestion that such an association be formed. R. H. Wilson of Chickasha was elected president and Roy C. Cain of Guthrie was chosen secretary-treasurer. Gill was appointed a member of the committee on resolutions. The purpose of the association was "to improve and develop the school system of the state." Annual meetings were to be held. The group urged the legislature to enact the school laws of Oklahoma Territory for the new state as provided in the constitution "making only such changes as are necessary to conform to the new and changed conditions which statehood has brought about."[31]

The Public School Officers' Association met at the city hall in Guthrie January 12, 13, 14, 1910. W. E. Gill, Pawhuska, was president and Neil Humphrey, Guthrie, was secretary-treasurer. Governor Haskell and J. D. Benedict gave the principal addresses. Each president of a state school gave a report of his institution.

President Gill Prophesied Television

W. E. Gill served as president of the Oklahoma Education Association in 1912. The meeting was held at Oklahoma City, December 26-28. President Gill advocated "better rural schools and spoke favorably of the consolidation of schools in townships. . . . . He also dwelt on the matter of pay for teachers, asserting that the average rural teacher is woefully underpaid and that some action should be taken to secure larger salaries in order that rural teachers may be enabled to take advantage of the benefits offered by summer normal courses." Mr. Gill then prophesied that the time would come when "by means of an electro-telephonograph instrument" an administrator could see and address all the schools under his supervision simultaneously.[32] Forty years later we see his prophesy

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[29] *School Herald*, XX, No. 1 (January, 1912) p. 8.

[30] Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 41; *Fourth Biennial Report of State Superintendent*, 1912, p. 9.

[31] *School Herald*, XVI, No. 5 (May, 1908) pp. 11-12.

[32] W. E. Gill, scrapbook. (Mr. Gill served as OEA president in 1912, and has kept a scrapbook of educational meetings and organizations in Oklahoma since statehood. He was kind enough to lend the author this invaluable book to help in the preparation of this manuscript.) *School Herald*, XVII, No. 10 (December, 1909) pp. 28, 29 (program of meeting).

practically coming true through television and electric central communication systems.

Gill suggested enactment of a state tax levy to be distributed among all the public schools after local levies were made; urged state aid for rural school supervision, thus "giving more permanence, pay and power to the better county superintendents"; and recommended a law giving school officers full authority to force children into the public schools, with a provision to pay truant officers. He also favored the election of city and county superintendents by school boards for a term of four years, with a gradual raising of the standard of eligibility of both administrators and teachers.[33]

Doctor Stratton D. Brooks, president of the University of Oklahoma, was elected OEA president in 1913, and L. E. Weatherwax, Muskogee, was chosen secretary. Prior to the 1912 meeting the *Oklahoma School Herald* sternly rebuked school board members who were not cooperating in securing teachers' attendance at state conventions, stating: "That member of the school board who refused to pay the teacher's salary during the time she attends the association has no business on the board and the sooner he is kicked off the better."[34]

A new method of electing OEA officers was used in 1913 at Tulsa. It provided that "all officers of the association shall be nominated and elected in open convention by members who have paid the regular enrollment, provided, that no unit rule shall be adopted by any county". The new election system did not seem to work any too well. J. G. Masters of Tulsa was elected president by a very small majority over Superintendent E. S. Monroe of Muskogee and A. W. Duff of Mangum; E. S. Monroe, Muskogee, was elected vice-president; R. I. Bilyeau, Enid, secretary-treasurer.[35]

J. G. Masters, Tulsa, served as president in 1914, and the war in Europe was the center of discussion at the state convention in Oklahoma City. Charles W. Briles, Ada, was president in 1915, B. C. Klepper, Shawnee, was secretary-treasurer, and J. W. Cooper, Alderson, W. C. French, Lawton, and Roy Gittinger, Norman, were members of the Executive Committee. The convention again was held in Oklahoma City. The resolutions adopted requested: (1) A law repealing the five-mill limit, which may be levied without special election; (2) A minimum term of seven months; (3) Compulsory education for all illiterates; (4) Five hundred dollars to a committee to investigate teachers' pensions.[36]

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[33] *Ibid.; Progress, A Magazine of Current Events and Education,* II, No. 5 (January, 1913, pp. 132-135. Henceforth referred to as *Progress.*

[34] Editorial, XX, No. 10 (December, 1912) p. 5.

[35] Howell, *op. cit.*, p. 43; *Progress,* II, No. 5 (January, 1913) p. 134.

[36] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-47; OEA Executive Committee Minutes, January 1, 1916.

At the 1916 state meeting, in Oklahoma City, a proposal was adopted to re-organize the teachers' association at the next meeting. Mrs. Susan R. Fordyce, Shawnee, was elected president; R. L. McPheron, McAlester, vice-president, and Gladys Whittet, Oklahoma City, secretary. Superintendent E. S. Monroe of Muskogee was sent to the NEA meeting in New York City to collect information on teachers' pensions.

The new reorganizations bill called for the discontinuance of the state meeting, the district meetings to take the place of the state conventions. It was necessary for four district associations to ratify the proposal before it could go into effect. This was not done. The new bill. then was taken before the state association at the 1917 meeting, where it again was rejected.[37]

A new committee was appointed by B. F. Nihart, Edmond, newly elected president, as follows: Mrs. Susan R. Fordyce, W. G. Masterson, John G. Mitchell, M. H. Shepard, A. W. Fanning and Hugh A. Carroll. This group framed a new OEA constitution, which was adopted after much discussion at the 1918 convention in Oklahoma City. It provided for the election of officers by the board of directors, instead of by OEA members in attendance at the convention.[38] This constitution was destined to last until 1945, the year the author served as OEA president. Several amendments were added during this time, but few changes were made in its basic structure. Such features as the election of officers by the executive committee, and similar provisions remained until a completely new constitution was adopted in 1945.

The first board of directors under the 1918 constitution met in Oklahoma City January 4, 1919 and elected A. C. Parsons, Norman, president; W. G. Masterson, McAlester, vice-president; John G. Mitchell, Pryor, treasurer; and M. H. Shepard, Chickasha, temporary secretary. At the May 4 meeting W. C. Canterbury of Checotah was elected permanent secretary at a salary of $3,000 per year and expenses. Permanent offices were established in Oklahoma City. The board also decided to publish a magazine, to be called *The Oklahoma Teacher*. The publishers of *The School Herald* offered to sell their paper to the OEA. The offer was refused. The first issue of *The Oklahoma Teacher* came off the press in September, 1919.[39]

Year by year following adoption of the 1918 constitution the OEA became a greater force in unifying and strengthening the

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[37] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50; *School Herald*, XXVI, No. 1 (January, 1918) p. 33; OEA Executive Committee Minutes, June 6, 1916, ff.

[38] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51; *School Herald*, XXXI, No. 9 (December, 1918) pp. 339, 348-350.

[39] Howell, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53, 56; OEA minutes of Board of Directors, January 4, 1919 and May 3, 1919.

teachers of Oklahoma. Just prior to the 1948 convention, the *Tulsa World* described the growth and expansion of the OEA as follows:[40]

> When Tulsa is inundated Thursday by some 12,000 to 14,000 teachers here for the annual convention of the Oklahoma Education Assn', 59 years will have passed in review since the "horse and buggy" days of Oklahoma education . . . . . Today . . . . the group hasn't lost its fighting spirit which only recently rose up to combine with the newspapers, P-TA and women's organizations to get the four better school amendments passed.

A. G. Bowles, former principal of Tulsa's Springdale elementary school, had been with the OEA 43 years. He had attended nearly every convention since 1905, when he joined the Oklahoma Territory Association in Kingfisher county. He told a Tulsa reporter in 1948, shortly before his death:

> During one bitter session, the date of which Bowles is uncertain about, the teachers became incensed at the then state superintendent over matters of policy and very nearly booed him off the speakers' platform where he had been invited to speak. As it was, the superintendent was so flustered by the angry teachers that he was unable to make his speech. . . . .
>
> The OEA group was organized permanently in 1918 and from a beginning of approximately 2,000 members, it has grown to its present enormous size. It is a powerful group whose representatives work constantly in Oklahoma City for its ideas which sometimes agree and sometimes clash with those of the voters and lawmakers.

Bowles then mentioned some of the outstanding contributions the OEA has made to education as follows:

> We brought about the equalization of education throughout the state by gaining approval for state aid to districts which had weak schools that needed financial aid. At a cost of $3,000, the OEA in 1923 carried the fight on state aid to the Supreme Court and the favorable decision gained formed a background for all later school finance bills. . . . .

Another OEA sponsored bill, passed by the Legislature in 1929, "places the sole certificate issuing authority in the hands of the state board of education instead of conflicting groups."[41]

OEA Accomplishment Summarized

A summary of part of the many OEA sponsored accomplishments follows:

1. Drafted code of laws that served as basis for Oklahoma's first school legislation, in 1890, at the request of the first territorial governor, G. W. Steele.
2. Influenced the use and control of school land monies.
3. Helped secure legislation for and location of six teacher training institutions.
4. In 1808, defeated at the polls an initiated bill to sell the school lands, over opposition of powerful block of 10,000 lessees. Professor L. J. Abbot, Edmond, was selected by the teachers to lead the fight.

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[40] Marion Rogers, "OEA Fights For Education", *Tulsa World*, Sunday, February 8, 1948, p. 1, Magazine Section.

[41] *Ibid.* A list of OEA presidents, the place and date of the annual conventions, and the number attending or total yearly membership is shown in Appendix A.

5. Secured inclusion of uniform textbook law in constitution, and vitalization by the first Legislature.
6. Recommended setting up of State Board of Education; passed by Legislature in 1911.
7. As early as 1900, W. S. Calvert proposed a territorial tax for weak school aid during the Guthrie Teachers' convention. First state aid bill passed in 1918; OEA sponsored House Bill 212 passed in 1935 marked first major step in substituting state funds for rapidly declining local revenue.
8. Raised professional standards of the teaching profession.
9. Helped establish the graduate school of education at the University of Oklahoma in 1909.
10. In 1911, and again in 1912, led bitter fight and defeated the Akin bill to abolish 14 state schools.
11. In 1926, obtained passage of bill to secure school funds on deposit in banks.
12. Led in securing enactment of legislation setting up Oklahoma Tax Commission in 1935.
13. Waged never-ending battle for teacher retirement system, passed at polls in 1942. OEA resolutions before statehood were urging passage of such a law.
14. Initiated the following four Better Schools Amendments, winning decisive victory at the polls in 1946 against overwhelming odds:
    1. Raised allowable millage voted annually by school districts from ten to fifteen mills.
    2. Gave county commissioners authority to levy an additional one mill over the county for separate school buildings.
    3. Directed legislature to appropriate state aid for common schools to extent of $42 per capita.
    4. Provided for free textbooks for pupils of common schools.

The OEA has had only five full-time secretaries. W. C. Canterbury served from May 4, 1919 until his death June 28, 1920. M. A. Nash was then elected secretary. He served until he took office as state superintendent in January, 1923. M. R. Floyd, Vinita superintendent, succeeded Nash, serving until July 7 of that year. Clyde Howell, chief high school inspector, was then chosen executive secretary, and his long and popular tenure continued from 1923 until 1948, when he asked to be relieved as executive-secretary. His request was granted and he was made associate secretary.

A new OEA position had been created following the adoption of the 1945 constitution, that of executive manager. Joe Hurt, Edmond, was the first to hold this position, but after a few months he resigned to re-enter private business. Ferman Phillips, Atoka school superintendent and state senator, was then named manager. One of his first tasks was to lead the important campaign which ended with the adoption of the four Better Schools Amendments in 1946. Phillips became executive secretary of the association in 1948 and the title "executive manager" was dropped.

New Headquarters Building of the Oklahoma Education Association, completed 1951.

Since the 1918 reorganization the OEA has also had only two treasurers. When John G. Mitchell was elected to this office in 1919, he began a tenure of office that lasted twenty-eight years. During this time Mitchell was superintendent of schools at Pryor, president of Central State College, Edmond; superintendent of the Seminole city schools; and director of certification for the State Board of Education. He was succeeded in 1947 by A. L. Taylor, Bethany school superintendent. Taylor, now head of the department of Special Education in the State Department of Education, holds the office of OEA treasurer today.

In January, 1951, the directors and clerical staff of the Oklahoma Education Association moved into their new air conditioned, two story office building with adjacent auditorium, located two blocks northwest of the State Capitol. Utilizing the latest style of architecture designed for letting in plenty of light, the building will be very useful as a meeting place for Oklahoma's 18,000 school teachers, and will add immeasurably to the growing prestige of this organization.

APPENDIX A

ANNUAL MEETINGS AND PRESIDENTS OF THE STATE TEACHERS ORGANIZATION IN OKLAHOMA

Year	Place and Date of Convention	President	Attendance
1889	Guthrie, October 19 (Organization Meeting)	Frank Terry, Guthrie	
1889	Guthrie, December 25-27	Frank Terry, Guthrie	22
1890	Edmond, April 17-19	E. P. Babcock, Guthrie	50
1891	Norman, December 12	E. P. Babcock	38
1892	Kingfisher, December 28-30	J. H. Parker, Kingfisher	
1893	Oklahoma City, December 27-29	J. H. Parker	
1894	El Reno, December 28-31	D. R. Boyd, Norman	
1895	Guthrie, December 25-28	D. R. Boyd	
1896	Oklahoma City, December 28-31	L. W. Baxter, Guthrie	300
1897	El Reno, December 28-31	S. N. Hopkins, El Reno	
1898	Oklahoma City, December 27-30	E. D. Murdaugh, Edmond	125
1899	Oklahoma City, December 26-29	L. W. Cole, El Reno	
1900	Guthrie, December 26-29	L. B. Snider, Pawnee	
1901	Guthrie, December 25-29	N. E. Butcher, Norman	200
1902	Oklahoma City, December 22-24	I. M. Holcomb, Oklahoma City	
1903	Oklahoma City, December 28-30	F. N. Howell, El Reno	452
1904	Guthrie, December 26-28	R. V. Temming, Chandler	341
1905	Enid, December 27-29	U. J. Griffith, Tonkawa	599
1906	Shawnee (First Joint Meeting) December 26-28	Robert L. Knie, Cordell	1,017
1907	Tulsa, December 26-28	Frank E. Buck, Guthrie*	
1908	Shawnee, December 29-31	Charles Evans, Ardmore	2,200
1909	Oklahoma City, December 29-31	E. D. Cameron, Guthrie	3,500
1910	The annual meeting was deferred until February, 1911		
1911	Muskogee, February 22-24	J. B. Taylor, Oklahoma	2,211
1911	Oklahoma City, December 27-29	Thomas W. Butcher, Enid	3,400

Year	Place and Date of Convention	President	Attendance
1912	Oklahoma City, December 26-28	W. E. Gill, Tahlequah	
1913	Tulsa, December 29-31	Stratton D. Brooks, Norman	1,785
1914	Oklahoma City, November 5-7	J. G. Masters, Oklahoma City	
1915	Oklahoma City, November 25-27	R. H. Wilson, Oklahoma City	
1916	Oklahoma City, Nov. 30-Dec. 2	Charles W. Briles, Ada	
1917	Oklahoma City, November 29-30	Susan R. Fordyce, Shawnee	
1918	Oklahoma City, November 28-30	B. F. Nihart, Edmond	
1919	Meeting deferred until February, 1920		
1920	Oklahoma City, February 19-21	A. C. Parsons, Norman	11,274
1921	Oklahoma City, February 10-12	W. G. Masterson, McAlester	12,409
1922	Oklahoma City, February 9-11	N. O. Hopkins, Okmulgee	14,158
1923	Oklahoma City, February 8-10	J. N. Hamilton, Ponca City	14,576
1924	Oklahoma City, February 7-9	H. G. Bennett, Durant	15,714
1925	Oklahoma City, February 12-14	M. L. Cotton, Lawton	16,148
1926	Oklahoma City, February 11-13	J. E. Arendell, Miami	16,487
1927	Oklahoma City, February 10-12	S. C. Percefull, Alva	17,297
1928	Oklahoma City, February 9-11	E. A. Duke, Oklahoma City	17,597
1929	Oklahoma City, February 7-9	M. A. Nash, Chickasha	17,859
1930	Oklahoma City, February 6-8	I. N. McCash, Enid	18,661
1931	Oklahoma City, February 5-7	C. K. Reiff, Muskogee	19,032
1932	Tulsa & Okla. City, Feb. 4-6	A. Linscheid, Ada	17,414
1933	Tulsa, February 2-4	Clay W. Kerr, Oklahoma City	16,580
1934	Oklahoma City, February 8-9	George D. Hann, Clinton	16,286
1935	Tulsa, February 7-9	Paul R. Taylor, Idabel	16,860
1936	Oklahoma City, February 6-8	L. E. Wheeler, Waynoka	17,578
1937	Tulsa, February 11-13	E. H. Black, Bristow	17,789
1938	Oklahoma City, February 10-12	Kate Frank, Muskogee	18,576
1939	Tulsa, February 9-11	T. T. Montgomery, Chickasha	18,958
1940	Oklahoma City, February 15-17	Lonnie T. Vanderveer, Cordell	18,265
1941	Tulsa, February 7-8	C. Dan Proctor, Ada	18,136
1942	Oklahoma City, February 12-14	J. R. Holmes, Muskogee	18,243
1943	No convention (war)	Calvin Smith, Wewoka	15,673
1944	Oklahoma City, February 17-18	Harry Simmons, Stillwater	15,464
1945	No convention (war)	G. T. Stubbs, Durant	14,727
1946	Oklahoma City, February 14-15	O. W. Davison, Chandler, Durant	15,833
1947	Oklahoma City, February 13-14	E. E. Battles, Henryetta	16,268
1948	Tulsa, February 13-14	D. D. Kirkland, McAlester	15,889
1949	Oklahoma City, February 17-18	D. E. Temple, Tulsa	16,181
1949	Oklahoma City, October 13-14	W. D. Carr, Cushing	16,949
1950	Oklahoma City, November 12-14	G. A. Godfrey, Pryor	17,006

*Buck resigned to enter private business and turned the gavel to vice-president Cowart at the state convention.

APPENDIX B

NEA OFFICERS FROM OKLAHOMA[42]

Name	Address	Year	Title[43]
Robert W. Hamilton	Muskogee, Indian Territory	1891-1892	1
David R. Boyd	Norman, Oklahoma	1892-1894	1
David R. Boyd	Norman, Oklahoma	1894-1903	2
W. A. Caldwell	Muskogee, Indian Territory	1898-1900	2
John D. Benedict	Muskogee, Indian Territory	1902-1908	2
Andrew R. Hickam	Alva, Oklahoma	1903-1906	2
Miss Alice M. Robertson	Muskogee, Indian Territory	1904-1905	3
Edward S. Vaught	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1905-1907	3
Richard V. Temming	Edmond, Oklahoma	1906-1907	2
E. C. Balcomb, Dept. of Agriculture	Weatherford, Oklahoma State Normal School	1907-1908	2
Charles Evans, Supt. of Schools	Ardmore, Oklahoma	1908-1909	3
E. D. Cameron, State Supt. of Public Instruction	Guthrie, Oklahoma	1908-1909	2
Lynn Glover, Prof. of Political Economics	State Normal School Weatherford, Oklahoma	1909-1910	2
Franklin O. Hays, Supt. of Schools	Alva, Oklahoma	1910-1911	3
W. C. Canterbury, Supt. of Schools	Marietta, Oklahoma	1910-1911	2
R. H. Wilson, State Supt.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1911-1912	3
William F. Raney, Supt. of Schools	Chickasha, Oklahoma	1911-1912	2
W. A. Brandenburg, Supt. of Schools	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1912-1913	2
Edwin S. Monroe, Supt. of Schools	Muskogee, Oklahoma	1913-1916	2
Francis W. Wenner, Supt. of Schools	Bartlesville, Oklahoma	1916-1917	2
Edwin S. Monroe, Supt. of Schools	Muskogee, Oklahoma	1916-1918	2
R. H. Wilson, State Supt.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1917-1918	3
E. E. Oberholtzer, Supt. of Schools	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1918-1919	2
E. E. Oberholtzer, Supt. of Schools	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1919-1921	4
E. E. Oberholtzer, Supt. of Schools	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1921-1922	3, 4
E. E. Oberholtzer, Supt. of Schools	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1922-1923	4
P. P. Claxton, Supt. of Schools	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1923-1925	5
A. C. Parson, Supt. of Schools	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1923-1925	4
J. R. Barton, Supt. of Schools	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1925-1926	3
M. P. Hammon, President Northeastern State College	Tahlequah, Oklahoma	1925-1926	4
P. P. Claxton, Supt. of Schools	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1926-1927	3
C. K. Reiff, Supt. of Schools	Muskogee, Oklahoma	1926-1927	4
John S. Vaughan, State Supt.	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1927-1928	3
John G. Mitchell, President Central Teachers College	Edmond, Oklahoma	1927-1930	4

Name	Address	Year	Title
P. P. Claxton, Tulsa	now from Knoxville, Tennessee	1930-1931	5
M. E. Hurst	Muskogee, Oklahoma	1930-1933	4
Clay W. Kerr, Asst. Supt. of Public Instruction	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1933-1934	4
M. E. Hurst, president Tulsa Education Association	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1934-1937	4
Ernest H. Black, Pres. OEA	Bristow, Oklahoma	1936-1937	3
Kate Frank, Teacher	Muskogee, Oklahoma	1937-1942	4
J. Carl Conner, El. Principal	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma	1939-1941	3
Kate Frank	Muskogee, Oklahoma	1942-1943	3
Mrs. D. Edna Chamberlain	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1943-1946	4
W. Max Chambers	Okmulgee, Oklahoma	1946-1949	4
Edwin M. Bonde	Tulsa, Oklahoma	1947-1948	3

[42] Data furnished by Frank W. Hubbard, Director Research Division of the National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

[43] 1 Board of Directors 2 Director by Election 3 Vice President 4 State Director 5 Life Director

PROBLEMS OF AND SERVICES EXTENDED TO STUDENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

*By E. C. Hall**

Earlier, our American college students came largely from the aristocratic type of home. Today, our colleges are serving students who come from homes which represent virtually every known occupation in our American culture. The enrollment in our American colleges in 1900 was 237,592. By 1940 the enrollment had reached 1,494,203. Enrollments continued to climb, and in 1947 there were 2,354,000 resident students attending our institutions of higher education.[1] In this same period, the enrollment in the University of Oklahoma increased from 186 to 12,946.[2]

This great influx of students to the colleges of our several states has brought into focus many student problems. Numbers of students have found their study habits to be inefficient. Others have organic or functional disorders which have rendered them ineffective in their efforts as students. Some have found it impossible to continue their college work because of issues which center about the home. In the lives of many we find conditions which have a social setting, while others experience great anxiety over some moral or religious phase of their lives. The selection of a vocation which is consistent with the abilities and interests of students is of genuine concern to many. To say that college students have problems is to state a truism. College staffs must concern themselves with the scope and intensity of such anxieties.

A colleague of the writer recently spoke of the "sheltered life" of the college student. The life of the college student may be sheltered in part; yet the problems and uncertainties of the college youth of today cannot be minimized. All sorts of anxieties haunt their minds—anxieties about the immediate and further steps in their careers. Many of these are normal. Many are without foundation.

The present-day philosophy of education demands that there be gained a thorough understanding of each student and those motives which regulates his behavior. Energies must not be relaxed until

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* E. C. Hall, Ed. D., is Chairman of the Department of Education and Psychology, Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma.—Ed.

[1] *Higher Education for American Democracy*, p. 19. President's Commission on Higher Education, Sec. 4. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).

[2] *Catalog of University of Oklahoma*, 1900-48. University of Oklahoma Bulletins, Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma.

appropriate information relating to student animation is secured. However, knowledge is not sufficient. Every diagnostic and therapeutic attack that is known must be brought into play in an attempt to help the student grapple with and master every situation of life. If the student is not successful in this particular, all the academic training he gets will be of little or no significance to him. There must be a concern with life as it is, as well as life as it ought to be. Intelligent participation in our society is most essential. The recent Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education indicates the direction we must move in our educational efforts.

> The first goal in education for democracy is the full, rounded, and continuing development of the person. The discovery, training, and utilization of individual talents is of fundamental importance in a free society. To liberate and perfect the intrinsic power of every citizen is the central purpose of democracy, and its furtherance of individual self realization is its greatest glory.[3]

There is a growing conviction among instructors and administrators in our American colleges that we must understand the student with whom we work, rather than make generalizations regarding behavior patterns. Today much emphasis is being placed upon new and varied diagnostic instruments and techniques. Newer types of therapy are making their appearance, all of which are designed to aid in understanding and helping the individual student.

A recent and comprehensive study has been made, the object of which was to determine the character and distribution of the problems of the students of the University of Oklahoma. Indeed, the purpose was broader. The work also includes an earnest attempt to answer the question: What services is the University of Oklahoma extending to its students which will aid them in the solution of their problems? The primary data used in the study were taken from the records in the various administrative offices and service agencies of the University of Oklahoma. The study includes every revealed problem of every student who made contact with any administrative officer or service agency of the University of Oklahoma in the regular session 1948-49. This comprehensive survey reveals the character, as well as the distribution, of student problems.

The study points to the serious responsibilities of the American colleges and universities of today as well as their great opportunity for service to students. Blaesser and others say: "The college must rededicate itself to the development of strong men and women, intelligent, emotionally sturdy, sensitive to community need, equipped with deep and penetrating insight into the meaning and values of living."[4]

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[3] *Higher Education for American Democracy, op. cit.*, p. 9.

[4] *Student Personnel Work in the Postwar College*, p. 1. American Council on Education Studies, Series 6, No. 6 Washington: American Council on Education Studies, April, 1945.

We must not deceive ourselves. Students problems will continue to exist, but we can and must provide them with information which will enable them to reach intelligent and judicious decisions relating to these issues. In as much as education at the college level must be concerned with the identification of student problems and with providing student services which will enable students to successfully meet these conditions, this study was made to determine the character and distribution of the problems of the students of the University of Oklahoma, and to indicate the services which the University extends to the students which will aid them in the solution of their difficulties.

Through a careful examination of the records of the University of Oklahoma it was found that students of the University experienced problems in the eleven following areas: (1) academic, scholastic, or study problems; (2) employment; (3) financial; (4) health, physical handicaps; (5) home or family problems; (6) living conditions; (7) moral problems and self-discipline; (8) personal and social adjustment; (9) recreation and leisure; (10) religion; and (11) vocational problems. Some areas are found more frequently than others. A study of these areas will indicate that the lines of division are not clear and definite. Difficulties which are experienced in one area are often related to issues in another. Some are so clearly related that it would be most difficult to separate them. For example, a problem of personal and social adjustment may actually be of a religious character.

The University of Oklahoma provides sixteen houses for single women students and ten houses for single men students. The house counselors in these twenty-six houses, fourteen University clinicians and administrators of student affairs and eight veteran administration counselors—were asked to rank the eleven problem areas mentioned above, both as to frequency and seriousness of anxieties the students experience. The combined judgment of these forty-eight individuals who participated in these rankings gives the following results when ranked as to the frequency of the problem: (1) academic, scholastic, or study problems; (2) personal and social adjustment; (3) vocational problems; (4) financial; (5) home or family problems; (6) moral problems, and self-discipline; (7) employment; (8) living conditions; (9) recreation, and leisure; (10) health and physically handicapped; and (11) religion. When these same individuals ranked these areas as to their seriousness the following distribution was noted; (1) personal and social adjustment; (2) academic, scholastic, or study problems; (3) home or family problems; (4) moral problems and self-discipline; (5) vocational; (6) financial; (7) employment; (8) living conditions; (9) recreation and leisure; (10) health, physically handicapped; and (11) religion. Of the eleven areas, three are regarded as more serious than frequent, three are considered less serious than frequent, while the remaining five

are equally serious and frequent. A discussion of these several areas follows.

In an extended study McNeely found that 18.4 per cent of all students who withdraw from college leave because of academic failure.[5] It was pointed out above that 48 university counselors, administrators, and clinicians placed academic and study problems as being the most frequent, as well as the most serious, of University of Oklahoma students. A study of 349 student problems which were identified by clinicians of the University of Oklahoma Guidance Service revealed that 108 of this number, or 30.7 per cent, were academic in nature. Academic problems were found among all student groups but are more common in the lower classes. Eighty-five per cent of all students with academic difficulties were single, whereas this group comprised only 65 per cent of the total enrollment of the University. The single men made up 50 per cent of the University enrollment, yet accounted for 78 per cent of all academic deficiencies. More than 25 per cent of the nearly 1,600 students living in University housing made failing or conditioned grades. Some issues which house counselors felt contributed to their failure were in order: (1) to much time wasted; (2) students did not know how to study; (3) personal and other related conditions; (4) too heavy school and work load, and (5) poor background and ability.

There were 370 students who came to the University Reading Clinic in the regular session 1948-49. These students presented 946, or on the average of 2.5 deficiencies per students. The cases in order of their frequency were: (1) low comprehension; (2) poor skimming ability; (3) deficient vocabulary; (4) slow reading rate; and (5) defective vision.

The University of Oklahoma, through the faculty advisory system and the use of various campus agencies, seeks to lend the needed assistance to students in solving their academic and related problems. There is but little evidence, however, that the majority of faculty members in dealing with issues of student concern gives consideration to the intellectual ability, background, interests, social and emotional development, vocational aspirations and aptitudes, physical condition, and other factors related to the academic success of the student.

It is most difficult to know the variety and intensity of adjustment problems of university students. The ideals, moral code, abilities, aptitudes, attitudes, and interests which a student brings to college are important. However, they only constitute a basis for further development. The background of the individual also has certain influence on what behavior will be acquired in a given situation. Shaffer says: "Native behavior, whatever it is, must be the

[5] John H. McNeely, *College Student Mortality*, p. 19. Bulletin 1937, No. 11. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938).

basis for learned behavior. All psychologists agree that newly acquired acts are based upon past performance. Every habit that is learned is the modification of some preexisting pattern."[6]

A study of 349 student conditions which were identified by clinicians at the University Guidance Service revealed that 51, or 14.6 per cent, were of a personal nature. A study of these cases will show that they often possess all the ingredients of a conflict situation, and often prove to be quite devastating. Anxieties over personal and social adjustment were common in all groups of students. Sixty-seven students appeared before the University Discipline Committee in the regular session 1948-49. These students may be regarded as having failed, in part in making the needed adjustments in college.

Many campus agencies lend assistance to students in meeting these adjustments. The services provided by the University Guidance Service, Veterans' Guidance Center, Veterans' Liaison Office, Reading Clinic, Speech Clinic, Hearing Clinic, Employment Service, Student Christian Associations, Student Health Service, University Housing, financial aids to students through loans, scholarships and fellowships, and tuition grants are all designed to help the student make the needed adjustments in the University.

The Dean of Students, Counselor of Men, Counselor of Women, coordinator of student affairs, 26 house counselors in university houses of the University, the All Men's Council, the Independent Men's Association, the Association of Women Students, the Independent Women's Association, the Inter-fraternity Council, the Panhellenic Council, the Student Senate, the Inter-Religious Council, the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. and many other religious organizations of the campus all provide services which are designed to help students in making the needed adjustments.

Choosing a career constitutes one of the greatest concerns of life. Cowley seems to view the responsibility of the school very seriously when he writes: "Educational institutions have a moral responsibility to counsel and assist students to train for occupations for which they are best qualified."[7]

Of the 349 conditions which were identified by the clinicians of the University Guidance Service, 190 were of a Vocational nature. Single students present more vocational problems than married students. However, it is found that many students of Junior, Senior and graduate standing have not made a satisfactory vocational choice.

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[6] Laurance Frederic Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment*, p. 22. (Cambridge, Mass., Houghton-Mifflin Co., The Riverside Press, 1936).

[7] W. H. Cowley, Robert Hoppock, and E. G. Williamson, *Occupational Orientation of College Students*, p. 74. American Council on Education Studies, Series VI, No. 2. April, 1939.

The records of 3432 Veteran students of the University were examined to determine what per cent of these students made a change in Vocational objective. Five hundred and fifty changes in Vocational objectives were made. This is near 16 per cent of the total. It is unfortunate that so many mature students have not made a suitable vocational choice earlier.

The Veterans Administration Guidance Center made near 1200 Vocational advisement in 1948-49. The University Guidance Service is very active in Vocational advisement work as well. The University Employment Service maintains an occupational information library covering many types of employer publications describing opportunities with various industrial firms. The Career Conference is sponsored annually by and for students. This brings to the students reliable information relating to many vocations.

A college education is made available to thousands of students through the medium of student loans, scholarships and fellowships, and the waiving of tuition fees.

Ratcliffe says: "The trend in recent years has been to make scholarship aid available to an increasing number of students."[8] In nearly all cases scholarships are granted on the basis of the academic record, determined by competitive examination or upon financial need.[9]

McNeely indicates that 12.4 per cent of all withdrawals from college are because of lack of finance.[10] The University of Oklahoma, through student loans, scholarships and fellowships, and tuition grants, assisted 946 students in the regular session 1948-49, with a total of $148,320. In addition to this amount, many graduate assistantships were operative for the same period in many departments of the University. Through the University Employment Service much is done to aid students and graduates in securing needed employment. In 1949, 1,603 full time and 727 part-time employees were placed through this agency.

Diehl brings the health problems of college students to our attention in these words: "The health problems of youth cover an intensive area, their implications penetrate into broad economic and educational problems of which they are only parts. They are as varied as the social conditions in which they are investigated and are susceptible to no single avenue of attack."[11]

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[8] Ella B. Ratcliffe, *Scholarships and Fellowships Available at Institutions of Higher Education*, p. 8. Bulletin, 1936, No. 10. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938).

[9] H. E. Raffensperger, *College and University Scholarships*, p. 9. (Harrisburg, Pa.: Telegraph Press, 1935).

[10] *College Student Mortality, op. cit.*, p. 19.

[11] Harold S. Diehl and Charles E. Shepard, *The Health of College Students*, p. 4. (Washington: American Council on Education, 1939).

College and university administrators are conscious of the need for adequate health programs in the schools of today. In 1939 nearly 80 per cent of students entering college received some type of health examination.[12] The health problems of students of the University of Oklahoma are many and varied. In the 1948-49 annual report of the University Health Service, 813 separate difficulties of the clientele are listed. The frequency of cases ran from one to 1,742 in each area listed. There were 12,382 students who used the Student Health Service for the first time in 1948-49. This was 88 per cent of the total enrollment. There were 51,567 services rendered by the Student Health Service in 1948-49. Through the efforts of the Hearing and Speech Clinic many students are given much needed care. Through the Will Rogers Memorial Scholarship Fund, thirty-one physically handicapped students were given assistance in 1948-49. The University provides extensive health service for all students, as well as many fine services for the handicapped student.

The American home and family is in a state of flux. Some of these changes tend to relieve tensions and promote harmony, while others may produce undesirable relationships. Home and family difficulties will, no doubt, continue to exist.

Students of the University living in cooperative housing are granted many liberties, but are expected to assume responsibilities in keeping with the freedom granted. The University provides many services which are designed to enable students to adjust to home and family life. Through counsel, guidance, and supervision students are given much assistance. Extensive and suitable housing facilities are provided for students. For the student whose wife works or goes to school excellent child care facilities are furnished by the University.

The wise and careful planning of University of Oklahoma officials in the area of intramural sports and wholesome recreation has been designed to meet a genuine need and thus keep problems from emerging. The big objective of the intramural sports program of the University is "to teach sportsmanship, fair play, and respect for the will of others."[13] Twenty-four separate sports were sponsored for men with 7,478 students participating. Of this number 5,098 were fraternity and 2,350 were independent men. Twelve separate sports were sponsored for Women of the University. Of the 1,822 students who participated, 1,555 were Sorority and 267 were independent women. General student participation in the program is good, but it is better among fraternity and sorority students than among independent students. The co-recreational, extramural activities and varsity athletic program of the University aid in meeting the need for recreation of students.

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[12] *Ibid.* p. 26.

[13] *Intramural Handbook,* p. 8. University of Oklahoma.

McNelly made a study of college student mortality in twenty-five American colleges and universities.[14] The percentages of students leaving college at the end of the respective years were as follows: Freshmen year, 33.8 per cent; sophomore year, 16.7 per cent; junior year, 7.7 per cent; and senior year, 3.9 per cent. The net loss was 45.2 per cent. This means that 45.2 per cent never returned to any college. The reasons given by McNeely for withdrawal will not be considered here. However, every effective therapeutic process which is known must be brought into play to reduce this high mortality rate.

There were 776 students who withdrew from the University of Oklahoma in the regular session 1948-49; of this number, there were: 317 freshmen, 189 sophomores, 136 juniors, 64 seniors, and 70 graduate students. This does not include those students who had not completed their training, yet failed to re-enroll in the University. There was a decline of forty-five per cent in freshman veteran enrollment from the first to the second semester. This does not take into account new veteran freshmen students who enrolled for the first time in the University the second semester. The percentage of less ranges from 10.1 in the freshman class to 2.7 in the senior class. In order of their frequency, the issues which led to withdrawal were: (1) finance and employment, (2) health, (3) obligations at home, (4) personal, (5) non-attendance, (6) changing schools, (7) no interest in college, and (8) poor scholarship.

Hawkes says: "It is essential that the administration and coordination of personnel services be made the responsibility of an administrative official or, in some cases, of a personnel committee under one person's leadership."[15] However, to set forth an administrative pattern which would operate with equal efficiency in all situations would be most difficult, if not impossible. Any program of student services will of necessity be dynamic. It must allow for needed change. The program must be coordinated with and properly related to all areas of the college or university work. Seidle indicates that three things must be considered in planning for the organization and administration of a student personnel program: (1) a correct philosophy of student services must be formulated, (2) an adequate personnel staff must be available, and (3) adequate provision must be made for the fostering of the needed services.[16]

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[14] *College Student Mortality, op. cit.*, p. 19.

[15] Mrs. Herbert Hawkes, "Student Counseling," *Current Problems in Higher Education,* pp. 111-112. (Washington: National Education Association of the United States, 1947).

[16] Ralph W. McDonald, *Current Trends in Higher Education*, 1949, p. 31. National Education Association of the United States. (Washington: Department of Higher Education, 1949).

The way the student personnel services of the University of Oklahoma are actually administered is somewhat different from the announced pattern of organization and administration. The administrative staff of the University should think through the administrative pattern of the student personnel services. Changes which are made in the organizational pattern should be made only as a result of careful research and planning.

The need for evaluation of any student personnel program arises from a number of factors. There is a necessity for harmonizing the student services with the institutional objectives. The increased complexity of the University organization has demanded more student services. The larger enrollments will suggest that student services be expanded. The increased complexity of student needs point to a need for a continuous, comprehensive and complete scheme of evaluation of all student services.

Brogdon, as early as 1929, saw the need for an evaluation of student personnel services. She lists nine proposals and recommendations which may be regarded as evaluation criteria.[17] University officials should provide for a continuous system of evaluation of all student services, the results of which should constitute the basis for further changes in the program.[18] The evaluation must be for the improvement of the program and not necessarily an evaluation of the program.

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[17] Helen D. Bragdon, *Counseling the College Student*, pp. 128-134. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press.)

[18] For a more detailed treatment of the problems of the students of the University of Oklahoma, and the services which the University provides for its students, the reader is referred to the doctor's dissertation from which this article was condensed. The complete title of the work is: "Personnel Services Extended to Students of the University of Oklahoma in Solving Their Problems," by E. C. Hall, Chairman, Department of Education and Psychology, Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma. A copy of this thesis is in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

OKLAHOMA'S MILLION ACRE RANCH

*By Melvin Harrel**

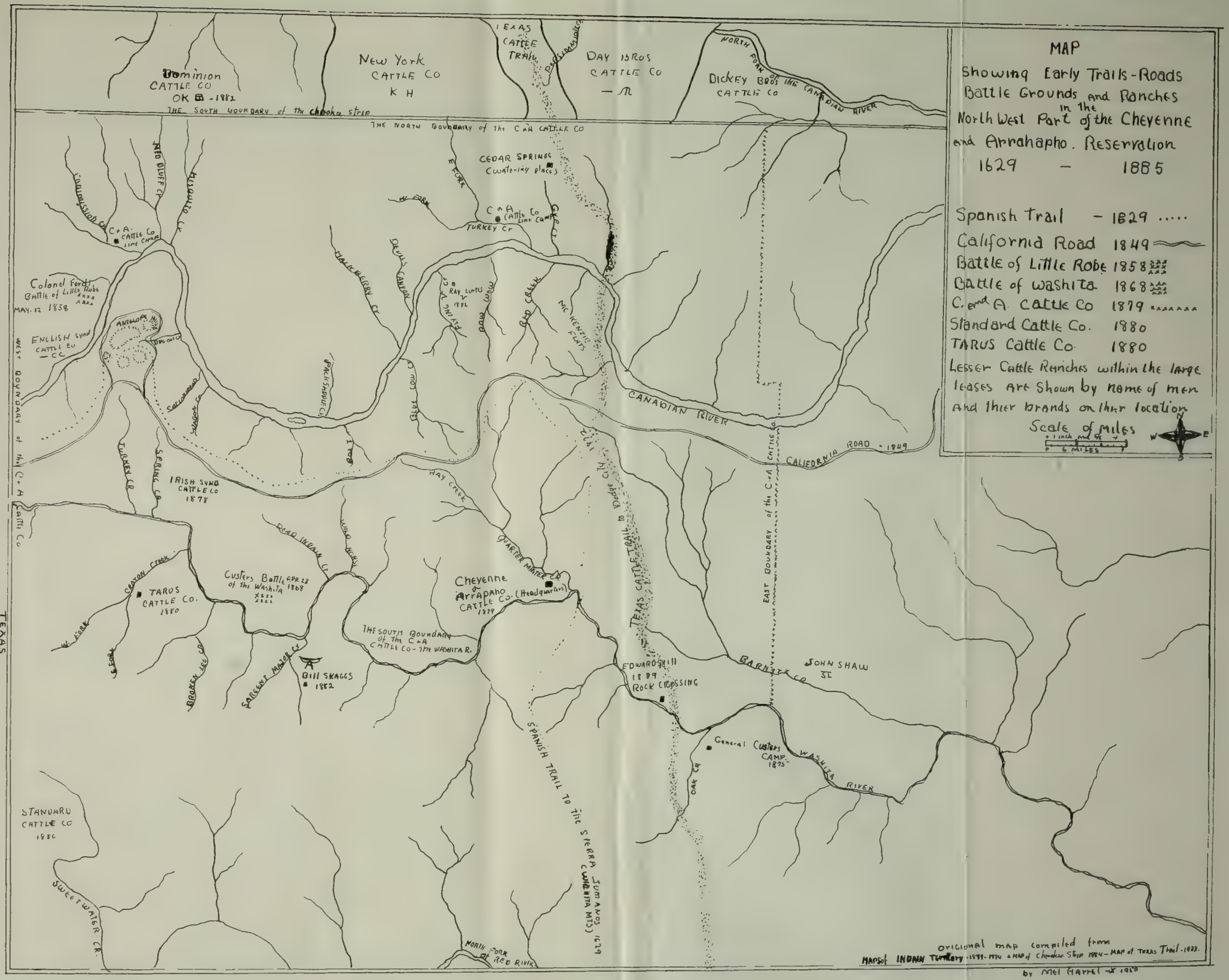
Every part of our State of Oklahoma is rich with the marks and the trails of men who have made history. If it should seem in this article that the part of Oklahoma which includes Roger Mills County is richer than other places, the writer wishes to acknowledge that he is a novice in the field of writing, and that this part of the state is his home, the home of his parents, grandparents, and great grandparents before him. The dry sandy bed of the Canadian River was his summer playground. The swift, swirling, muddy waters of this ancient river were his fear.

Hidden among faded reports and letters penned more than seventy years ago, is the story of the largest ranch that ever existed in the Territory of Oklahoma. This ranch should be placed in the listings with the largest in the west. The following story is taken from facts that have been discovered in the preparation of a book to be titled, "River Country."

A brief review of the events of history that were enacted within the very boundaries of Oklahoma's largest ranch point out the importance of these lands.[1] The first white men who looked upon the peculiar hills near the Canadian River in the northwest part of Roger Mills County was a band of Spanish soldiers escorting a Catholic Priest, Father Juan De Salas. The hills are now known as the Antelope Hills. Tradition has it that this devout party was enroute to the Sierra Jumanos (Wichita Mountains) to establish a mission in what is now Oklahoma, in the year 1629. The year 1650, Don Diego Cortilla left Mexico City to journey to the Sierra Jumanos, then north to cross the Rio Negra (Washita River) in search of lost gold taken by the Comanches near the Antelope Hills. In the year 1717 a battle was fought by the Spanish with the Comanche Indians

* Melvin Harrel, born in Ioland, Ellis County, grandson of the late George Harrel, was educated in California, trained in the U. S. armed forces in World War II, and returned to work as a minister in the rural areas of Western Oklahoma. His pageant given at the dedication of the "California Road" historical marker near Roll, in Ellis County, on April 19, 1950, celebrated the history of this famous trail in Oklahoma, first traveled by Captain R. B. Marcy and the "gold seekers" in 1849. This pageant aroused such interest that it was repeated this year (April 18, 1951) on the same site with great success, a cast of 130 local residents participating before a visting crowd of thousands from all parts of Western Oklahoma and from adjoining states. Mr. Harrel makes his home at Cheyenne, in Roger Mills County, and is contributing historical articles to several local papers.—Ed.

[1] Joseph B. Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma,* Vols. I and II (Chicago, 1916); *Quotations from the Prairie Traveler,* Published in 1859. Personal interviews with Fred Churchill, Sept. 1950, concerning an old battle ground, and the location of same.



Early Ranch Locations in Present Roger Mills and Ellis Counties.

near the Antelope Hills. Seven hundred prisoners were taken and sent to the Queen of Spain viz the Spanish Trail, to Vera Cruze. Don Pedro Penot took these captives across the area now called Roger Mills County. Captain Randolph Marcy opened the famous California Road in the year 1849. His surveys mark clearly the Antelope Hills, and the Quartermaster Creek. In the year 1853, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple conducted a survey for a transcontinental railroad following closely Captain Marcy's California Road through our country.[2] April 28, 1858, Colonel John S. Ford, known as "Old Rip" raised a command in Texas to fight the murderous Comanches, in an effort to stop their raids on Texas settlements. Colonel Ford, with Captain S. P. Ross, allied with Chief Placido, famed chief of the Tonkawas, Jim Pock Mark, captain of the Anadarcos and Caddos, attacked and won a battle against the notorious Chief Pohebits Quasho, and his ally, Nacona, husband of the captive girl, Cynthia Ann Parker. The battle was fought around the Antelope Hills and at the mouth of Little Robe Creek. 1868 was the year of Custer's battle with the Cheyennes on the Washita. It seems only fitting that the largest ranch in Oklahoma should occupy this romantic part of the state.

Early cattle industry is divided clearly into two eras: the years of the large cattle syndicates and cattle companies of the late 1870's and early 1880's; and the smaller cattle ranches of the late 1880's and early 1890's. Cleveland's Proclamation of 1885 was the cleavage point.

The Cheyenne and Arapahoe Cattle Company

Sometime in the spring of 1876 the first trail herd passed over the western part of the Indian Territory, bound for the new cattle market in Dodge City, Kansas.[3] Two years later enterprising cattle men were trying to lease the lands they were crossing. These lands were tempting, rich with grass so necessary in fattening weary trail herds.

The Cheyenne and Arapaho Cattle Company, popularly called the C. and A. Cattle Company, was organized by stock holders in Texas during the year 1878 with one idea in mind: to lease the idle grass lands in the western part of the Indian Territory, known as the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation. Negotiations could be made with the Indians, but under no circumstances would the Indian Agency back any agreement made by the Indians, and those making any agreements must do so at their own risks. With this insecure agreement the Cheyenne and Arapaho Cattle Company leased one million acres for the price of twenty thousand dollars.

There is no actual record of the boundaries of this lease, but from other reports and known neighboring ranch boundaries we can

[2] Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk, "The Journal of Lieutenant A. W. Whipple," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950).

[3] H. S. Tennant, "The Two Cattle Trails," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* March, 1936.

be fairly accurate in determining its limits. Beginning with the west, the Texas line is the boundary there. Two headquarter ranch houses were located north of the main Canadian River: one on Commission Creek across from the Antelope Hills, and one on Turkey Creek, eight or ten miles west of the Texas Cattle Trail. Without a question, because of the location of the corrals and houses, the south line of the Cherokee strip was the northern boundary. The southern boundary was the winding Washita River. The lands on the south side of this river were occupied by the Taurus Cattle Company with located headquarters on the east fork of Croton Creek. Farther to the south was the location of the Standard Cattle Company, on Sweetwater Creek. This eliminates any chances of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Cattle Company, also known as the C. and A. Cattle Company, owning any lease south of the Washita. With these three boundaries established, it leaves only one other land mark to become the east boundary, the Dodge City Cattle Trail. The boundaries of the Mallay and Forbes Cattle Company were eight or ten miles east of the trail. Thus, the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Cattle Company's leased area totaled over a million acres.[4]

The main ranch headquarters was located at the mouth of Quartermaster Creek, where it empties into the Washita River (see map.[5] All business was transacted from there. The two ranch headquarters in the north were supply depots for line riders. Each of these places was equipped with stock pens and a house for a foreman. Edward Fenlon managed the activities in this vicinity. A Mr. Little resided at the main ranch and seems to have been the general manager over all the holdings.

There is no clear record given just how many were employed, with the exception of the time of the evacuation in 1885. During this time some forty riders were employed. This might seem to be a very small number for such a large lease yet this number was sufficient considering all neighboring ranches worked together during roundup seasons. All leases were systematically worked being divided into districts. Riders were sent to join this roundup and would work for weeks branding, cutting out, and moving herds of cattle. Only men with endless endurance could stand this work, working before sun was up, till after sunset, with only two meals a day, sleeping on hard ground, enduring the heat and endless strain of night herding. The following is an example of notices that were published during roundup time. This was done that all ranches

[4] *The Cheyenne Transporter* in the files of the newspapers in the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[5] Sources used in compiling the map accompanying this article: Indian Territory map of the Department of Interior, General Land Office, Published in Parkplace, New York, 1876, (Writer owns photostat); Johnson's Indian Territory Map. Published by Alvin J. Johnson and Co., New York City, New York, 1880 (Writer owns photostat); Map of the Cheroke Strip Printed in 1883, by Burgess and Walton, Cleveland, Ohio; Texas Cattle Trail Map, Published by the Highway Commission of Oklahoma in 1933.

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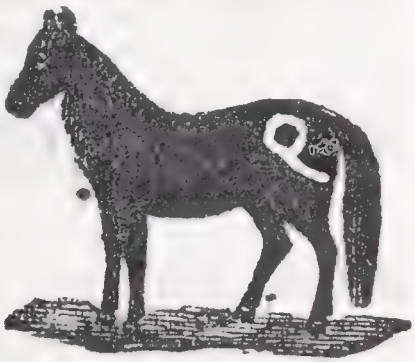
Cantonment, Indian Terry.

Known as Apple Brand.



Horse Brand.

ADDITIONAL BRANDS:

The above brands on either side or hip.

on left side.

on right side

O on left hip. BOO on side.

OBO Sun

(Newspaper files, Oklahoma Historical Society)
Advertisement appearing in Cheyenne Transporter, Darlington, Indian Territory, 1884 to 1886.

might be represented, in order to brand his share of mavericks, and gather his strays.

"*THE CHEYENNE TRANSPORTER,* April 11, 1881.

"The Stockmen convention at Cardwell have given notice that Roundup would begin on Monfort and Johnsons Ranch on the Canadian, May the first. The entire range in this area has been divided into six districts."

When roundup was over cowboys were limited to riding line. Dugouts and various kinds of shelter were built on the boundaries; then each rider would patrol his line turning back strays that had drifted into another range. Some of the line camps of the C. and A. Cattle Company were located at the Antelope Hills, at the springs now known as the *Bar X* headquarters north and west of Leedey, and one on the Washita near Spring Creek, near the present site of Reydon. Cowboys would begin their own cattle herds during roundup time, branding mavericks, sometimes by rustling on a small scale. Many herds started like this grew into ranches that are known to this day. One of the herds to be established on the million acre lease was that of John Shaw, who branded with a *Bar S. L.* His camp was on Barnitz Creek. The first record made of this brand was in the year 1882. Pete Marlexe owned the Rafter Rocking Chair, located on the Washita River near the Old Red Moon Indian School, in the year 1880. Bill Skaggs owned the Flying B connected and located on Sargent Major Creek near the Washita River.

Cattle stealing was always a menace to a lease so large. Often some of the men hired as line riders were mixed up in gangs of rustlers. Their operations were helped by the Western Cattle Trail. It was an easy proposition to move any number of cattle into a trail herd bound for the northern markets.

The Western Cattle Trail that first was a blessing for its convenience became a menace. It was a hard task to watch every trail herd when millions were pouring up the trail to ranges in the North. Much loss was suffered by range cattle mixing with the trail herds. To add to this difficulty the trail herds carried the feared Texas fever to the range cattle. The situation came to a crisis when the neutral cattlemen called a blockade refusing to let cattle cross the strip into Kansas. The following are actual news articles taken from the *Cheyenne Transporter* for June 30th, 1885: "A herd of North Texas Cattle bound for Wyoming was stopped on the 26th near Camp Supply. About ten thousand head are now held, unless some arrangements are made, the Texas drovers will suffer great losses. The Texans claim there must be an outlet some way. An armed conflict is expected. The neutral cattlemen are the cause of the trouble."

Another report for July 15, 1885, stated:

"The cattle blockade continues. Forty thousand head of Texas cattle are on the trail below the Washita on Wolf Creek, Indian Territory.

Texas fever infected districts are given as reasons for stoppage. Texas men claim no legal authority exists for the action taken by parties of the neutral strip.

"The neutral strip men, however, claim that under the industry bill passed by the United States Senate last year, which prohibited the driving of diseased cattle from one state to the other."

No further statements are made concerning the cattle blockade, and it is supposed that the difficulty was solved by the government.

The most serious trouble that ever confronted the C. and A. Cattle Company, also other neighboring ranches, was the slow but surely rising Indian crisis. The real cause of the trouble was that not all Indians were agreeable to the leasing of their lands. During the period of seven years the trouble finally came to a head. There became a constant state of war between the riders and the Indians. Wire fences were cut and riders shot at. In one case a line rider was found dead with a bullet in the back of his head. Prairie fires were started burning thousands of acres, destroying winter grass and many cattle. Hay that was tediously gathered from the prairie, stacked for winter use was set fire.

President Cleveland found only one answer: evacuate all cattle from the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Reservation immediately. The dead line was July 25, 1885. This was a disastrous blow to the big cattlemen, as well as the stock markets and stock companies with large sums of money invested in this territory. The full extent of the order was that every livable habitation was to be moved or burned, and under no circumstances were the cattlemen to return. The leases were null and void and there would be no refund of monies invested. Many ranches could not begin to move their cattle or find market for them in such a short time. Roundup alone would take weeks. The dead line was broken; the government sent representatives to investigate. The following is a report made by Lieut. M. C. Wiserlls, August 28th, 1885, a month after the dead line:[6]

Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Cattle Company.
Aug. 28, 1885

Report of M. C. Wiserlls
1st Lieut. of U. S. Cavalry

Mr. Little is the manager of the Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Cattle Company. This pasture contains a million acres and the range is very unaccessable to handle cattle and therefore much delay. The home ranch near the mouth of quartermaster is dismantled, but the building still remains. The Ranch on Commission Creek has been moved, Ranch on Turkey Creek is still standing.

On September 7, 1885, E. R. Andrus was sent from Camp Supply to investigate the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Cattle Company, and the Mallay and Forbes and the Taurus Cattle Company. The following is his entire report:

Ft. Supply I. T.
Sept. 7, 1885

[6] Taken from the original reports of Lieut. Andrus, and Wiserlls as found in the files of the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Post Adjutant
Ft. Supply Indian Territory.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in obedience to Orders 172 Ft. Supply I. T., I left this post at k2n. [sic] Aug. 28th, and camped that night at Buzzards Roost Creek. The next day I visited the ranch of the Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Cattle Co. Located on Commission Creek. I found at the ranches Mr. Edward Fenlon, the manager of the company and asked him the questions contained in the memorandum furnished me by the comdg Officer, his replies are appended marked A. From him I learned that the ranches on Quartermaster Creek have been abandoned and destroyed and that one on Commission Creek was the headquarter camp. Having accomplished the object for which I was ordered to Quartermaster's creek, I determined not to go to that point. The following day I camped on the Canadian, as that river was too high to cross by wagon. On the following day, the 3rd, finding very little difference in height of the water, I gave orders to my Sergeant to cross the river if possible within the next two days and go to the mouth of Croton Creek on the Washita River, where I would rejoin him. I then took one enlisted man, Troop 1-5th Cavalry and two Indian Scouts, and struck across the country. I reached the round up camp of the Taurus Cattle Co., Malally and Mr. Forbes and asked them the questions contained in the Memo. I left their camp the next morning for the Hdgns Ranch of the Standard Cattle Co. Which place was on Sweetwater Creek, I reached in the afternoon. I then found Mr. R. M. Allen, resident manager and part owner of the Company and asked him the questions to which reference has been made . The answers of Mr. Forbes and Mr. Allen, are Appended marked B. C. respectively. Returning from Mr. Allen's, I visited the Hdgns Ranch of the Taurus Co. on East fork of Croton Creek. At this ranch I found the buildings all in good conditions and undisturbed. At the Standard Ranch nearly all of the buildings have been moved over into Texas, a distance of about one mile. Everywhere I found evidence of hard and steady work in gathering cattle. The ponies being in very low flesh having been ridden very hard. I saw but few stray buches of cattle and they had in all possibility strayed from some herd which had been rounded up. In making my trip I rode over a great deal of country comprised in the ranches of companies mentioned. Returning from the Washita I traveled a very little east of North, coming directly across the country. Had I moved to the east before reaching Wolf Creek, I should have gotten among sand hills. I found the country perfectly practicable for wagons, excellent grass, and water and plenty of wood at each camp. Accompanying this report is a map of the country traversed, showing the localities of the ranches named.

Very Respectfully
Your Obedient Servant
E. R. Andrus
1st Lieut. 5th Cavalry
Comdg. Detachment

The full report of the ranches and the memorandum Mr. Andrus mentioned are printed in detail as follows:

Memorandum of Information to be obtained in making visitation of the Ranches Mentioned;

1st. Name of persons in Charge.
whither owner, manager, or foreman.

2nd. How many cattle have been moved from the ranch since the issuance of the Proclamation in obedience there to, with the date of such removals.

3rd. To what extent was the herding and driving force increased since the proclamation to comply with the same, and when.

4th. How many cattle still remain on lease, when are they to be moved in what number to drives.

5th. The vigorous efforts being made to fully comply the requirements of the Proclamation.

6th. Have any of the ranches houses, out houses cabins, stables or other building been burned, torn down, or destroyed since July 23rd.

7th. Do owners or managers desire to remove the wire fences and when do they wish to begin and how long will it take.

8th. Will the proclamation be fully complied with when time expires Sept. 4th, approx. If not in what respect and why.

9th. Opinion of the officer as to whether proper energetic efforts have been made, or being made to comply with the Proclamation.

The following report of Lieut. Andrus concerns the C. and A. Cattle Company. The questions answered are numbered with the corresponding numbers in the above memorandum:

A

Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Cattle Company
Hdgns Ranch Commission Creek Ind. Ty.
Aug. 29th, 1885

Answers to questions asked as per memo. submitted by Capt. M. Lee 9th Infty. Act. G. Indian Agent, Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Indians.
1st. Edward Fenlon manager of the Cheyenne and Arrapahoe Cattle Company.

2nd. About 2700 stock of cattle started from here on 23rd, have turned over to Rhodes and Aldrich nearly 400 head and to Montgomery and Quintion about 700 head, these cattle 5000 all told were on pasture on this lease the former firm turned in 4000 head the latter 1000 head, these owners are holding their herds, have been waiting till their full numbers have been rounded up, they intend to divide them out, they are now responsible for those turned over to them, a herd of 1500 of our own cattle leave tomorrow.

6th. Mr. Fenlon informs me that only one old log house remains on Quartermaster Creek, and that he intends to take that building down also that he intends to take down the buildings at Commission Creek ranch at once, they consist of two houses of logs, and one correll.

B

Malley and Forbes
Headquarters, Croton Creek
Aug. 31, 1885
1st. H. L. Forbes Manager, and part owner.
2nd. 1500 head removed, about 4500 remain.

C

Word and Bugbee Cattle Company
1st. F. M. Tate Foreman
2nd. 3900 Cattle moved.
3rd. Twenty men and forty horses working
4th. 8000 cattle remain

The following seems to be a postscript to Mr. Andrus Report, made by Colonel J. A. Proctor, in forwarding the above reports to Indian Agency, Captain J. M. Lee being the receiver:[7]

[7] *Ibid.* See *Appendix A* for related news items from *The Cheyenne Transporter.*

Word and Bugbee Co. Wichita Cattle Co.
Trouble between the cowboys and Kiowas.
Agent. Capt. Null.

1st Lt. Ord. Cavalry Geo. A. Dodd (his report)
Shots exchanged but no one hurt. U. S. Marshall from Texas, Word and Bugbee and J. L. Null expect to arrest them tomorrow. Sept. 10, 1885.

Ft. Supply I.T. Sept. 9, 1885 (in reference to Lit. Andrus Letter)
Capt. J. M. Lee,

Agent, Arrapahoe and Cheyenne
Darlington I. T.

Sir,

In compliance with your request contained in telegram dated Aug. 23rd and letter date Aug. 25th 1885, I sent Lieut. Andrus, Fifth Cav. to the cattle ranches referred to them the necessary instruction in the case. I enclose herewith copy of report of Lieut. Andrus, detailing his actions. Lieut. Andrus delivered the notices or communicates sent by you to the managers of the different cattle Co's.

Very Respectfully,
Your Obedient Servant
J. A. Proctor
Colonel 24th, Infantry
Commanding Post.

APPENDIX A

THE CHEYENNE TRANSPORTER

Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, Darlington, Ind. Ter.
July 30, 1885

(Page 7, cols. 1 and 2.)

IMPORTANT CHANGES
Col. D. B. Dyer Resigns—Capt. Jesse M. Lee Takes Charge.

Since the last issue of this paper, matters of national importance have transpired with this Agency as a center, which are now under discussion by the press from the Atlantic to the Pacific. We have put the space for a brief note of what transpired: Gen. Sheridan arrived and made a hasty survey of the situation. The Washington press dispatches state that he then notified the President that the cattlemen were at the bottom of the Indian trouble here, that there could be no permanent settlement of the difficulty until the cattlemen were expelled from the reservation and recommended that they be notified to leave the reservation within 40 days. Gn Sheridan also recommended that this Agency be turned over temporarily to the war department, that Col. Dyer, who was making commendable progress, be transferred to some other Agency or position, and that Capt. Jesse M. Lee, an army officer of ability and experience with Indians be placed in charge. These recommendations were adopted by President Cleveland, who issued the following proclamation:

On the 23rd the President issued the following proclamation directing cattlemen in the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation in the Indian territory to remove their cattle within forty days: By the President of the United States of America a proclamation:

WHEREAS, Certain portions of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation in the Indian Territory is occupied by persons other than Indians who claim the right to keep and graze cattle thereon by agreement made with

the Indians for whose special possession and occupancy said lands have been reserved by the government of the United States, or under other pretexts and licenses,

WHEREAS, All such agreements and licenses, are deemed void and of no effect, and persons so occupying said lands with cattle are considered unlawfully upon the domain of the United States, so reserved as aforesaid, and

WHEREAS, The claim of such persons under said leases and licenses and their unauthorized presence on the reservation has caused complaint and discontent on the part of the Indians located thereon, and is likely to cause outbreak, therefore I, Grover Cleveland, president of the United States, do hereby order and direct that all persons other than Indians who are now upon any part of said reservation do within forty days from the date of this proclamation depart and entirely remain therefrom with their cattle and other property. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed. Done at the city of Washington on the 23rd day of July, 1885.

GROVER CLEVELAND
President.

This proclamation fell like a thunderbolt upon the grass lease men of this reservation, who have three or four hundred thousand head of cattle worth millions of dollars in the pastures and they are now busy trying to obtain a hearing at Washington and an extension of time. The matter is considered of so much importance to the cattle industry of the United States that the boards of trade of several of our largest western cities have united in the protest against forcible removal.

Col. Dyer, immediately after the arrival of Gen. Sheridan, and finding that he was not to be sustained, resigned. Of course this was the only step open to an honorable man, who had been working like he has ever since his arrival to secure the complete control of the Indians placed in his charge. It is a surprise as well as gratification to Col. Dyer's friends at the progress made at this Agency by his unsupported energy. The fenced fields, with their splendid stand of corn, the stacks of wheat, oats and millet, the pastures, orchards, wind-mills, wells, in fact improvements everywhere are noticeable among both the Indian camps and the Agency buildings. It seems hard after all this earnest work, that Agent Dyer should fall from want of support just at the moment that his hard work and struggle to obtain discipline was a success. The troops for which he had been calling so long were here, the Indians, in full knowledge of an overwhelming force in near reserve, were quiet and tractable and it needed but a strong determined will to divide the Indians into peaceable workers and unruly criminals, the latter to be punished, the former to return to their work and their crops free from molestation from the idle ones. But this was not to be—at least under Agent Dyer's administration. But the future progress and advancement of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians rest at present with their new Agent, Capt. Jesse M. Lee, a gentleman in every way qualified to take the helm. His progress cannot help but be rapid and thorough, insured as it is by the complete military control of his Indian wards. To our old chief we join with all in an affectionate farewell and best wishes for the future, while to our new chief we extend a warm greeting with the knowledge that he can depend on the moral support and hearty co-operation of all in the experiment which the Government has seen fit to inaugurate at this Agency.

NORTH FORK TOWN

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

North Fork Town was a well known settlement in the Indian Territory before the building of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad in 1872. A number of prominent men made the place their home; it was the seat of one of the most useful missions among the Creeks; the mercantile establishments there were well stocked and prosperous.

Among the Creeks who emigrated in 1829 to the West was John Davis, a full-blood who had been a pupil of the Reverend Lee Compere. When a boy Davis was taken prisoner in the War of 1812, and reared by a white man. Educated at Union Mission after coming to the Indian Territory, he was appointed as a missionary by the Baptist Board in 1830. After Davis was ordained October 20, 1833, he assisted the Reverend David Rollin in establishing schools; his preaching was said to have been productive of much good. He frequently acted as interpreter, and he worked at Shawnee Mission with Johnston Lykins in the preparation of Creek books.

Jotham Meeker noted the arrival of Davis and the Reverend Sampson Burch, a Choctaw from Red River, at Shawanoe on May 2, 1835. They had come at the invitation of Lykins to print some matter on the new system originated there by Meeker. They remained at the mission about three months; Davis compiled a school book in Creek and translated into that language the *Gospel of John.* On May 5 Meeker, assisted by Davis, began forming the Creek alphabet; four days later Davis took his manuscript to the press and on the eleventh Meeker and Davis revised it. Meeker rode to Westport on June 5 to get materials to bind Davis's books.

Type setting was started July 10 and on August 12 the *Gospel of John* was off the press.[1]

"By John Davis and Johnston Lykins, 1000 copies, 6 forms, 'making a book of 192 pages.' Bound by Meeker, *Meeker Journal,* August 12 and 22, 1835." (*Ibid.,* pp. 144-45).

The two Indian brethren were furnished with a small wagon to transport their books to their respective nations. Davis on arriving

[1] "Creek First Book" By John Davis. 32 pages, 2 forms and cover. *Meeker Journal,* May 26 and (covers) July 20, 1835. The edition was 1000 copies (*Baptist Missionary Magazine,* Vol. 15, 1835, p. 453.)" This book is No. 33 in *Jotham Meeker, Pioneer Printer of Kansas,* by Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen, Chicago, 1930, p. 141. There is a copy of the gospel translated by Davis in the New York Public Library and the English translation reads: "This/ Word Good/ John / wrote / and / That Word / John Davis, Johnathan [*sic*] Lyken / Together / Muskoke Language — wrote in.

at North Fork had the mortification to find the introduction of his books opposed by a missionary of another denomination in his immediate neighborhood. "Mr. Davis, however, succeeded so far as to make an experiment, which fully satisfied him and others interested that the utility of the system, should it be fairly tried, would far exceed their first anticipations."[2]

The Baptist Missionary Magazine, August, 1839, contains a letter from John Davis from North Fork Town dated March 12, 1839, in which he said that he had been requested to attend the council which was to be held January 15. Accompanied by some of his friends he appeared there "with the determination of urging our agent to give us a school at North Fork" which he promised to do. Smallpox had been raging since August, 1838, and had caused many deaths. Davis married a pious Creek woman in 1831 and settled permanently among his people. After the death of Mrs. Davis his niece cared for him and his children until she died.[3]

Davis remarried before 1839, but the woman, who was not religious, gave him no encouragement and his work appeared to suffer in later years.[4]

North Fork Town, named for the north branch of the Canadian River, became a dense settlement of Creeks after the emigration of 1836. The place was crossed by two thoroughfares, the Texas Road running north and south, and a road from Fort Smith which ran on the south side of the Arkansas, crossed the Canadian near its mouth, passed through North Fork Town and continued westward to the mouth of Little River. These two roads brought great activity to the village and at an early date several trading houses were established there.[5]

Supplies for the traders were brought up the Arkansas River, unloaded near the site of the pump station of the present Muskogee, and freighted west over a well traveled road to North Fork Town.[6]

An interesting and influential character at North Fork Town was Joseph Islands. Owing to the unfortunate attitude of the

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[2] Isaac McCoy, *History of Baptist Indian Missions* (Washington, New York, 1840), pp. 486-87.

[3] James Constantine Pilling, *Bibliography of the Muskhogean Languages* (Washington, 1889), p. 28; William Gammell, *A History of American Baptist Missions* (Boston, 1851), pp. 328-29; McCoy, *op cit.,* pp. 425-26.

[4] E. C. Routh, *The Story of Oklahoma Baptists* (Oklahoma City, 1932), p. 28. Davis died about 1840, survived by two daughters, one of whom, Susan, became the wife of John McIntosh. According to the Rev. J. S. Murrow Davis translated part of *Matthew* into the Creek language. He was buried at North Fork Town but the place of his grave is unknown (*The Indian Missionary,* December, 1884, p. 3, col. 2).

[5] Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road* (Norman, 1936), pp. 41, 42; Foreman (ed.), *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, 1930), p. 109, note 60.

[6] Grant Foreman, *Muskogee, the Biography of an Oklahoma Town* (Norman, 1943), p. 13.

Creeks concerning the Christian religion no missionaries were admitted to the nation for many years, but an old Negro named "Billy" taught the precepts of the faith to a young Indian named Joseph Islands in 1842 and the two men commenced work which was continued by white missionaries. Many of the slaves belonging to the Creeks were whipped to the point of death if they were discovered going to religious meetings, but there is no record of any one repudiating his faith. One case was that of a woman who had been given fifty lashes on her bare back for asserting her belief in Christ; she washed her wounds in a spring near North Fork Town, and then walked ten miles to hear Joseph Islands preach.

Islands left his home and occupied a small log cabin so his house could be used for a place to worship. He declined an offer of fifty dollars from the American Indian Missionary Association for his services, fearing that the gift would prejudice the Indians against him. For several years he was pastor of the North Fork church, and he continued his work although threatened by the Indians.[7]

Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock visited North Fork on Sunday, January 30, 1842, in company with John Hill. The men rode horseback forty miles from the home of Hill, who had a branch store at North Fork in charge of a man of the name of Chapman.

In 1885 a man came from Missouri to the former site of North Fork looking for the grave of his father. He related that his family had been traveling on the Kansas-Texas trail when his father, Aaron Chapman, died in 1815 and was buried there.[8] Colonel Hitchcock wrote of the thermometer standing at 78°, summer heat. He met Dr. Burt, whom he had last seen in the Cherokee Nation; he learned that the doctor had been a school teacher in the Creek Nation, but lost his position when Colonel Richard M. Johnson was given the principal part of the Creek educational fund for his Choctaw Academy in Scott County, Kentucky.

Colonel Hitchcock wrote that Saturday evening a part of Mr. Chapman's house was used by a party of Creeks, half-breeds and Negroes for a service of prayer and Creek hymns sung to Creek music. "It was rather more plaintive than solemn; after that several hymns in English were sung to Methodist or Baptist tunes; words very simple and apparently made by themselves; 'Farewell Father,' with a chorus and then 'Farewell Mother' and so on sister, brother, preacher, 'I am bound to go on,' was about all I could hear of one hymn."[9]

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[7] H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball, *The Creek War of* 1813 *and* 1814 (Chicago and Montgomery, 1895), 304; Routh, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 50, 64, 65.

[8] OHS, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Interview with John H. Hubble, C. E. Foley, and Lizzie Gibson, Eufaula, Oklahoma, vol. 30, pp. 39-41.

[9] Grant Foreman, *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1930), p. 109. From North Fork on December 30, 1845, John Hill sent an order to Messrs. Henry and Cunningham at Van Buren, Arkansas, asking them to ship him a box of candles for his store. Hill died at North Fork on January 21, 1846.

A "Grand Council" called by the Creeks was held in May, 1842, on Deep Fork River in the vicinity of North Fork Town. It was attended by representatives of both Upper and Lower Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Caddoes, Seminoles, Delawares, Shawnees, Quapaws, Senecas, Osages, Pawnees, Kickapoos, Wichitas, Kichais, Piankashaws, Tawakonis, and "Isterhutkeys," or white men. The Creeks were the hosts and supplied food for 2,500 persons encamped in a space two miles in circumference. The plot was filled with fires, tents and other temporary shelters. The prairies and woods for three or four miles were crowded by horses hobbled and feeding on the lush grass. Good order and friendly feeling prevailed, but the proceedings were interminable owing to the need of translating the speeches into many languages.

The principle object of the council was the adoption of rules of conduct for the common good and all of the red men entered into the spirit of the meeting and took home with them many new and novel impressions that were to aid them in living neighbor to the recently arrived Indians.

The most important personage present was General Zachary Taylor, who went to the meeting from Fort Smith by way of Fort Gibson. He was greatly pleased with the initiative of the Indians and remained two days. He made a speech and took occasion to inquire of white captives among the Comanches in Texas. Word of this matter was transmitted by Secretary of State Daniel Webster through the War Department and resulted in the following years in the restoration of a number of white children who were carried to Fort Gibson and restored to their families by the officers. This meeting raised the Creek Nation in importance among the wild tribes.[10]

Confidence in the missionaries at an early day was forfeited by the "gross misconduct on the part of persons appointed as missionaries." Persecutions were revived later on as will be seen from a letter, written (evidently by an Indian) at North Fork Town February 11, 1845, and addressed to the Rev. William H. Goode:[11]

"I this day feel it my ..... to write a few lines by Bro. Smedley, to inform you that persecution lately Broke out in the Town of North Fork, and one of our Baptist Bro., named Jesse, was Caught at his Residence and Received fifty lashes on his naked back. The same evening when we appointed to hold meeting at Bro. D—[avis]'s old place, one of our Exhorters named Moses when he was Coming down to our appointed meeting he was taken by his cruel friends and they made him stood between two trees and his arms were extended and his legs stretched, too much like the Crucifixtion of our Savior and they gave him fifty. This is not all, one of our old native women on account of being the first Convert in the Oke-ti-oc-na Town received the Same. Bro. Peter Harrison

[10] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942).
[11] William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863), p. 143.

threatened to be whiped, because he is the first on the Arkansas side. . . . ."

On June 15, 1846, President James K. Polk transmitted a message to the Senate from Secretary of War W. L. Marcy communicating a report of Lieutenant J. W. Abert on an Expedition led by him on the upper Arkansas and through the country of the Comanche Indians in the autumn of 1845.

Lieutenant Abert wrote on October 18:[12]

"The country today . . . . consisted of level prairies and timber-land, generally rolling and stony. After a march of 26 miles, we crossed the north fork of the Canadian, and encamped at a point about 2½ miles from its mouth. We forded the river without difficulty, and found it from one to two feet in depth; the banks from 40 to 50 feet high, and overgrown with large timber. among which the button-wood stood conspicuous. All the waters of the plain lying between the Canadian and the Arkansas flow into this river, by the way of its two principal forks, which all around here agree to unite about five miles above this place.

"On the western side of the river we found a flourishing village, and the country around well settled, chiefly by Indians, who cultivate small patches of corn. We succeeded in getting an old cornfield to encamp in, and procured corn and fodder from an Indian who resided near us. This man had many questions to ask with reference to the dangers we had passed, and appeared horrified at the wild Indians, as he called them, eating their meat raw, gave us a piece of bread made of corn-meal and sweet potatoes, which we found exceedings agreeable.

"We saw great numbers of blacks, wearing shawl-turbans, which seem well suited to their pseudo-Moorish characters."

A Baptist church was organized at North Fork Town by Sidney Dyer and in 1848 Agent James Logan reported on September 11 that two schools were in operation at the settlement on the North Fork, in the Canadian District, one in charge of Americus L. Hay, a Baptist missionary, and the other in charge of the Methodists. Two manual labor schools were being constructed, "the mechanics and workmen engaged on them being regularly and busily employed . . . . but owing to the distance from navigation and the difficulty of obtaining supplies, no exact calculation can be made as to the time they will be finished and ready for operation."[13]

David B. Whitlow, who was born at Gates' Court House, North Carolina, on December 23, 1826, eventually settled in North Fork Town after having lived in Virginia, Ohio and Illinois. In 1844 he removed to Arkansas and the following year to the Cherokee Nation where he embarked in the cooperage business and made fifteen hundred salt barrels for Lewis Ross, whose home was at the Grand Saline near the largest salt spring in the nation. Later he engaged in clerking and, by economy he was able to start in business for

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[12] U. S. Senate *Document* 438, twenty-ninth Congress, first session, p. 71.
[13] *Report* Commissioner Indian affairs, 1849, p. 520.

himself at Old Town, North Fork, until he moved to Eufaula with other citizens.[14]

The Indian Advocate, Louisville, Kentucky, January, 1848, printed a letter from Americus L. Hay, written December 17, 1847, from the Choctaw Agency, saying that he was leaving in a few hours for North Fork where Brother Islands was waiting for him. He related that they had no schools in the Creek Nation and they were in need of clothing for the children of that tribe.

On the arrival of Hay he learned that Islands was at the bedside of his brother William, fifteen miles distant. Hay wrote to the *Indian Advocate* from the Creek Agency, January 14, 1848, that a large number of people came to see him at North Fork with whom he talked through an interpreter.[15] He reported that Islands had been preaching at the North Fork church, which had then 160 members. At that time Brother Islands was very ill and it was feared he might not recover.

The death of the Reverend Joseph Islands was reported in *The Indian Advocate,* April, 1848. His Creek name was Cho-so-gee and he died at North Fork Town March 8, 1848. His brother William died December 18, 1847.[16]

Missionary Hay wrote to Agent Logan from North Fork July 26, 1848, that a day school had been started in January with thirty pupils and they could take care of 100 children if they could be boarded. Hay declared a day school was not adequate, as the children needed to be taught farming, simple trades and house keeping. The Baptist school at North Fork made use of *Ray's Arithmetic, Electic Readers, Olney's Geography.*

On September 8, 1848, Presiding Elder T. B. Ruble of Muskogee District reported to Logan from Asbury Manual Labor School,[17] that the Creek people were then in favor of education and he saw no reason why they might not soon rank foremost of the Indian tribes in general improvement. "The Creek has a pliable, expansive mind. He is teachable; his habits, though of long standing, give way before the light of truth."

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[14] D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory,* . . . . (New York and Chicago, 1901), pp. 594-95.

[15] Hay baptized Chilly McIntosh in 1848.

[16] When the Indian-Pioneer survey was made for the *Oklahoma Historical Society* Lizzie Ireland of Stidham, Oklahoma, reported that her people returned to North Fork Town after the Civil War. Dr. Buckner was their pastor. After the M. K. & T. Railroad was finished all the citizens of the old town moved to what became Eufaula (Vol. 85, p. 483).

[17] The original Asbury Mission was at Fort Mitchell, near Columbus, Georgia. It was discontinued in 1830.—Horace Jewell, *History of Methodism in Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1892), p. 391.

The Creek Nation had been an integral part of the Cherokee district but the last session of the Indian Mission Conference made it a separate charge and divided it into three mission stations. T. B. Ruble was appointed to it and also made superintendent of the proposed Asbury school. His appointment was made in November, but he did not succeed in getting a site, a farm and the necessary buildings until January, 1849. The site was less than a mile from the North Fork, and within five miles of its junction with the Canadian River.

Improvements bought from a widow who had owned the location, consisted of about thirty acres of cultivated land under a good fence, a comfortable log house, about twenty feet square with a porch in front, smoke house, kitchen, stables and "a tolerable supply of fruit trees."

A contract was let in February to Webster and Reed, of Fort Smith, for the stone and brick work and in April a contract was made with J. J. Denny, Louisville, Kentucky, to furnish materials and do the carpenter work. The foundation was finished and the corner stone laid July 19 when many of the prominent Creeks attended the ceremony.

The brick building was 110 feet long by 34 feet wide, three stories high, with a wide porch in front. There were twenty-one rooms in addition to the halls. A day school had been taught by the Reverend W. A. Cobb for a month during the summer but it was suspended, as the house was a temporary affair large enough to accommodate only a few boys. Asbury Mission opened in 1850 with 100 students. The Methodist Conference assigned the Rev. W. D. Collins to North Fork Mission.

Asbury Mission was located one and a half miles northeast of the town and Fishertown was on the opposite side of North Fork River near the crossing of that stream.[18]

Mrs. Mary Lewis Herrod, daughter of John and Louisa Kernele Lewis, was one of the most prominent citizens of the Creek Nation during the Indian Territory days. Born in the early 40's, she taught school at North Fork Town in the late 50's where she married Goliah Herrod, a full blood Creek. He had attended school in Kentucky and was graduated from a Baptist college at Danville in that state. On Herrod's return to the Indian country he acted as interpreter for Dr. Buckner; he enlisted in the Confederate Army for the duration of the war and at the close he settled at North Fork, where he died shortly after.[19]

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[18] Authority of Mrs. Clarence W. Turner, Muskogee, Oklahoma, April 2, 1933. Mrs. Turner also stated that Goliah and Mary Herrod owned farms in the vicinity of North Fork Town.

[19] OHS, *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 12, pp. 132-33.

Prosperity was brought to several sections of the Indian Territory by the Gold Rush of 1849. Trains and camps extended across the prairies for miles and many companies traveled the Gregg road from Van Buren on the north side of the Arkansas,[20] by way of Webbers Falls, to North Fork Town. The Washington City Company and the Empire Company went by that route and praised it highly. It was predicted that this road from Webbers Falls to North Fork Town or Fort Gibson would become more popular than any other. That information was brought by L. W. Baldwin to the *Arkansas State Democrat* from Chapman's Stand at North Fork Town. The Knickerbocker Company crossed the Canadian River on a ferryboat and camped at North Fork Town where "the Indians had good houses and gardens and whiskey." At the town they traded with Catlett J. Atkins of Alabama, who had a large store and a good stock of goods.

George K. Pattison of the Havilah Mining Company of New York, wrote an interesting journal of his trip to California, in which he said that after crossing the Canadian his party arrived at North Fork Town where a Creek Indian ball game and a Baptist quarterly camp or woods meeting were going on. He described the Indians and Negroes with their tents surrounding a brush arbor where they sat on puncheons and listened to sermons preached by the Rev. Americus L. Hay and the Rev. H. F. Buckner who came from the Creek Agency on the Arkansas River. Services were conducted in English and Creek.[21]

In 1850 Dr. Ward Howard Bailey moved to North Fork Town from the little village of Enterprise, Arkansas, a few miles from Fort Smith on the Indian Territory line. Dr. Bailey, a native of New York City, and his wife Laura Hawley Bailey were the parents of a son, Benjamin Hawley Bailey, born in their white oak log house at Enterprise on June 5, 1839.

Dr. Bailey's brother, Doctor Joseph Bailey, who was an army surgeon stationed at Fort Gibson, persuaded his young brother to come west after he finished his medical course; at North Fork Town he engaged in the practice of his profession until the beginning of the Civil War in 1861. Being a northern man in a southern country was a most trying position at the start of hostilities and Dr. Bailey received numerous threatening letters from persons who looked upon him as an enemy.

Doctor Bailey was advised by his friends, for his personal safety, to return to the North; he followed their advice by returning to his boyhood home for the duration of the war. Mrs. Bailey, with the

[20] Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road* (Norman, 1936), p. 42.
[21] Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939), pp. 24, 39, 190.

younger children, moved to Fort Smith, where she supported herself and family by keeping boarders.[22]

An interesting and valuable citizen of North Fork Town was the Reverend Sugar T. George, who was born in 1832 in the old Creek Nation in Alabama; he was a slave of an Indian woman named Susie Canard, later known as Mrs. Susie Herrod. George moved from Alabama to a place named Marshalltown and lived there until he was twenty-one. From there he removed to North Fork where he remained until the Civil War when he joined the Union forces as an orderly guard. He served three years and was in the fight at Cabin Creek. After his return home he engaged in farming and cattle raising.

George was elected to the first House of Warriors and served eight successive years. He was town king for twenty-two years and was also a judge and prosecuting attorney in the nation. His wife was Bettie Rentie, sister of Warrior, Solomon, Morris, John, Picket, Millie and Rachel Rentie. He was married only once and had no children. George was ordained to the ministry at Fort Smith in the First Baptist Church in 1868, having been converted in 1856 by the Rev. Joseph Island. George prospered and his home was appraised at $10,000.[23]

A citizen of North Fork Town in May, 1849, wrote of the activities of the village:

"For several weeks this place has had companies preparing for California. Here the Indians are orderly, have farms, and the companies fully prepare themselves for the long route. Generally the Californians have arrived here in wagons, and find it to their advantage to supply themselves with mules or ponies. More than a hundred wagons have been bought by the Creek Indians from them. The Indians have been greatly benefitted by the exchange, as well as the companies. . . . . Those coming this way act very unwisely to purchase wagons or even horses; here they can be purchased at a lower price and can make a better travel than horses that have subsisted on grain. The Comanche Indians, the most hostile, have been here lately and held a talk with the chiefs. The Seminole and Creek chiefs have advised them not to interrupt the emigrants."

Many of the travelers going down the Texas Road halted at North Fork Town to buy supplies while they decided whether to turn west or continue south to join Marcy's road, or go on to Fort Washita and over the El Paso route. A party of Mormons under the leadership of Bishop George Miller arrived at North Fork on December 12, 1849. They were travelers over the Texas Road from Texas to Illinois. Miller, a carpenter, found plenty of work in

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[22] OHS. *Indian-Pioneer History*, "Life and Experiences of an Indian Territory Man, Benjamin Hawley Bailey," by his son, Rowland S. Bailey of Muskogee, Oklahoma. Vol. 51, pp. 59-60.

[23] *The Baptist College Journal*, September 1, 1899, p. 2, col. 3.

the little town and from the high wages his company prospered so that they could buy all the provisions they required for themselves and their animals for the remainder of the journey to Illinois. They left the place on July 22, 1850. This was the same party of Mormons that stopped at Tahlequah January 9, 1847, on their way to Texas where the Bishop went to visit his son. Artisans being in great demand there they remained long enough to build three brick buildings before continuing on to Texas in December.[24]

Enterprising white and Indian traders made expeditions to the Comanche country to trade with the red men for their horses and mules, which they brought back to North Fork to sell to the emigrants going to California. These tough little animals could travel indefinitely on the pasturage along the route.

The Knickerbocker Company of gold seekers traveled through North Fork Town as reported by the Reverend Ira M. Allen on April 3, 1849, who wrote from the northeast corner of the present Pittsburg County, Oklahoma, that they planned they would ferry the Canadian and continue to the settlement and then west to Little River.

A party of prospective miners from Helena, Arkansas, left home in early March, traveling aboard the steamboat *Oella* to Fort Smith; from there they departed by road led by Captain Dorsey, who commanded sixty-eight men. A member of the party, A. C. Russel, later editor of the New Orleans *Evening Journal,* wrote a letter on April 17 from Little River which appeared in *The Southern Shield* (Helena), June 2, 1849, in which he reported that in "Less than two days after breaking camp on the Canadian [North Fork Town], the Indianians, numbering twenty-two men, and Remington's mess (five) withdrew from the company and determined to pack."

A member of the same party wrote a series of letters which were printed in *The Concordia Intelligencer* (Vidalia Parish, Louisiana) from March 3 to November 24, 1849. From Fort Gibson the delegation followed the Texas Road forty-five miles to unite with their company at North Fork Town, where the writer saw three flourishing houses which were doing business with the Creeks as well as tribes from the faraway prairies. Their encampment was made up of seventeen tents, seventy-five men and 140 or 150 horses and mules. All of the wagons were overloaded with articles which were not necessary and the men discarded extra clothing and many dainties which they had bought at Fort Smith and to which the Indians fell heir.

They finished their reorganization at North Fork and departed April 8, behind twenty-two persons from Kentucky. In *The*

[24] *Annual Publications of Southern California,* X, Part 3, p. 154; *Marcy and the Gold Seekers, op. cit.,* pp. 162-64.

Arkansas State Democrat, May 18, 1849, a correspondent fresh from North Fork Town stated that all of the emigrants who left Little Rock on April 18 had passed North Fork by the thirtieth. The Empire and Washington City companies had passed several days previous to that date and they were all in high spirits and praised the road on the north side of the river to Webbers Falls and to North Fork Town.[25]

John M. Jarner was superintendent of Asbury school in 1851 when he sent his account of the mission to Hon. Luke Lea, commissioner of Indian affairs. Owing to a number of circumstances the report was not favorable; measles had attacked half of the pupils who could not attend to their duties. A national school was opened in the vicinity which took fifteen of the most promising students from Asbury. Mr. Jarner reported:

> "While contending with difficulty after difficulty, and the *low juggling* of one man, whose name I need not mention, there came a wind-storm, which, in its ravages . . . . shook our house to its foundation, causing the walls to crack from top to bottom in several places. This alarmed the inmates of the institution. The teacher would quit, the people would have their children away. I would not (it was unsafe) remain any longer with my family in the cracking house; hence, on the 28th May our school broke up in great confusion, never, I judge, to commence again. . . . ."

Joseph M. Perryman, who was born near Muskogee in 1833, studied for the Presbyterian ministry at Coweta Mission in 1853. After his service in the Civil War he was ordained for the ministry at Wapanucka Academy, after which he returned to his own country and organized a Presbyterian church at North Fork Town. Perryman held many high offices in the Creek Nation and in 1883 was elected chief, and president of the board of education in 1890.[26]

Frederick B. Severs, who became one of the wealthiest men in the Creek Nation and one of the few adopted citizens, taught school at Asbury Mission for two years before his brother-in-law, Hardeman Shields, engaged his services in his trading establishment at Shieldsville, near the Creek capital town of Okmulgee. Severs remained there until he entered the Confederate service in 1861.

Before the Civil War Edward Butler and his wife, Elizabeth Belle Reeder Butler, made their home at North Fork Town. Mrs. Butler was of Scotch-Irish descent and was born in the old mining town of Granby, Missouri, about thirty-five miles southeast of Joplin. When she was seven or eight years old her parents moved to Butler, Bates County, Missouri, where Elizabeth was educated. Mr. Butler and his wife were the parents of several children; their son, Manley ("Mannie") Garrett Butler, was born at Honey Springs, on Elk Creek, August 7, 1860. He received his middle name from William

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[25] Foreman, *ibid.*, pp. 39, 165, 173-4, 178, 181.
[26] H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory* (Saint Louis, 1892), pp. 120-21.

H. Garrett who served as Creek agent for many years and was greatly loved by the Indians because of his consideration and kindness to them.

Mr. Butler owned a store in North Fork Town, but when the Civil War came on he abandoned his business to assist Stand Watie and Colonel McIntosh to recruit 5,000 troops for the Confederate army. He took his family to Honey Springs, Creek Nation, where his cousin, Mrs. Delilah Drew, lived.[27]

Mrs. Drew was a good nurse and Mr. Butler felt safe in leaving his family in her care, particularly as his wife was expecting a baby. This child, Tookah Butler, was born on the ranch belonging to her father near Honey Springs, and when a very young child she was taken by her parents to Red River where they refugeed during the war.

On their return north after the conflict the Butler family settled at North Fork Town on the government road where two other children were born. The birthday of Robert E. Butler was July 24, 1866, and his sister was Sarah.[28]

The tiny settlement of North Fork was about half way between the two forks of the Canadian River. According to Mr. Manny Butler, there were five or six families in the place, not over fifty people, all living along the Texas Road. Joseph McDonald Coodey was an early settler and Coodey's Creek south of Muskogee was named for his family. Coodey was a Cherokee and his first wife was a white woman, Mary Rebecca Harris (neé Thornberry), a sister of G. W. Stidham's wife, whom he married in Washington in 1855 or 1856.[29] Coodey's wife came west to visit her sister Mrs. Stidham and she and Coodey were married. Coodey's second wife was Mary Muskogee Hardridge, a half-blood Creek.[30] They were married in 1867 shortly after he returned from Texas where his first wife died. At "Old Town," as North Fork Town was called, their daughter

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[27] Mrs. William Drew, or "Aunt Lila" as she was called by the family, was a daughter of Chief William McIntosh and a sister of Colonel D. N. McIntosh. Mrs. Drew was the mother of the late Susan McIntosh Rogers of Muskogee.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "A Creek Pioneer," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1943), pp. 271-79.

[28] Robert E. Butler married Carrie L. Lindsey, January 31, 1893, at Chouteau, Indian Territory. John Wesley Sanders, a native of North Carolina, married Mrs. Sarah Butler Porter in 1886. Mrs. Sanders died April 20, 1900, at her home near Muskogee, leaving four children, Edna C., Lizzie, Maud and Millard. Tookah Butler was married to Clarence W. Turner, a native of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1884. They made their home in Muskogee where Mr. Turner was a prominent merchant. Three children were born of this union—Tookah Turner Bagg, Clarence and Marion.—Grant Foreman, "Clarence W. Turner," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, No. 1 (March, 1932), pp. 18-20.

[29] H. F. and E. S. O'Beirne, *op. cit.,* p. 185.

[30] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "The Coodey Family of Indian Territory," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXV, No. 4 (Winter, 1947), p. 325.

Flora Coodey was born on February 4, 1869. She became the wife of Richard Young Audd, who was born in Kentucky June 6, 1854.[31]

Another white man at North Fork Town was D. B. Whitlow, who married a Creek woman. He was the owner of a store in the village. George W. Stidham, a prominent man of the Creek Nation, made his home at the town, where he owned a store which was separated from Coodey's place by a fence; there was a road between Edward Butler's store and Stidham's property. On the east was a drug store of Doctor A. Patterson, the postmaster and a brother of J. A. Patterson, president of the Patterson Mercantile Company of Muskogee. After the death of Mr. Butler his widow married Dr. Patterson and they had two sons, Philip Ogden Patterson and James Aurelius Patterson, the younger boy being named for his uncle.

Below the above mentioned stores was a bakery and confectionery store kept by William Bertram, a Dutchman, who sold supplies to travelers passing on the Texas Road. Joining Bertram's on the east was a store owned by Gray Eagle Scales, a white man. He had a niece who lived with him and later a nephew joined them. His name was Tom Scales and he fell in love with his cousin Emma and they were married, much to the chagrin of their uncle. Tom's brother, George Scales, lived with his uncle until his death, when the young man moved to Calvin. Tom Scales lived at Wetumpka, but he maintained a business at Holdenville as well as in his home town.

Church was held in a log school house daubed with mud in the winter and in the summer services were held under a brush arbor. The school taught by Mrs. Elizabeth Stidham Ross was used for a church for white people and Indians and east of the home of William Nero was a school house for Negro children which was used for a church for the colored citizens.

William Nero stood well in the community and he had a good home. It was a long building running north and south, with a porch the entire length on the west side. There were five or six large rooms; originally it was a log house with a clapboard roof, but later it was covered with siding. The north room was toward the highway and there was a large chimney on the north side of the room. Nero ran a store across the trail north of his home. He had a wife and eight or ten children.[32]

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[31] Oklahoma Historical Society, *Indian-Pioneer History.* Statement of Mrs. Flora Coodey Audd, Vol. 12, pp. 514-520.

[32] "Billy Nero, an old and highly respected Negro, who had lived at North Fork Town many years, died September 12, 1872" (*Tri-Weekly Fort Smith Herald,* September 19, 1872, p. 3, col. 5). The William Nero Cemetery was located in the vicinity of Nero's store and he and his wife were buried there (OHS, Indian Pioneer History, Foreman Collection, vol. 30, pp. 39-51). According to Creek records William Nero had a blacksmith shop in North Fork Town in November, 1869, and June, 1875. As Nero died in 1872 the license for another man of the same name may have been issued to a son of "Billy Nero" (OHS. Indian Archives Division, No. 24695 and No. 24730).

The Texas Road crossed the Arkansas near the mouth of the Verdigris; the crossing was opposite the old Nevins ferry and it ran west through North Fork Town. John Smith had a grist mill on Mill Creek about ten or twelve miles up from North Fork Town, on the north bank of the Canadian River; it was an old French burr mill and he had a circle saw also. Mill Creek was east of Little River; it was nearly half way from Eufaula to Little River and the mill was just above where Mill Creek emptied into the Canadian.

Mr. Butler knew a full-blood Creek Indian who lived at North Fork Town; he wore his hair in a queue like a Chinaman. He and his son, Sanger Beaver, were both good cobblers; their home was on Okfuskee Mountain between North Fork Town and the South Canadian. Sanger Beaver was a religious fanatic; his one thought was religion and he finally lost his mind and died in a few days.

Okfuskee Mountain was south of North Fork Town, between the town and the South Canadian River. All of the Indians who lived on the mountain belonged to Okfuskee Town and that was how the mountain got its name.

Mr. Butler related that he spoke Cherokee, Creek and a little Choctaw. His father always talked to him in Cherokee and he was in school with Cherokee children, so he spoke that language better than he did English. He learned Creek at North Fork Town before going to school in the Creek country. Next he attended grammar school in Atlanta, Georgia, for four years and soon after his return home his mother died. After that he was sent by the nation to the East Tennessee University.

The merchants at North Fork Town got their freight by steamboat from Fort Smith and Little Rock to Nevins's landing on the Arkansas. When the water was so low that the boats could not run the merchants sent teams for their supplies. People passing through North Fork Town were on their way to Mexico or California; they traveled in covered wagons drawn by horses or mules. Ox teams were considered too slow, but Mr. Butler saw cows yoked up and they stepped right along, but a steer was too slow. "A steer would travel for half an hour in the shade of one tree." The emigrants always had a dog running along under the wagon, and sometimes one tied to the hind axle. He said there was always a tar bucket under the rear axle fastened to the coupling pole. He saw great loads of hay hauled by oxen, sometimes as many as ten to a wagon. They stretched the wagon as long as possible and loaded on hay until it would hold no more, then they put a pole across the top and tied one end to the front and the other to the rear axle.

When the axles on the old wagons became dry the noise they made could be heard half a mile, then it was time to stop and put on more tar. Sometimes a squeaking wagon would pass through at

night and awaken every one in town. People traveled in large parties for protection and they stopped at Honey Springs where there was a camping place.

William Nero had a stage stand about fifty feet west of his store where he furnished feed for the horses. The stage stopped only long enough to change to fresh horses. They used six or eight horses to each stage and the drivers used whips with a long lash and they became so expert that they could knock a fly off the lead horse. The stage dashed through North Fork Town at a gallop. They carried four, six and sometimes ten passengers and there was a place at the back of the vehicle to carry the baggage. There was a boot up in front on which the driver sat. There was room beside the driver for two passengers, besides the mail and express. The stage was hung on Concord patent springs.

There was a toll bridge over Elk Creek northeast of Checotah which was owned by Delilah Drew. Mr. Butler said:[33]

"Lots of times the people didn't want to pay toll charges and she would lock the bridge at night so they couldn't get across without her knowing it. They had to pay extra at night. She would dig ditches so they couldn't get down to the river and ford it. . . . . Aunt Lilah was the first woman I ever saw that dipped snuff. She acquired that habit down in Texas."

In response to a touching appeal of Joseph Islands before his death in 1848, Henry Frieland Buckner came to the Creek Nation as a missionary; he was obliged to secure a permit from the government and the Creek Council to preach and the Indians debated for three days before deciding to allow the minister to remain. Buckner and his wife, Lucy Ann Dogan Buckner, landed on the banks of the Verdigris River on March 7, 1849, and they worked among the red men until the breaking out of the Civil War, when they went to Texas and from there to Georgia, where he worked in behalf of the Indians. The Buckners returned to Indian Territory in June and he wrote from North Fork Town on July 28, 1870:

"I arrived only three days ago. The place is rotted. We stopped in a school house as it was the only vacant house. The Indians were glad to welcome us back. . . . . I am the only Baptist missionary in the nation and the first to return. There is but one missionary of any denomination except myself, a Presbyterian. The Methodists are rebuilding a mission, but the superintendent lives in Arkansas."

When Buckner called for help young Joseph Samuel Murrow, having been ordained at Macon, Georgia, September 16, 1857, set out for the West. He stopped in Mississippi to marry Miss Elizabeth

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[33] This interview with Mr. Butler took place September 6, 1935, in the home of Grant Foreman and was reported in shorthand by Mrs. Charles M. Whaley.

Some reminiscences of Manley Butler who was familiar with North Fork Town in the 1860's appears in OHS, *Indian-Pioneer History*, "Interview with Manley Butler, Muskogee, Oklahoma," (WPA Project), Vol. 17, pp. 486-90.

Tatom and he and his bride traveled by boat to Fort Smith; they arrived at North Fork Town December 10, 1857, after five weeks of travel, and settled in a log cabin. The following August 18, 1858, his wife died. Murrow remarried October 27, 1859; his second wife was Miss Clara Burns, a missionary to the Choctaws. In 1860 Murrow removed to the Seminole Nation and from there to Texas. After the war he and his family settled among the Choctaws where he lived until September 18, 1929.[34]

On January 21, 1853, the Rev. H. F. Buckner wrote to *The Indian Advocate* that since Brother S. Wallace had resolved to leave the Creek Nation, he had moved to North Fork Town to take charge of the mission buildings, "and also because it is a more destitute place than the Creek agency." The minister found it painful to leave his friends on the Arkansas, but he hoped to see them often:

"I never knew before how much I loved the Indians; and, indeed, I did not know how much I was beloved.

"Before going to North Fork I consulted the church, and obtained the unanimous vote of both members and citizens who were present. . . . . Our cause is not as prosperous here as it is on the Arkansas, owing to a combination of causes. . . . . Brother and Sister Wallace have suffered much from affliction, and after having served the Board faithfully for three years, feel constrained to leave. . . . . I now expect to be left to fill the breach, as the only Baptist Missionary in the Creek Nation. . . . . If the Board would grant me an interpreter, subject to my command, I would traverse, as far as possible, this entire nation. .. . .The Lord has, without doubt, given this vineyard to the Baptists; but unless they cultivate it, he will surely give it to other husbandmen."

A public examination was held at Asbury on July 21, 1853, when the school closed. The teaching had been done by two young women and the examination showed how efficient their instruction had been. Such pupils as were able performed some manual labor, such as chopping wood, attending to the stock; the girls sewed, washed, swept and assisted in the dining room and kitchen.

The farm was well supplied with teams, stock and tools; the garden supplied vegetables, and there was a good crop of corn and potatoes.

The secretary of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, the Reverend Doctor E. W. Sehon visited the school and he reported to the Board concerning affairs there.[35]

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[34] Alice Hurley Mackey, "Father Murrow; Civil War Period," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (March, 1934), pp. 56, 57; Routh, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-45.

[35] The Reverend Mr. Sehon was a prominent clergyman of Nashville, Tennessee. Sehon Chapel, Park Hill, Cherokee Nation, was namd in his honor. His church, the Methodist Episcopal, frequently sent him to the Indian country in the interest of that denomination.—Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Park Hill* (Muskogee, 1948), p. 100.

Baptist Teacher--Extra.

(From old print, Foreman Collection)

Residence of Rev. H. F. Buckner at North Fork Town (or Micco), Creek Nation.

A post office was established at North Fork Town on August 4, 1853, but the name of the place was changed to Micco, meaning "chief" in the Creek language. The trader, Catlett J. Atkins, was appointed postmaster.

The Indian Advocate, August, 1853, published a letter from Buckner written at North Fork on July 21, in which he appeared very sanguine concerning conditions in his congregation. At their meetings there was nothing to protect the congregation except a brush arbor and their canvas tents. Sixteen tents were occupied by families from a distance. This was most pleasing to the missionary as there had been some disaffection since the death of the Reverend Joseph Islands. About fifteen or twenty moved up for prayer, after which three were immersed in a neighboring stream. The following is an excerpt from this letter:

"On the 15th, 16th, and 17th inst. I preached at the Muskokee church, on Arkansas, 45 or 50 miles north from this place. An entertainment was given during the whole time by Gen. Roly McIntosh, ... principal chief of the Creek Nation. A more sumptuous entertainment I never saw in my life. I think it must have cost the Gen. $500. There were from 800 to 1000 people all the time. . . . . During this meeting I was so exhausted by excitement, loss of sleep and exercise, that I could scarcely stand up on the last day. In going and returning, the prairie flies were so bad that we were compelled to travel by night. . . . . However, I feel amply compensated for all my toil on this occasion. . . . .

"I could not avoid contrasting the difference in the appearance of the congregation with what it was four years ago. Then there were not more than four sun-bonnets to be seen in a congregation of that size; now there is not a congregation in any country town in Kentucky that can excell this one in neatness of dress and good order. . . . . The principal and second chief were in attendance all the time. . . . . Nothing of a disorderly nature . . . . occurred during the whole time, save that one drunk Indian came on Sunday, but he was soon taken by the 'light horse' and 'put in strings' until he became sober."

In a letter to *The Indian Advocate* from North Fork Town, dated October 10, 1853, Buckner wrote:

"The field is widening and lengthening every day. Three years ago we were not allowed to preach in Broken Arrow, now we have a flourishing church of about fifty members, and a house of worship. Two years ago we were not allowed to preach in Tuckabachee, now we have two little flourishing churches there: one sixty members and the other about forty.

"Last night I visited Tuckabachee in company with Gen. Chilly McIntosh. We found a large congregation assembled under a brush arbor to whom Brother McIntosh preached. . . . . We left the brethren singing and praying at a late hour, and spent the night very pleasantly, under the hospitable roof of Billy Harjo, a chief of the 'Upper Creeks.' This chief is not a member of the church. . . . but now he attends preaching regularly and is engaged in having a Baptist meeting-house erected near his own residence. . . . .

"Brother 'Blacksmith Jack' and Chilly McIntosh preached funeral sermons after which Brother Buckner took up a collection of four dollars."

After a baptizing at a stream " . . . . the whole congregation partook of a plentiful dinner, which the brethren had prepared on the previous day. . . . ."[36]

The first letter from Mr. Buckner in 1854 was printed in *The Indian Advocate* in the February issue. He wrote of baptizing James and David Yarjah, grandsons of the Big Warrior,[37] of Red-Stick-War notoriety. He reported James as a studious and talented young man who had spent five years at school. He was the son of Yajah, a chief in Tuckabachee. Preaching took place in the new church, but it was inadequate to hold the great crowd of people present:

"Such a congregation in the woods, in the midst of winter, would have made a beautiful sketch for an amateur painter—a cloud of Indians, dressed in their old-fashioned native consumes—many having been attracted to meeting for the first time, in all their native wildness and simplicity—some standing, some sitting on the grass or reclining against trees, some in the tops of saplings; and one youth in front, and near to me, stood leaning upon the top of his bow, with spearheaded arrows in his hands. . . . ."

Asbury Mission was crowded in 1854. At the beginning of the term one hundred and twelve children were admitted, although the stipulated number was eighty. Some of them ran away, a habit quite common in Indian schools as the children were unaccustomed to discipline at home; frequently the parents kept their children at home to help with the work, or they wished to display to their friends the progress made by them in school.

When the mission was started many large boys and girls were admitted, but it was soon found that some of them were unmanageable and with little inclination to study, so they were gradually eliminated and those retained who were making progress. Among those doing well were Priscilla Harrison, Nancy Berryhill, Mila Bosan, Polly Monack, Louisa English, Elizabeth Johnson. Of the lads, Charles West, James Yargee, Richard Fisher, Eli Danly, Caddo Wadsworth. Some of the students had married.

Miss R. J. Crawford and Miss M. I. Ish were the principal teachers and they had oversight of the girls out of school. The usual branches were taught. One hundred and fifty copies of the Bible and Testaments were sold and distributed through the school that year.

The farm was in good condition and with the aid of two young men the boys raised sixty acres of corn which yielded a fair crop

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[36] *The Indian Advocate*, December, 1853.

[37] Big Warrior, or Tustinuggee Thlucco, principal chief of the Creek Indians, remained the friend of the whites although Tecumseh attempted to persuade him to join him against them. The Shawnee, in disgust, told Big Warrior, "your blood is white. You have taken my red sticks and my talk, but you do not mean to fight" (Pickett, "*History of Alabama*," [Birmingham, 1900], p. 514).

in spite of a severe drouth. Superintendent Ruble thought the school was gaining ground in spite of much opposition and that it stood high in the estimation of the Indians and friends of improvement. "We see no good ground to doubt the success of the manual-labor plan, for most certainly it is the one best calculated to meet the immediate wants of the Indians.

In 1858 Asbury was still under the care of Mr. Ruble and the school was being taught by W. C. Munson and his daughter. The ages of the pupils were from eight to sixteen years and the usual branches were taught. In addition considerable time was given to vocal and instrumental music, "the latter on the melodeon only." Some of the boys "declaim well on the stage."

About seventy-five acres were cultivated in corn, oats, millet, potatoes, turnips, and they were experimenting with Chinese sugar cane, which grew very well there. The boys helped with the farm work and in addition they ground nearly all of the meal on steel mills for the school, for which they were paid ten cents per bushel.

Mr. Buckner, after a visit to Louisville, resumed his work among the Creeks. He wrote of the "Fourth of July Festival" where he was the Chaplain. The celebration was arranged entirely by the Indians "and conducted in a manner that would have done credit to the most civilized people on earth. . . . . So far as good order in large assemblies is an index of attainments in civilization, the Creek Indians will triumphantly bear off the palm from any nation of my acquaintance and it is high time that historians were setting them down where they belong—at the head of all civilized tribes."

About two thousand persons were present and partook of roast beef, boiled hams, mutton, turkeys, chickens, bread, coffee and sweetmeats in profusion after the meeting.[38]

A Masonic lodge was organized at North Fork on November 9, 1855. The charter was granted to George W. Stidham and William H. Whitefield and John Barrvile. These men rode horseback to Little Rock, Arkansas, to the Grand Lodge to secure the charter; the journey and return required five days. Stidham became Worshipful Master, Whitefield Senior Warden and Barrvile was Junior Warden. In later years this lodge was removed to Standpipe Hill in Muskogee and it was called Muscogee Lodge No. 90; subsequently it became Masonic Lodge No. 1 at Eufaula, Oklahoma.[39]

Citizens along the Texas Road witnessed a pageant of absorbing interest early in December, 1855, when the Second United States Cavalry, recently created by Congress, marched from Jefferson Bar-

[38] *The Indian Advocate*, January, 1855.

[39] OHS. *Indian-Pioneer History*, authority of Mr. Charlie Shields of Eufaula, a long-time Mason, from old records in his possession, Vol. 69, pp. 289-90.

racks on the way to Texas to fight the Indians. The officers of that regiment were destined to become celebrated in the later history of the army: George H. Thomas, Albert Sidney Johnston, Robert E. Lee, Earl Van Dorn, Edmund Kirby Smith, William J. Hardee, Fitzhugh Lee, John B. Hood and Theodore O'Hara. Ten troops, numbering 750 men with 800 horses and twenty-five wagons drawn by 650 mules stretched out in a line several miles long, slowly crossing the prairies and hills to Honey Springs and North Fork Town, where they camped, and journied south to Fort Washita; they arrived at Fort Belknap, Texas, on December 27.[40]

J. W. Stephens, a mixed Creek and Negro, was born near the present Eufaula about 1858. In an interview he said that North Fork Town had a population of about three hundred; it was a favorite meeting place for the transaction of tribal affairs. One important business establishment there was a store and a shop where repairs were made on wagons. There was an inn but most of the travelers camped and cooked their own food.[41]

John Collins cared for the emigrants who preferred to eat at his place rather than to camp. New Blackhawk ran a store and George Delair was a blacksmith at North Fork Town, according to Mrs. Sarah Odeon, a half-blood Creek Indian of Muskogee.[42]

According to Leona Owens of Eufaula, her father, John Ingram, came to the Indian Territory from Texas when he was about fifteen years old. He and his family traveled up the Kansas and Texas Trail and located at North Fork Town where there were only a few people living there.

George W. Stidham and Charles Smith owned a trading post and Nero was also in business at that time. Mr. Smith's wife was a sister of Washington Grayson. When John Ingram returned from the Civil War he married Mrs. Dick Ross and they made their home at the old town as long as it existed; after which they and their baby removed to Eufaula.[43]

In October, 1855, Bishop George F. Pierce described his visit to Asbury Mission where the Indian Mission Conference was held. He thought the country between Tahlequah and North Fork Town the most picturesque he had ever seen and he was pleased with the hearty welcome he received "from the white man and the Indian."

The clergyman noted with interest Chimney Mountain

" . . . . which seemed to preside over the prairie and to watch every passer-by. For twenty miles or more it is seemingly about you; you cannot escape it. . . . you feel haunted and then attracted; and when at

[40] Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road* (Norman, 1936), pp. 37-38.

[41] OHS. *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 68, p. 119.

[42] *Ibid.*, Vol. 81, pp. 240-42. Dean Collins moved to Eufaula and was the first barber there as his father had been at North Fork Town.

[43] *Ibid.*, Vol. 38, p. 436.

last some rival mound, aided by distance, hides it from your vision, you feel as if you had looked for the last time on some old familiar landmark, or had bidden a friend farewell."

The Bishop wrote that it would be well for the skeptical about evangelizing the Indians to attend a conference among them:[44]

"The place, the school, the Conference, each and all make an interesting paragraph in the current history of this aboriginal race. But a generation gone they were heathens; now they have flourishing academies, houses of religious worship, the apparel and the manners of civilization. . . . the white man's book, his gospel, and his preacher.

" . . . . here is a large three-story brick building—a schoolhouse—with superintendent, teachers, male and female, and the Annual Conference assembled within its walls! The bell rings and we all descend to the dining-hall; the boys sit at one table, a teacher at the head; the girls at another, the guests at a third. All in order; no rushing and jamming; and now every one at his place awaits in silence the invocation of a blessing upon the bounteous board.

" . . . . Chilli McIntosh informed me that the Creeks had increased *two thousand in five years!* . . . . The desire to learn the English language is almost universal among them. . . . . Nothing special occurred during the session save the admission into the travelling connection of James McHenry—better known in Georgia and Alabama as 'Jim Henry'—the hero of the Creek war in 1856. The lion has become a lamb—the *brave* a preacher . . . . the Bible and hymn-book fill the hands that once grasped the torch and tomahawk. The bold, valiant savage, who spread consternation among the peaceful settlements on either side of the Chattahoochee, now travels a circuit. . . . .

" . . . . the Indian preachers wished to hold a 'council' with me and requested me to designate an hour for the interview. . . . .

"In the midst of our talk, *Chilli McIntosh*—well known in Georgia. . . . came in. The son of an old chief himself a chief, the Indians all rose, in respect to the man and his title. They called him *General* . . . . McIntosh. . . . . Though not an old man, he is now very gray; has a mild, gentle face, more expressive of humor than of boldness, and looks as if he would like a joke better than a fight. In conversation he is entertaining, quick-witted, and ready at any time for a little fun. . . . . I asked him various questions about his people, the country, the soil, and the prospects of the Nation. He says it is a much better country than the one they left. . . . . They could not be induced to return. . . . ."

In the report of Lieutenant Edward F. Beale of his survey of a wagon road from Fort Smith to the Colorado River in 1858, he wrote of encamping at North Fork Town, "an insignificant village" on November 2. While there he learned that the price of corn had advanced from two bits to a dollar a bushel, owing to a short crop and the fact that a government train and its quartermaster's drafts were on the road. He left the town "which had nothing inviting in its appearance, ... encamped about half a mile beyond it."[45]

[44] George G. Smith, *The Life and Times of George Foster Pierce* . . . . (Nashville, Tennessee, 1888), pp. 223-229. Bishop Pierce left North Fork on October 15 in company with the Reverend Mr. McAlister and Brother Ewing for the Choctaw Agency at Scullyville (*ibid.*, pp. 232-33).

[45] Grant Foreman, "Survey of a Wagon Road from Fort Smith to the Colorado River," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March, 1934), pp. 74, 79.

The Reverend Mr. Murrow reported to the *Mississippi Baptist* October 30, 1858, that the United States overland mail route from St. Louis to California passed through North Fork. The first stage from California passed with four passengers two weeks previously. The mail was transported monthly.

Traffic through North Fork Town, or Micco, was greatly increased because of the Gold Rush to Denver in 1858-59. Residents of the place reported hundreds of emigrants and thousands of cattle from Texas passing through on the way to the El Dorado of Colorado.[46]

Under date of April 22, 1859, Missionary Murrow wrote to the *Arkansas Baptist*: "We met yesterday six trains of wagons, besides at least 1,000 head of cattle in different droves on their way to Pike's Peak gold region. . . . in high spirits . . . . most of them from Texas, a great many however from Arkansas are continually passing this road."[47]

J. S. Murrow, Micco, Creek Nation, May 12, 1859, wrote to Brother Watson, for the *Arkansas Baptist*:

"The coming payment is creating quite a sensation out here just now, nor will the excitement be over until after the payment, nor even then for some time. Many of the Indians are neglecting their farms looking forward to the money they expect to get at the payment for support. Many are selling their 'Head-rights' and merchants are buying these head rights even before it is known that the money will be paid out per capita. Merchants have laid in large stocks for the approaching money campaign. Everything has gone up. Flour had gone up from four to five dollars per sack to eight and ten dollars.

"Some of the old chiefs want a part at least, of the money coming on now to be invested in good state stocks. They argue that it is the last money that will be received except from annuities, and it had best be invested and the interest used from year to year in improvements, school funds, etc. Others again are anxious for it all to be paid out now, and then they say the people will have to work. . . . ."

On June 30, 1859, Reverend Murrow wrote to the *Arkansas Baptist* from Micco:[48]

Our usually quiet little town is just at this time in considerable excitement and commotion. Light horsemen are parading the streets, guns, pistols and dirk knives are in great demand, and quite a large army of some fifty warriors are assembled about ten miles above here and altogether things look a little scary. The cause of the tumult arises from the killing of a Cherokee Indian by a Creek father and son named Carr." The Cherokees threatened that if the murderers were not delivered they would go over and kill Moty Kanard, principal Chief of the Lower District, Tuck-a-batchie Micco, ex-chief of the Upper District, General Chilly McIntosh, Opothle Yahola and J. M. C. Smith. Creek authorities inaugurated a movement to hold an "International Council of Nations" at

[46] Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road* (Norman, 1936), p. 42.
[47] Grant Foreman, *Marcy and the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939), p. 104, n. 27.
[48] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 236.

North Fork (Asbury) Mission in 1859, "with the avowed purpose of framing and adopting a code of International Laws, to be regarded and adhered to by the nations participating in such General Council of Nations, as the law governing the intercourse policy towards each other and between them."

The Reverend Thomas Bertholf became a missionary teacher at Asbury Mission in 1859, but at the beginning of the war he and his wife, Nancy Keys Bertholf, went south and remained near the mouth of the Washita River until the end of the war when they returned to North Fork mission, where Mr. Bertholf died July 28, 1867, greatly revered and regretted by his many friends among the Cherokees and Creeks.[49]

J. S. Murrow wrote to the *South Western Baptist,* June 22, 1859:

" . . . . Here are circuses, shows, theatres, gamblers, jockeys, traders, and even dentists and artists,—all intent upon getting the Indians' money, and they will succeed to a very great extent. This is a fine country, Bro. Buckner has at this time a beautiful small pasture of Hungarian timothy and Herds grass. D. N. McIntosh has a fine pasture of clover and blue grass, Chinese sugar cane grows as finely as it could possibly on its native soil. Vegetables of all kinds grow most luxuriantly. Sister Buckner has as fine a garden, I suppose, as any country in the United States,—peas, beans, squaches, onions, lettuce, cabbage, radishes, asparagus, beets, carrots, cucumbers, okra, parsnips, peppers, tomatoes, turnips, &c. &c.—Melons of all kinds are plentiful in summer. Berries are found in quantities growing wild, nor is the orchard wanting,—the finest apples, peaches, pears, cherries, plums &c; pecan nuts, hickory nuts, walnuts &c. all lie upon the ground in the forests nearly all winter."

The first and second chiefs were elected once every four years:[50]

"In this district, the Lower, Moty Kanard, former second chief, was elected by a very large majority to the office of principal chief. Uncle Moty is a deacon in the Baptist church at this place, and is a good man and a Christian. He is the tallest man in the nation, nearly seven feet high. Jacob Derisau was elected to the office of second chief. . . . .

"Within ten days the last 'big payment' comes off when $225,000 will be scattered broadcast over the nation. Sharpers however, are here in shoals, and it will not be a great while before money will be as scarce as ever again. . . . .

"Six loaded wagons bound for New Mexico passed through this town Saturday last, driving through Beale's Route. This is bound to be the route when it is opened. The 35th parallel, up the north side of the Canadian, is the best and shortest route to New Mexico, California, etc. Plenty of corn this way, fine water, abundance of wood and fine grass."[51]

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[49] H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory,* Saint Louis, 1892, p. 458. Mr. Bertholf had served as superintendent of Asbury in 1864 and continued in the position in 1865. In 1866 he was assistant superintendent of the school.—Charles R. Freeman, "Rev. Thomas Bertholf," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XI, No. 4 (December, 1933) pp. 1022-23.

[50] Murrow, Micco, June 28, 1859.

[51] J. S. Murrow, Micco, Creek Nation, to Bro. Watson, "for the *Arkansas Baptist,*" July 26, 1859.

"It has been proposed, and indeed the 'Broken Days' have been sent out for a 'general grand peace council' of all the neighboring Indian tribes to be held and assembled at this town, North Fork, on the 8th or 9th of November next. The object is once more to smoke together the pipe of peace and bury still deeper the tomahawk. In other words, to renew their pledge of peace and friendship and amend their international laws.—If this can be effected it will result in much good. Existing feuds can perhaps be amicably settled. . . . ."[52]

" . . . . The natives are fast changing their old manners and customs. There are not half so many buckskin leggings, shawls and moccasins worn now as there were five years ago. Their houses are better and their farms larger and cleaner; they raise stock in abundance and take great delight in it. The Indian women are excellent cooks, but unfortunately are not always as as clean as they might be."[53]

" . . . Crops are fine. The new Chinese sugar cane is being raised. The Creeks have no mills but cut the stalks into small pieces, "throw them into their sof-ky mortars and pound them into mummy. They then put the mass in sacks and squeeze the juice out as well as they are able, then boil it down into syrup. The process is very tedious. Syrup or molasses they call ne-ha-chum-puh or sweet grease.

"Emigrants to and from Texas are continually passing through this nation. Fifty or sixty and even more wagons pass daily. Large flocks of sheep are always passing. It is almost incredible the number of sheep that have passed this place during the past month. Perhaps 50,000 would not be an underestimate. Texas is said to be a fine stock country."[54]

On Monday the 7th:

" . . . . the whole town in confusion and commotion, owing to the excitement caused by the meeting of the grand peace council of the five neighboring tribes, then holding its meeting about a mile from the town. . . . .

"The objects of the council, are to form an intertribal league or compact, to agree upon international laws, settle many old disputes or claims, and constitute more friendly and intimate relations between the several tribes. Several of the most intelligent and prominent men in each nation were present. . . . . Ho-po-eth-le-yo-ho-lo, in an opening speech before the council, after referring in an eloquent and forcible manner to the ancient 'glory' of the red men, their numbers, territory and power, and after expatiating for some time upon their ways, and bewailing their present condition, he illustrated their present condition thus:

"At the mouth of the Chattahootchie, there is a small Island. Once it was very large; the waters have been gradually washing it away until now it is very small. Soon it will be all gone. The people will ask where is the island? and will be answered, the waters have washed it away and now it is overflown. Our condition is now like that of the little island. Once we were a large people and owned a great country. The white people like the waters of the river have washed us away until we are now very small. We can almost shoot an arrow over the little country we now possess and yet the whites want to rob us of a portion of this. Let

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[52] J. S. Murrow to Bro. Watson, "for the *Arkansas Baptist*," Micco, Creek Nation, September 23, 1859.

[53] J. S. Murrow to Bro. Lyon. "For the *Baptist Messenger*," Micco, Creek Nation, west of Arkansas, October 15, 1859.

[54] Murrow to editor of the *Mississippi Baptist*. Micco, Oct. 20, 1859.

us not agree to this brethren. Let us build a strong bank around our island, that the waters may not overflow us."[55]

On January 3, 1860, Brother Murrow moved from North Fork to a station at Little River in the Creek Nation. From his new home he wrote on February 10, 1860: "Bro. Robert G. Atkins, a merchant at North Fork, born in Louisiana, raised in Alabama, died recently. I boarded with Bro. Atkins for six months and loved him dearly." He sent a letter to Brother Boykin at Rehoboth Station on May 11, 1860, saying that he had visited North Fork the previous week and welcomed to the Creek Nation and its missionary labors Brother J. A. Preston and his wife.

Albert Pike was sent by the Confederate government to negotiate treaties with the Five Civilized Tribes and on July 10, 1861, he signed a treaty with members of the Creek tribe, although strongly opposed by Opothleyahola, who made a fiery speech opposing his nation leaving the Union. Pike was greatly assisted in his work by the influential McIntosh family.[56]

The General Council of the Creek Nation assembled at North Fork Town at the instance of the Commissioner of the Confederate States, Captain Albert Pike, to hear his proposition for a treaty of alliance and friendship. As a result of the meeting the following persons were appointed as a committee to negotiate the treaty, viz:

Motty Kanard, Chilly McIntosh, Louis McIntosh, George W. Stidham, D. N. McIntosh, Samuel Checote, Thomas C. Carr, Echo Harjo, George Brinton, George Walker, John G. Smith, Ja. M. C. Smith, Cowassart Fixeco, Joseph Cornells, Timothy Barnette.

North Fork Town (or Micco) served as a base for supplies for the Southern forces during their operations in the north and provisions were held there.

The former followers of Opothle Yohola during the war returned from Kansas headed by Ok-tar-har-sars Harjo and settled on Greenleaf Creek south of Fort Gibson. In the summer of 1867 cholera broke out among them and a large number of them died. The disease spread to Fort Gibson, Honey Springs, and North Fork Town where there were many deaths.[57]

Asbury Mission was badly used during the Civil War. All of the outbuildings were burned and everything movable was carried away from the school building. The mission was sufficiently restored by 1869 so that school could be resumed, but in July it was totally destroyed by fire. The Creeks out of their meager funds donated ten thousand dollars toward reconstruction the following

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[55] J. S. Murrow, Micco, Nov. 10, 1859, to Bro. Warren. "For the Index."

[56] Charles R. Freeman, "The Battle of Honey Springs," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (June, 1935), p. 154.

[57] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942), p. 146.

year. "The people of this North Fork settlement returned after the war to the sites of their old homes to find complete devastation of everything they had left behind. . . . ."[58]

The Drew family had fled to Texas at the beginning of the Civil War; Susannah and her aunt Rebecca McIntosh returned to the Indian Territory in 1866, traveling up the Texas Road, crossing Red River at Crowder's Ferry and the Canadian at North Fork Town. They hired some Cherokee men to build a hewed log house for them to be used as a ranch house. They returned to Texas in November and in 1867 Susannah brought her mother, Delilah McIntosh Drew, and their Negroes back to the Territory.

After the death of his wife, Sarah Ann Adair, William Penn Adair on December 8, 1868, married Miss Drew at her home on North Fork River. Thereafter much of her life was spent in Washington, D. C., where her husband represented his nation in many important affairs until his death in the capital on October 21, 1880.[59]

On February 11, 1869, the citizens of North Fork District met in council in North Fork Town and, among other resolutions, decided that John A. Richards should be ordered out of the Creek Nation for preaching Mormonism without permission. Richards was one of the Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints who died in the missionary field.[60]

"[He] was born in England or Ireland in 1826 . . . . . emigrated to the Rocky Mountains during the early years of the Utah's settlement and at the general conference of the Church held in April 1855, he was called, with four other Elders, to labor among the natives inhabiting the Indian Territory. On the way to their destination they were joined by four Elders from St. Louis, Missouri, and all arrived in the Territory in the fall of the same year. The mission opened up encouragingly and in a short time a branch of the Church was organized on Grand River in the Cherokee Nation.

"Elder Richard's wife having died in Utah, he married a Cherokee lady named Manhui, thus becoming a citizen of the nation. The lady being a widow and owning a large plantation and about sixteen slaves, convenient and permanent headquarters were established for the Elders.

"In the spring of 1859, all the Elders laboring in the Indian Territory, returned to their homes, excepting John A. Richards and one or two other Elders who died later in the field. When the war of the Rebellion broke out, the Indian Territory shared its horrors, and the branch of the Church was broken up and the members scattered.

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[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 75, 145-46.

[59] Susannah Drew Adair Rogers died at Muskogee April 4, 1939, at the age of ninety-five.—Carolina Thomas Foreman, "A Creek Pioneer, Notes Concerning 'Aunt Sue' Rogers and her family," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1943), pp. 271, 274, 276, 279.

[60] From a copy of material on file in the Historian's office, Genealogical Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

"When peace was again restored between the North and the South, and the Indians had returned to their country, Elder Richards turned his attention to the cultivation of a farm, and when Elders Matthew W. Dalton and John Hubbard were sent to the Indian Territory to labor as missionaries in 1877, they found Brother Richards a regular Cherokee in his customs and ways. After a short mission by these Utah Elders, they returned leaving him alone in the field. His Cherokee wife (a high class woman who was very kind to the Elders) died, and he afterwards married a Choctaw woman, and Brother Richards thus became a member of the Choctaw Nation. This wife also died, after which he returned to the Cherokees with his only son by the Cherokee woman, for whom he provided a liberal education, both in English and Cherokee, with a view to making him an efficient Latter Saint Missionary; but the young man died just before the advent of President Andrew Kimball into the mission in 1887. . . . . After this Elder Richards did some missionary work with Elder Kimball, but he was occupied mostly on his farm.

"The Elders often endeavored to induce him to return to Utah to spend his remaining days with his daughter, who resided in Cache County, but for some time he would not entertain the idea.

"He was then advancing in years, being upwards of sixty years old. During the summer of 1889 he mingled with the Indians in all their feasts, festivities and political labors by which he probably exerted and exposed himself too much. In the Spring of 1889 he also met with a serious accident. His wagon overturned while crossing a stream, inflicting upon him such injuries that he never fully recovered. He died 21 Sept. 1889 and was buried the following day near his ranch on the Verdiges [sic] river in Western Cherokee Nation. Among all his acquaintances, whites and Indians, Brother Richards was held in the highest esteem, and the Elders who had shared his hospitality will never forget him."

J. H. Beadle, western correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial,* was advised to travel through the west to overcome attacks of asthma; he was in the Indian Territory when the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad was being constructed south of Muskogee and he visited North Fork Town where he heard of a fight in which a white man had been mortally wounded by railroad followers.

According to *The Laws of the Muskogee Nation,* compiled by L. C. Perryman in 1869, the principal chief was empowered to appoint a board of trustees for Asbury Manual Labor School on the North Fork River. It was the duty of these men to see that clothing be obtained for the orphans at the school, to keep an account of it and present it annually to the National Council.

No students were to be admitted to the school under the age of thirteen; until they had learned the rudiments of the five rules of arithmetic; had learned to read in English easy words of three syllables.

The Reverend John Harrell, a native of Perquimans County, North Carolina, performed prodigious labors in the Indian Territory.[61]

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[61] R. L. Williams, "Rev. John Harrell," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XI, No. 1 (March, 1933), pp. 743-45.

He was licensed to preach in 1823 when only seventeen years of age and he was forty-four when he was transferred to the Indian Mission Conference in 1850. He was in charge of several Indian mission schools before being assigned as superintendent of Asbury in 1870-71; the buildings had been burned but under the efficient management of Mr. Harrell they were rebuilt. After serving as Presiding Elder of Creek and Cherokee districts he was returned to Asbury in 1876 as superintendent and he and his wife were there when she died on November 20, 1876, about a month before his own death. They were buried near the graves of Reverend Thomas Bertholf and his wife in the little North Fork burying ground near the present highway, and the neglect of the place does not indicate that their long and faithful work for the Indians is remembered.

Articles of Agreement were entered into between John Harrell, superintendent of the Indian Mission Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church South, in behalf of the missions of the church, of the first part, and Pleasant Porter, Chilly McIntosh, Joseph M. Perryman, George W. Stidham, and James McHenry, trustees empowered by the Muskogee Nation to act for the second part.[62]

The Board of Foreign Missions agreed to take charge of the Asbury School buildings, farm and other property connected thereto—all located near North Fork Town; to furnish a competent superintendent and suitable teachers, and to receive, clothe, feed, take care of and educate at the school eighty students, male and female. This contract was later amended to admit only boys. The lads were to remain in the school at least four regular sessions of ten months each, unless dismissed for disability or bad conduct. They were to be furnished with medical attendance, books and stationery, and were to be instructed in agriculture and mechanical arts.

The trustees agreed for the nation that for the service payment at the rate of seventy dollars a year was to be made for each student, the aggregate amount was not to exceed $5,600 in any one year. The agreement was signed by the trustees on September 29, 1869.

In March, 1871, the Council approved a bill granting William F. McIntosh the right to build a toll bridge on the public road leading from North Fork Town to Fort Gibson, on Big Elk Creek. The act was to continue in force for fifteen years. If McIntosh built a substantial bridge and kept it in good repair he was entitled to seventy-five cents for every vehicle drawn by more than four animals; for each conveyance drawn by one or two animals and driver, twenty-five cents; for one man and horse, ten cents; "for each animal in every drove of cattle, horses, hogs or sheep, one cent per head." It was also enacted that no person should be privileged to establish

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[62] *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation* (Muskogee, Indian Territory, 1890), p. 51.

a bridge or make a public road within half a mile on either side of the McIntosh bridge.[63]

On March 12, 1872, the *Fort Smith Herald* reported that the track of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad was laid to North Fork River and the bridge across the stream would be finished that week. "This road will not touch North Fork Town, it will pass about three miles west of it, and cross the Canadian River at or near Scalesburgh, in the Choctaw Nation." Mrs. Delilah Drew made a claim against the railroad for passing through her farm at North Fork, burning rails $75.00, corn $1500.00, four hundred bushels of apples $400.00[64]

The construction of the first railroad through the Indian Territory brought many new citizens to places along the right of way. From Kansas William Gage Fryer and his wife Elizabeth, who had removed from Illinois, drove in a wagon with their children in 1872 to the Indian country where Fryer, a skilled mechanic, was sure of all the work he could do. A daughter, Minnie, who was a small child at the time, related that her father built the station at Gibson Station before going to North Fork Town where he took charge of a saw mill and sawed lumber for all of the buildings in that part of the country. While living there he boarded with a full-blood Indian woman known as Aunt Polly. There were only two stores, a post office and half a dozen houses when Mr. Fryer arrived.[65]

The merchants abandoned the site of North Fork Town in 1873 when the railroad passed the village by several miles and moved their stores to Eufaula.[66] Micco postoffice was abandoned April 21, 1873.

Buck Rogers of Checotah in an interview stated that the site of Eufaula was selected by George W. Stidham, Captain Sam Grayson, G. E. Scales, D. B. Whitlow, and Joseph McDonald Coodey. These men paid one thousand dollars to R. S. Stevens, manager of

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[63] *Constitution and Laws of the Muskogee Nation as Compiled by L. C. Perryman* (Muskogee, 1890), pp. 88, 89.

[64] National Archives, Creek H. 183, I 268 Hoag to Comr. & numerous other papers about claim of Delilah Drew.

[65] OHS. Vol. 3, p. 481, *Indian-Pioneer History.* William Gage Fryer constructed the Council House at Okmulgee which is still standing in good condition and a notable landmark in Oklahoma. His sons George and John, and his daughter Mrs. Minnie Fryer Finnigan, have been citizens of Muskogee for many years.

[66] "Watt Grayson late in 1873 lived near North Fork in the Creek Nation. He was known to have a considerable sum of money, and a gang of robbers took him out of his home, put a rope around his neck, pulled him up six times before he weakened and told them the money was buried under the hearth in the house. They took the money, about $30,000 in gold and silver coin, and got away with it. Jim Reed was one of the robbers, but the money was taken by old Tom Starr and was divided later. Reed found he was being trailed and went to Texas. He was on the way back to the Cherokee Nation when he was killed."—A. W. Neville, *The Red River Valley Then and Now,* Paris, Texas, 1948, p. 51.

the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad, to locate the station on the site of the present Eufaula instead of at Fifetown across the river.[67]

The Asbury Mission remained at its old home, and the twenty-ninth session of the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held there, beginning October 22, 1874, with Bishop H. H. Kavanaugh presiding.

In 1881 the National Council of the Muskogee Nation enacted a law that the trustees of Asbury Manual Labor School were empowered to consider the plan of buying and converting the building then occupied by the school into a Female Academy; they were to report their findings at the next session of the Council. The act was approved October 31, 1881. The next month the Council passed an act giving the trustees and superintendents of the manual labor school power to make rules and regulations regarding the visiting of pupils by their parents and friends. The act was approved November 2, 1881.

Asbury burned on September 24, 1881, and George W. Stidham offered his residence as a home for the children and missionaries.[68]

After Tullahassee and Asbury Mission Manual Labor schools burned in 1881 the National Council ruled that until other provision was made for the pupils who were deprived of school privileges, the Levering Manual Labor School should accommodate ten boys and ten girls over and above the number contracted for by the Muskogee Nation with the Baptist Board, at the same price *per capita* as those contracted for were accommodated. This act was approved October 8, 1881.

Among the interesting students who attended North Fork Mission in 1876 was Peter Ewing. The lad's father was Daniel Roberts, but the teacher, Mr. Ewing, could not understand when the boy told him and said "I will give you my own name," so Peter carried it during his long and useful life.

On March 15, 1888, the Eufaula *Indian Journal* announced that on Saturday, March the 17th, the remaining property of Old Asbury Manual Labor Mission would be sold; this consisted of "molasses, mill, mower, stoves, &c., &c.," the announcement was signed by Roley McIntosh who invited everybody to attend the sale.

In his later years the Reverend Mr. Buckner and his wife lived at Eufaula and near his home is his grave with the monument inscribed: "My husband Rev. H. F. Buckner, D. D., December 18, 1818—

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[67] OHS. *Indian-Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection, Vol. 52, pp. 428-33.

[68] "Notes and Documents," data from Grant Foreman, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Autumn, 1946), p. 365.

December 3, 1882, a missionary among the Creek Indians for 33 years from Pulaski Co., Ky. . . . ."

Near the once thriving village is a small cemetery, in which rest the remains of the Reverend John Harrell who was superintendent of Asbury Mission.[69] Beside him are the mortal remains of his devoted wife.

The coming of the railroad brought a most undesirable class of people to the Indian Territory and a large number of officers were required to maintain peace. That this part of the country had gained a bad name is shown by the following letter:[70]

"Shawnee town, Ind. Terty
April 20, 1875

"Mr. Richardson
Friend

"We the Chiefs and headmen of Absentee Band Shawnee Indians are very desirous of a good & full representation at the Grand Council which will assemble at Okmulgee . . . . in May. We want our friends from the plains & from your locality all to come that can come. Do us the kindness to try and have your different Tribes send Delegates to this meeting. The Cherokees & Choctaws depend on the Troubles out in your country to keep the people in your locality away so that they can remove the place of meeting to either Fort Gibson, Muskokee or North Fork Town—either of these places is objectionable to us—They are overflowing with whiskey—lewd Women & Gamblers—We know you for a gentleman & a friend to sobriety & good order & feel satisfied you will help us. . . . .

"We are your friends
John Esparnia Chief
Joe Ellis 2nd "
Sam Charley—Sampson—Wild Cat—John Deer—
Long Gibson Bob Deer & other Herdmen."

A Creek-Neighborhood school was maintained at North Fork Town with the following teachers: Doc Sherwood was paid $160 for his work to June 30, 1868. On February 3, 1869, he received $200 for five months teaching. From March 13, 1869, to August 23,

[69] The site of North Fork Town is about 1½ miles east of Eufaula, in McIntosh County, and the site of Asbury Mission, about 2 miles northeast of Eufaula. The site of North Fork Town was visited by the late Reverend J. Y. Bryce and party in July, 1930. All that was left marking the site of the old town was a cemetery or burial ground in a grove of huge trees, in a cotton field. The oldest grave in this cemetery was that of Wm. Chapman, born Feb. 11, 1785, and died Sept. 30, 1845. The grave was originally inclosed by a low stone wall, and entirely covered by a large sandstone slab bearing the inscription that ended with these words: "Being a long and tried friend of the Creek Nation." The graves of the Reverend John Harrell and wife are over a mile northwest of the site of North Fork Town, and about ½ mile west of the site of Asbury Mission. (J. Y. Bryce, "Temporary Markers of Historic Points," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VIII, No. 3 [September, 1930], pp. 287-88; also, Muriel H. Wright, "Some Historic Sites in Southern and Southeastern Oklahoma," in photograph album of photos taken 1930 and notes on history of sites, in Oklahoma Historical Society Library.)—Ed.

[70] Oklahoma Historical Society, Indian Archives Division, *Kiowa-Indian Councils*. About 1845 a division of the Shawnee separated from the rest of the tribe, then in Kansas, and removed to Indian Territory; thereafter they were known as *Absentee Shawnees*.

1871, eight warrants were issued to Mrs. Elizabeth S. Ross and Lizzie S. Ross for services in teaching at North Fork Town. W. H. Woodman received two warrants, totalling $100, on November 25, 1871. Four warrants were issued to Millie McIntosh on December 1, 1871, which amounted to $100. Warrants dated February 16, 1872 and January 15, 1873, were paid to Mr. E. S. Ingram and his wife Elizabeth Ingram for their services in teaching at the "Old Town". She taught the second quarter of 1874-75; the third quarter of 1874-75 and the fourth quarter. At that time Naharthloco Harjo, Ethosmicco, Captain Dorsey and Hotichee Herrod were the trustees. A warrant in favor of Thomas Harvison, dated November 1, 1873, for $25 was issued November 1, 1873, for the first quarter.[71]

The site of old North Fork Town is comprised within sixteen acres near the forks of the North and South Canadian rivers. This land was owned by George Barnett, Creek Indian. "Old Town" was burned during the Civil War by General [?] John Garrett of the Confederate army and it was never rebuilt.[72] There is not a trace left of the village except two dug wells which were used when the site was occupied. The wells were walled with rock and were covered over with rocks; the water is still good and is used by people living on the land. At present there are two small rent houses on this historic soil and an old log house stands in the vicinity which was used as a hospital during the Civil War. The old Texas Trail is still visible. "It ran across Rocky Ford, about one mile east of North Fork Town, turned to the left at this place and ran through the town and across the South Canadian River."

The land occupied by the "Old Town" was later planted in pecan trees and cotton. Across the road on the north is an old soldiers' burial ground. The graves have been worn down and plowed over so that they cannot be seen. "There were people buried in this burial ground at Old Town as far back as 1815, mostly negroes." Aaron Chapman was the sole white person interred there.[73]

OHS. *Indian-Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection, Interview with John H. Hubble, C. E. Foley and Lizzie Gibson, Eufaula, Oklahoma, vol. 30, pp. 39-41. Mr. C. E. Foley, a prominent and successful business man and banker died in Eufaula February 26, 1944 (*Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, February 26, 1944). In the 1895 census in the North Fork Town there were 1029 colored citizens (*Acts and Resolutions of the Creek National Council* of the Sessions of May, June, October, November and December, 1895, Muskogee, 1896, p. 14). (The Oklahoma Historical Society erected an historical marker for North Fork Town, 1949-50, on Highway No. 69 north of Eufaula.—Ed.)

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[71] OHS. Indian Archives, *Creek Schools, Neighborhood*, numbers 38002-38007.

[72] W. C. Quantrill, the notorious guerilla leader, reporting to Gen. Sterling Price from Camp on Canadian, October 13, 1863, mentioned a *Captain Garrett* in his command.—*The War of the Rebellion*: . . . . Official Records (Washington, 1888), Series I—Volume XXII, Part one, p. 700).

[73] (The grave stone bore the name "Wm. Chapman," as stated in 69 fn., above. —Ed.)

A tragedy occurred in the vicinity of the former North Fork Town on May 27, 1908, when the Creek poet Alexander Posey was drowned in the North Canadian River. It was not until July 20 that his body was found embedded in the sand at a point near Sand Rock, nine miles south of Eufaula.

He was laid to rest in Green Hill Cemetery, Muskogee, July 23, 1908. Services were read at the grave by the Reverend A. N. Hall of the First Baptist Church in Muskogee and his monument is engraved with a stanza from one of his most beautiful poems:[74]

> "When death has shut the blue sky out from me,
> Sweet Daffodil,
> And years roll on without my memory,
> Thou'lt reach thy tender fingers down to mine of clay,
> A true friend still,
> Although I'll never know thee till the Judgment Day."

This stanza is also engraved on the bronze tablet erected to Posey's memory in the Muskogee Public Library by the Indian Women's Club.[75]

[74] The Oklahoma Historical Society and State Highway Department have erected an Historical Marker (1950-51) to the memory of Alexander Posey, indicating the site of the home where he was born about four miles south of the location of the marker: on State Highway No. 9 about five miles west of the City of Eufaula, in McIntosh County.—Ed.

[75] *Muskogee Times-Democrat*, July 20, 1908, p. 1, col. 2; *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*, July 23, 1908, p. 1, col. 5.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Index Published for Vol. XVIII of *The Chronicles*

Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society and others receiving *The Chronicles* regularly can secure the published Index for Volume XXVIII, 1950, compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Clerk Archivist, by addressing a request to the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Dedication of New Community Center of Bethaba Temple at Muskogee

The following report by Elizabeth Williams Cosgrove of Muskogee was received by Doctor Charles Evans, Secretary, through the kind interest of Doctor Grant Foreman, and at his special request is here presented as that of an outstanding event in the history of Bethaba Temple in Muskogee:

The Oklahoma Historical Society prides itself upon the possession of one of the most extensive and valuable collections of Archival material relating to the American Indian in the Southwest, to be found in the country. The officers of the Society pride themselves quite as much on the system with which this material is arranged and made available for study. That its pride in these particulars is well justified was emphasized by the recent visit and examination of the Archives by a distinguished scholar, Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Director of Archives, American Jewish Archives of Cincinnati, Ohio. Records in which he was interested were made available to him by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist of our Society in a manner that evoked expressions of keen appreciation for the service and for the systematic arrangement of the Archives.

From Oklahoma City Dr. Marcus went to Muskogee to attend a meeting of historic interest to the Jewish people of Oklahoma, an account of which follows:

On the evening of Sunday, April 30, 1950, the dedication of the new community centre which had been added to Bethaba Temple took place. On the rostrum with Rabbi Morton Fierman of Tulsa and Rabbi Jacob R. Marcus, Ph. D., Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew Union College, Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio, were the Reverend Dr. Walter G. Letham of the First Presbyterian Church, Muskogee and Judge Thomas W. Leahy, as representative of the Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart, Muskogee.

The two rabbis in full ceremonial robes made an impressive picture and the entire service, partly in English and partly in Hebrew was beautiful and dignified. The community centre is elegant and commodious, the panelling of beautiful wood being especially noteworthy. Dr. Marcus as principal speaker of the evening made a scholarly and eloquent address. He is intensely interested in the history of Indian Territory and of Oklahoma and stopped in Oklahoma City to consult the archives of the Historical Society on his way to Muskogee. In the course of his address,

Dr. Marcus paid tribute to Mrs. Rella Looney, archivist of the Oklahoma Historical Society, referring to her as the "charming and accommodating lady in charge of the files of the Oklahoma Historical Society."

After his return to Cincinnati, Dr. Marcus wrote the following letter to express his appreciation of the service rendered to him by the Archivist of this Society:

Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist,
Oklahoma Historical Society,
Historical Building,
Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma.
Dear Mrs. Looney:

I am writing to thank you very sincerely for the extremely detailed letter you sent me of May 18th and am grateful to you for all the time and effort you expended to give me this information. I greatly appreciate it.

With many thanks for your courtesy and with kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,
Jacob R. Marcus.

Notes of Missions and Missionaries Among the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indians

In a program reviewing the religious background of Anadarko, the following paper was given by Judge C. Ross Hume in his church at Anadarko:

PIONEER MISSIONARY ENTERPRISES OF KIOWA, COMANCHE, AND WICHITA INDIAN RESERVATIONS.

In October, 1867, at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, the United States entered into a Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians, defining their reservation as extending north and south from the Washita River to Red River, and east and west from the 98th Indian Meridian to the North Fork of Red River.

In 1872, an unratified treaty with the Wichita and Affiliated Bands defined their reservation as extending from the South Canadian River to the Washita River, and from the 98th Meridian to 98′ 40 Min. and we are dealing within these areas at this time.

When President Grant was considering a policy for controling these particular Indians, he determined to place them under the Quakers who had had signal success in dealing with Indians in the east.

The Associated Executive Committee of Orthodox Friends chose as the Indian Agent for these Indians Lawrie Tatum, an Iowa farmer who took charge at Ft. Sill, on July 1st, 1869. In turn in 1871 Jonathan Richards, a Philadelphia Quaker was made sub-agent at Wichita Agency, which later became the Post Office of Anadarko.

Lawrie Tatum wrote a book *Our Red Brothers*, and from it I quote (p. 207):

"Agent Richards was very fortunate in obtaining the services of Dr. Fordyce Grinnell for Agency Physician. He was skillful in his profession, and he and his wife were gifted of God for personal religious work with

the Indians, besides the part they took in church services held at the Agency. About fifteen or twenty Indians were converted, principally through their instrumentality. . . . .

"The agent, his wife and all of the friends connected with the Agency, were thankful for the change of heart that had taken place.

"At this point a grave difficulty was presented. What shall be done with these uncouth Christian Indians? The agent and his wife were educated refined Philadelphia Friends. It would hardly seem consistent to take these Indians, some dressed in citizen's clothes and some wearing blankets, into church membership, with those living in the City of Brotherly Love, although equally, so far as they appeared, the children of God. In addressing them we could call them brothers! because we were all created by the same Supreme Being, and his love extended to all. . . . ."

The Associated Executive Committee of Friends, had made no provision for taking care of the lambs after being born into the fold of Christ.—They seemed to be orphans, and they felt it.

At length a white man went there, claiming to be a Baptist minister, and he offered them membership in his church, and they unhesitatingly accepted him and his offer, the only one that had been presented to them of being taken into church membership.

Agent Williams, successor to Agent Richards, sawed lumber and shingles for them, and they put up a plank building for a meeting house. Slab with legs put into them were their seats. They moved on smoothly for a time, until their preacher in one of his sermons, stated that there was no definite experience in the Christian religion, and people would not know until death whether they were ordained for heaven or hell. This was so different from the teaching they had heard from Friends, and contrary to their experience, that they at once forsook their minister, and would go no more to hear him preach. He left them again to be orphans. After a time the Baptist Church sent them an Indian minister, a spiritually-minded man, who taught them as the Friends did, that the Holy Spirit not only convicted a man for sin so that he knew it, but when his sins were pardoned he made that clear equally in a happy experience.

(p. 215.) In Sept. 1878, B. B. Hunt became agent. In his report of 1879 he stated: "No minister of the gospel has been stationed among the Kiowas and Comanches, but they have been several times during the year visited by missionaries. The Rev. Mr. Murrow, Major Ingalls, and Mr. Lawrie Tatum have each visited the agency in the prosecution of their good work. Rev. John McIntosh, a Creek, has been working faithfully among the Wichitas and affiliated bands, and the result of his labors has been gratifying. There is a small church building on the reservation, and in several camps arbors have been erected, and every Sabbath a religious service is held at one of the places with a very large attendance. There is a church organization which numbers, fifty members, and additions are being made nearly every week.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF INDIAN COMMISSIONERS 1876 (p. 82).

Agent Andrew C. Williams of Wichita Agency says: "Much religious interest has been shown recently by the adult Indians, many attending religious meetings. The last agent asked for a religious teacher to instruct the adult Indians.

"Agent James M. Haworth of Kiowa Agency at Ft. Sill says: "Meetings for worship on First day mornings are held regularly at ten places in the different agencies, and are attended by the agents, their families, most of

the employees, some traders and their clerks, by the Indian school children and some adult Indians. At least 475 persons have attended these meetings, including Indian children and adults. Meetings of first day evenings are also held at nearly all of these places for 'select readings and devotional exercises.' Besides these, on week days devotional meetings are held at four places. There are eleven Scripture schools, attended by 617 people. Religious instruction is given daily in all of the schools, consisting of Scripture readings, Bible lessons, repeating texts, singing hymns, and reading religious tracts, varied according to those having them in charge. In all of the agencies there is some advance in christianizing the Indian."

From an interview I learn that the Wichita church north was being shingled in May, 1880. This mission has been continuously operated since to this day, when Rev. J. L. Raney is now in charge. (Northern Baptist work)

In 1883 Rev. Mr. Wicks, an Episcopal minister started work at Anadarko, and moved the chapel from Ft. Sill here, and remained about one year. This is the building which after its third move was back of M.E. Church here.

In 1887 Rev. John J. Methvin came to Anadarko, and established work for the Board of Missions of M.E. Church, South. About two years later the school across the Central Boulevard in Highlands Addition was started. A History of Anadarko, called "In the Limelight"; and the Life of "Andele" tell of his work until the abandonment of the school about 1907, and dissolution of the church at about the same time.

In 1888, Rev. Silas V. Fait, from the Board of Home Missions of Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. (Northern) came to Anadarko, and during the following year established a school at the Mission four miles east of town. This was abandoned about 1912, and sold to Caddo County for a Poor Farm. Mrs. Fait is living on the adjoining farm now.

About 1889, Rev. W. W. Carithers, of Synod of Reformed Presbyterian Church in Pennsylvania established the Cache Creek Mission about six miles southwest of Apache, Oklahoma, and in June, 1940, sold all of the land except ten acres reserved where the plant stood.

In spring of 1891 Father Isadore Ricklin established St. Patrick's Mission about two miles south and one west of the Anadarko Indian Agency. This school is still in operation, and for several years the plant was leased by the United States for a Government school. The school was under Father Al until his recent death, and Father Gerald Nathe is now in charge.

In 1895 the Dutch Reformed Church under Rev. Frank Wright, a Choctaw and Rev. Walter C. Roe, established a mission among the Comanches near Ft. Sill, and also among the Ft. Sill Apaches, which were operated for about 15 years. (See *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, No. 4, Vol. 18, Dec. 1940)

About same time Miss Ida A. Roff, an Episcopalian missionary started to teach the women around Anadarko lace-making and was here about five years.

On Dec. 31, 1890, my father established our family at Anadarko, and I have been here since. He was Agency physician, and had many contacts with the missionaries then here.

At our arrival, the Baptists had a small school and church about four miles north of Agency, and abandoned the school about two years later, and the children then attended the Riverside School. The Methodists and

Presbyterian here each had a school and church, and maintained services for Agency people, the Presbyterians in morning, and Methodists in evening. The Cache Creek Mission also maintained a school, and after the Catholics started they have had a school at all times. There were also two Government schools near the Agency, and one was building at Ft. Sill and one at Rainy Mountain west. The different denominations in time left the schooling of Indians to the Government.

The Indians had a form of idolatrous worship, and carried out certain annual ceremonies in connection with it.

A few weeks after we came, Ah-peah-tone, later a Kiowa Chief, returned and reported his visit to the Indian Messiah in Utah or Nevada. Many Indians were followers of this and held ghost dances. (See James Mooney, *Ghost Dance Religion*, in Bureau of Ethnology Report, Smithsonian Institution.)

In later years many Indians have organized and joined the Native American Church, in what is known as peyote worship, and there are groups among all tribes on the reservation at this time.

The different denominations secured an Act of Congress which permitted them to obtain patents on the lands where they established schools and churches and burying grounds, but at this time most of these lands have been sold.

A Suggested List of *Pioneer Missionary Workers* in this section of Oklahoma will include:

QUAKERS—1871	Dr. Fordyce Grinnell
BAPTISTS—1878	Rev. John McIntosh, Creek Indian Rev. Duke Rev. Hicks, Cherokee Indian Rev. W. A. Wilkins Rev. J. L. Raney Rev. Harry H. Treat
EPISCOPALIAN—1883-1895	Rev. Mr. Wicks Miss Ida A. Roff
METHODIST—1887-1941	Rev. John J. Methvin Rev. Andres Martinez, Mexican Captive
PRESBYTERIAN—1888-1921	Rev. Silas V. Fait Rev. Joshua R. Givens, Kiowa Indian
REFORM PRESBYTERIAN—1889	Rev. W. W. Carithers
CATHOLIC—1891	Fr. Isadore Ricklin Fr. Aloysius Hitta
DUTCH REFORMED—1895	Rev. Frank Wright, Choctaw Indian Rev. Walter C. Roe Rev. Teis Mulder

—C. Ross Hume.

NECROLOGIES

LENA ELLEN PEYTON
1885—1950

The life of this daughter of a pioneer family, both as a pupil and as a teacher, has a real part in the story of the State's public schools from their beginnings. Her family interest goes back to even earlier history of education in Oklahoma for her mother's cousin, Joseph Hervey Nourse of Washington, D.C., came to the Indian Territory in 1854, to serve as a teacher in the well known Spencer Academy for boys in the Choctaw Nation.

Lena Ellen Peyton, born at Fredonia, Kansas, on February 8, 1885, was the youngest child of Richard Leander Peyton and his wife, Sarah Helen Nourse Peyton. They were the parents of eight children who reached maturity. Richard Leander Peyton, a native of Kentucky, came from Kansas to Oklahoma at the opening of the Potawatomi-Shawnee reservation lands on September 22, 1891. He secured a homestead claim under Government rules for U. S. Army veterans, and soon brought his family from Kansas to his location near Tecumseh, in present Pottawatomie County. He had served throughout the Civil War in the Union Army: commissioned 2nd Lieutenant, 25th Regular Kentucky Volunteer Militia, October 22, 1861; 2nd Lieutenant, 8th Cavalry Regiment, Kentucky; and Lieut. Colonel, 47th Regular Kentucky Militia, October 31, 1863.[1] Colonel Peyton died in 1892, and was the first white man buried in the Old Friends' Mission Cemetery near Tecumseh.

The mother, Sarah Helen Nourse Peyton, born December 14, 1842, was a native of Butler County, Kentucky, the daughter of James Hervey and Sarah (neé Neel) Nourse. James Hervey Nourse was the grandson of James and Sarah (neé Fouace) Nourse, who came from England and established their home and family in Virginia, in 1770. The children and grandchildren as well as later descendants of this remarkable American family served as officers in the Colonial and U. S. armies, as officials in Washington, and as preachers and teachers.[2] Joseph Nourse, the oldest son of James Nourse, was military secretary to General Charles Lee, Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Department, U. S. Army, and was elected first register of the U. S. Treasury in President Washington's administration, serving in this same office until the election of Andrew Jackson as President in 1829. Sarah Nourse Peyton was reared as the daughter of a prosperous slave-holding, planter family of Kentucky. She was a member of the Old School Presbyterian Church, her life typifying the life of the pioneer mother in Oklahoma. After the death of her husband, she remained on the homestead farm for some years until she moved to Shawnee to be near schools for her youngest children.

Days on the farm were happy ones for Lena, affectionately called "Dutchie" by her brothers. Always a lover of outdoor life, birds and

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[1] Colonel Peyton's original commissions bearing the signatures of two Governors of Kentucky, Beriah McGoffin and Thomas E. Bramlette, are on exhibit as part of the historical collections in the Union Army Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

[2] Maria Catherine Nourse Lyle, *James Nourse and His Descendants*, (Lexington, 1897).

flowers, her cabin and acreage near Shawnee was a source of great pleasure in summer during her last years. She had first attended a country school taught by a Quaker lady, and later, the public schools of Shawnee. An excellent student, she qualified as a teacher immediately after her graduation from high school, and began her life's work in the public schools of Shawnee. Small in stature with a faultless complexion and red gold hair, she was one of the prettiest and best loved teachers in the primary grades. A year away from teaching and many summer vacations, besides attendance at night school, were spent in study at leading universities. She received a degree from Oklahoma City University and from Chicago University.

In 1918, soon after the death of her mother, Miss Peyton came to Culbertson School in Oklahoma City. Counted among the successful teachers in the City, she was awarded the Certificate of Merit by the Board of Education when she retired from teaching, at the close of the school term in May, 1950. She was also awarded Honorary Life Membership by the Oklahoma City Chamber of Commerce for her loyalty and interest as a citizen of the City. Miss Peyton was a member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. She attended the First Presbyterian Church in Oklahoma City. Her death came suddenly from a heart ailment on the evening of June 18, 1950, at her apartment home, 716 N. E. 14th Street. Funeral services were held in Oklahoma City, and interment was in the family plot in Tecumseh Cemetery. Her immediate, surviving relatives, besides several grand-nephews and grand-nieces, are a sister, Mrs. M. Grace Knowles, a niece, Mrs. Melvin Race (neé Helen Knowles), and a brother, R. I. Peyton, all three of Shawnee; and a brother, Frank Peyton, of Salem, Oregon.

The fact that Lena Ellen Peyton taught successfully for thirty-two years in the same second grade room in Culbertson School in Oklahoma City was an outstanding record, an achievement that is worthy of a memorial among classroom teachers in this State. She will long be remembered with warm affection by her many friends and the hundreds of her pupils who loved and admired her through the years both in Shawnee and in Oklahoma City.

By Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

GIDEON GRAHAM

1867—1950

In the death of Gideon Graham, on February 10, 1950, at his home in Collinsville, Oklahoma, this State lost one of its "grand old men of the out-of-doors." His career was a most unusual one. Much of his life was spent on farms and ranches. He always enjoyed the hunt, but he always fought valiantly to protect the "hunt-ed" from needless slaughter. In his busy life he found time to serve as a clerk in a store, to act as a bookkeeper, a mine foreman, a rancher and a banker. His first political honors came at statehood when he was elected a member of the Board of County Commissioners of Rogers County. He twice represented his district in the State Senate. For two years he was Superintendent of the State home at Pryor, and for a period was on the Fish and Game Commission. In all his political ventures he proved a worthy servant of the people.

Senator Graham was born in Coryell County, Texas, January 21, 1867, and was named for his paternal grandfather Gideon Graham (1818-1912). The grandmother was Elizabeth Minnix (1823-1899). His father was John Wesley Graham (1844-1903), his mother Missouri Ann Dawson, (1846-1912).

(Photo taken about time of graduation from Shawnee High School)

LENA ELLEN PEYTON

Miss Lena Peyton (upper row, left) and Second Grade pupils Culbertson School, Oklahoma City, Term of 1948-49.

His mother was the daughter of James Dawson (1816-1891) and Tempperence Butler (1826-1893). James Dawson was the son of Samuel Dawson, born in Ireland in 1773, came to Texas at an early date, locating at San Saba. He died in 1874. Samuel Dawson's wife was Polly Ann Rogers (1792-1857) granddaughter of Captain John Rogers, Chief of the Western Cherokees. Gid Graham was married in 1886 in Texas to Elizabeth, daughter of a respected German, Julius Edward Sydow. Mrs. Graham died suddenly in Tulsa in 1925, while making plans for a trip to Denver, Colorado. They were the parents of nine children: John, of California; Julius Edward, of Tulsa; Wm. Francis, former water Commissioner for the City of Tulsa; Captain Jesse Ellis, a graduate of West Point and an army officer; Grace (Mrs. Edgar R. Nagle) of Springfield, Missouri; Florence (Mrs. Robert B. Sale) of Ponca City; Sallie M. (Mrs. Milton B. Yarbo) of Ada; Alexander Travis of Tulsa; and Mary Elizabeth (Mrs. Louis Brannin) of Ramona, Oklahoma. One of Mr. Graham's accomplishments was the preparation and publication of *The Dawson-Graham and Allied Families*, a history of his people, into which he wove much of his philosophy of life. It concluded with these words: "It is neither birth, nor rank nor state, BUT—the get-up-and-Git that makes men great."

At the age of sixty, Gid Graham married secondly the widow Edith Misamore, a long time friend of the family. The ceremony was performed at the Connie Gibson Ranch in Osage County by Judge John R. Charlton, of Bartlesville, before an audience of members of the Wolf and Fox Hunters Association. The second Mrs. Graham proved a most worthy helpmate, doing much of his reading and typing when his eyesight began to fail.

He prepared and published a book *Animal Outlaws*, which went thru two editions. It was a most worthy contribution to the literature on wild life and brought him national fame. His short stories of "The Eagle—the Emperor of the Air," "Bob White—the Optimist," and "Old Dutch—the Outlaw Horse," are classics. In many pamphlets he cried out incessantly against the wanton destruction of birds and wild life, pointing out that such wanton waste was robbing the youth of today and tomorrow of one of their richest heritages.

His crusade took various forms. In one of his numerous brochures he pointed out that the use of thousands of trees for Christmas decorations was a crime against nature. He fought needless expenditure of public monies and on many occasions railed out against the practice of damming up streams, pointing out that it was an interference with God's plan. In the thirty minutes preceding his death, he sat at his desk preparing a plea against what he termed useless strikes and concluded an appeal to Congress to pass needed legislation to fortify America, for the conflict he foresaw, for "armed power makes Dictators tremble." He died as he lived—battling for the country he so passionately loved, and for the "hunt-ed." His masterpiece was "My Last Appeal," a powerful plea for the wild life. It is worth a place in all huntsmen's libraries.

"Gid" as he always called himself, had a favorite poem, which he was wont to repeat over and over again:

"I want to go way out yonder
Where nature is supreme
Where the clouds kiss the hill-tops
And the deer drink in the stream.
Out beyond the smoky city
Miles and miles from anywhere.
Where the blue peaks guard the valleys
Let my last Trail lead me there."

As he approached the "end of the Trail," he acquired a tract of land some twelve miles north of Claremore, where he blasted out of the rock on a high mound the last resting place for himself and his helpmate. He left implicit directions for his funeral as follows:

"RED SIGNALS mark life's highway, and I decree that the following procedure be carried out—with brevity.

FUNERAL PROGRAM FOR GID GRAHAM

Place: H. S. Auditorium, Collinsville. Time 10:30 A.M.

Coffin to be decorated with quails, Prairie Chickens, standing in Flowers:

Judge N. B. Johnson of Claremore to Preside.

Buck Fields to play: Swedish Anthem: "OVER THE WAVES"

Choir to sing: "Home on the Range."

Address by Judge Johnson, he to read, "MY LAST APPEAL."

Choir to sing: Abide with Me, and farmer Edwin Schroeder,—pray briefly.

Then to be taken to the Gid Graham Wild Life Monument for the Long Sleep.

His wishes were carried out and Gid Graham was laid to rest on his mound in the wide open spaces, out "where the cattle range, the birds sing and the coyotes play" and a place where he could attain the Indians' Dream of Heaven, which he voiced in these words:

"The ancient Jew and Egyptian prized Gold and Glory. Their Poets and Prophets, Savants and Sovereigns longed for an Eternal City with streets of Gold, where they could disport themselves in Pearly Gates and wear a Golden crown.

"I cannot vision a Heavenly City of Golden Streets that would soothe tired feet and to wear a Crown of Gold and play on a Golden Harp—is not inspiring to me.

"Where the Planet of Heaven is, I know not? I have dreamed of its Flowered hills, radiating Eternal Beauty; Its Lofty Peaks clad in evergreen foliage and Deep Canyons of Rugged and Wild Grandeur. Where stately forests grace the margins of Clear Streams and broad prairies teem with Animals and Birds, living in everlasting Peace.

"There—In Elysian Fields where Flowers bloom Eternally and the Song of Birds is a Benediction of the Great Spirit—where every soul who suffers here may find Peace and Solace there, I hope to greet my loved ones, Cherished Friends, and realize the Vision and Dream of Heaven."

By Redmond S. Cole.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

GID GRAHAM

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS INCLUDING THE PROGRAM OF THE RECEPTION OF THE TOMPKINS COLLECTION AND PRESENTATION OF THE BUST OF GENERAL PATRICK J. HURLEY.

The regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society met in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, January 25, 1951, with General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following Board members present: General W. S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Judge Baxter Taylor, Hon. George L. Bowman, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Dr. E. E. Dale, Mr. H. L. Muldrow, Mr. Thomas J .Harrison, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Judge N. B. Johnson, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. H. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk, Hon. Thomas A. Edwards and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

The President said that he wished to call attention to the January report just issued by the Secretary. General Key stated that the report was of great interest and he felt that each director should read its contents.

The President reported that a letter had been received from Mr. N. G. Henthorne, stating that essential business kept him from attendance and Mr. Thomas G. Cook also sent a letter and telegram saying that it would be impossible for him to come. General Key said that Mr. R. M. Mountcastle arrived in Oklahoma City but sudden illness prevented him from attending the quarterly meeting. Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that the absentee members who had notified the Secretary, be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

General Key stated that there were two very important matters of significance in connection with the quarterly meeting. One being that of the reception of the Tompkins Collection, and the other, the presentation of the bronze bust of General Patrick J. Hurley, but that before these two outstanding and historical features took place, it was necessary for the Directors to transact some few matters of business.

The President read a letter from Major General A. W. Vanaman, USAF, stating that the Industrial College of the Armed Forces wished to express their appreciation for the assistance given by the Historical Society in offering the facilities and the auditorium for their Field Economic Course, held from November 23rd to the 7th of December. General Key stated that he had read the letter in order that the Directors might know that the Society had offered the auditorium and the facilities for the benefit of the national government and to offer aid in the interests of this valuable and notable mobilization school.

General Key called attention to the expiration of the terms of five members of the Board of Directors. Those members being, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Mr. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk and Mrs. Jessie R. Moore.

Judge Redmond S. Cole said that it was his understanding that the directors must either be re-elected, or nominations be made by petition, and since no nominations had been made, he wished to now move that the five directors whose terms had expired be re-elected for the customary period of five years. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded this motion and it passed unanimously.

Judge Baxter Taylor arose to say that at this juncture he deemed it not inappropriate to enter a motion that the portraits of each man who became Governor of the State of Oklahoma, adorn the walls of the Society. He said he therefore felt that an invitation should be extended to Ex-Governor Roy J. Turner to have his portrait placed in the Historical Building. Dr. I. N. McCash said that the present Governor, The Honorable Johnston Murray, should also be extended the invitation as well as Ex-Governor Turner. The motion made was seconded by Mrs. Jessie R. Moore and was passed unanimously.

The President recognized Mrs. Anna B. Korn at which time she said that she wished to bring before the Board of Directors the names of Mrs. Annette B. Child and Mr. H. C. Jones. She said she believed the portraits of these two eminent and remarkable Oklahomans should have their portraits requested by the Board to be hung in the galleries of the Historical Society. Mrs. Korn said that Mrs. Child was a leader for many years of the DAR and the Federated Clubs of Oklahoma and America, but was best known for her many philanthropic achievements. Mrs. Korn reminded the directors that Mr. Jones was a native of Carnegie, Oklahoma, and for more than fifteen years had held the high position of Collector of Internal Revenue in Oklahoma. She further stated that he had done much for the State in the way of achievements and progress in the advancement of Oklahoma.

Judge Redmond S. Cole arose to ask if his understanding was correct in believing that before an invitation was extended to a citizen requesting his portrait, it must first be approved by the Portrait Committee of the Board of Directors. The President addressed the Secretary for clarification on this point. Dr. Evans stated that according to a resolution made in October 1948, it was necessary to have the full action of the Board of Directors before a portrait could be requested.

President Key stated that since the time of the business meeting was limited, he deemed it advisable to name a committee composed of Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Judge Baxter Taylor and Judge Redmond S. Cole to meet and submit to the Directors at their next meeting their recommendation for admission of the portraits of Mrs. Child and Mr. Jones, and to defer the matter until that time.

The President reported that a letter had been received from Dr. Grant Foreman enclosing a photostatic copy of a letter written by Thomas Jefferson. This letter relates to a text delivered personally by Thomas Jefferson to the delegation of Cherokees in 1808. General Key stated that Dr. Foreman felt that this letter should be reproduced in a forthcoming issue of *The Chronicles* with some background material which could be prepared by Dr. Foreman.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that the Secretary draft a letter to be sent to Dr. Foreman assuring him of the profound appreciation the Board of Directors feel for his gift of the Jefferson Letter and the hope that he will prepare an article for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* as background material for the letter. This motion was seconded by Col. George H. Shirk and passed unanimously.

The President asked the Secretary to report on the membership status of the Society. Dr. Evans stated that the membership campaign, recently begun, had raised the Life Membership enrollment to approximately thirty-five, and more Life Memberships had been secured in the past thirty days than in any other period of the Society's history, and that towns and cities over the entire state were now represented in the Society's membership.

The Secretary presented the following applicants for membership: LIFE: Cyrus S. Avery, Tulsa; Mrs. D. C. Bass, Enid; James Leroy Bender, Enid; Mrs. Walter V. Bowman, Woodward; Mrs. Earl A. Brown, Jr., Houston, Texas; Mrs. Esther O. Chaney, Tulsa; Hal Cooper, Fort Supply; Miss Louise Cramer, Shattuck; Col. John P. Crehan, Oklahoma City; David Donoghue, Ft. Worth; Mrs. Shirley M. Duckwall, Oklahoma City; John F. Easley, Ardmore; George Everett Failing, Enid; Lucy M. Garber, Enid; Florence E. Glass, Tulsa; Mrs. Estelle Hoffman, Oklahoma City; Roy Hoffman, Jr., Oklahoma City; Edgar Peter Hoffman, Oklahoma City; Arvard Hudson, Coalgate; John Miller Kane, Bartlesville; Richard Kane, Bartlesville; John Frank Martin, Oklahoma City; John D. Mayo, Tulsa; T. Floyd Mefford, Enid; Vice-Admiral Albert G. Noble, Washington D. C.; Kathleen Jane Parker, Philadelphia; Lucyl Shirk, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Marshall T. Steves, Corpus Christi, Texas; William Kent Suthers, Arnett; Charles A. Tilghman, Oklahoma City; Charles C. Tilghman, Oklahoma City; Charles H. Tompkins, El Reno; Miss Priscilla W. Utterback, Durant; W. J. Walton, San Antonio, Texas; David M. Warren, Jr., Panhandle, Texas; Mrs. India Hines Weems, Oklahoma City; Dr. Divonis Worton, Pawhuska; Grace Cook Worton, Pawhuska; Martin I. Zofness, Bartlesville; Kathleen Jane Parker, Philadelphia, Pa.

ANNUAL: A. J. Black, Jr., Tulsa; William Dixon Brewer, Muskogee; Jeff Lee Davis, Rush Springs; Mrs. Maxine Gatlin, Webbers Falls; D. F. Gautt, Long Beach, California; Mrs. Ralph B. Gilbert, Seattle, Washington; Florence Bell Harwood, Tulsa; Eva L. Howard, Oklahoma City; Otis W. Joslyn, Jr., Oklahoma City; Mrs. A. J. Cavanaugh, Oklahoma City; Margaret M. Kelly, Tulsa; J. Berry King, Oklahoma City; Robert C. McCay, New York City; Tully Morrison, Mountain View; Hugh Murfee, Ft. Smith, Arkansas; Mrs. H. C. Nicholson, Perry; Mrs. Alva J. Niles, Tulsa; Tom R. Phillips, Holdenville; George H. Rose, Tulsa; Joe A. Smith, Wood River, Illinois; Earnestine B. Spears, Norman; W. F. Stahl, Tulsa; Mrs. Inez Stauber, Crawford; Mildred Milam Viles, Claremore; W. A. Willibrand, Norman.

Judge Thomas A. Edwards moved that they each be elected and admitted as members of the Society in the class as indicated in the list. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

President Key at this time requested Miss Muriel H. Wright, Associate Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* to report on the exact status of the historical markers being carried on and nearing completion. Miss Wright reported that the last fifty markers had been completed and shipped to the State Highway Department, and this department is now in the process of the erection and placement of these last fifty markers.

Dr. Evans added the further information that a letter had been sent to the Sewah Studios stating that the historical marker program was closing on or about January 1st, 1951, and the following report was received from the Sewah Studios, Marietta, Ohio: "All plates are now cast and should be on their way to you by the week of January 8th. We hope this late shipment will not be an inconvenience to you or the State Highway Department and we await further word from you on the 1951 Marker order." The Secretary pointed out that a complete summary for the Marker program could be found on Page 3 of the January 1951, "Report to the Board."

Mrs. Jessie R. Moore made her report as Treasurer of the Oklahoma Historical Society. She reported that there was a splendid balance on hand and that the finances of the Society were never in better condition. She stated that the payment of $22.50 for the $6,000.00 bond for the Treasurer must be made. Mr. George L. Bowman moved that this amount be paid to the Ancel Earpe and Company of Oklahoma City. Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

President Key stated that it was necessary to provide $100.00 for the Petty Cash Fund of this Society. Mrs. J. Garfield Buell moved that this amount be approved for the Petty Cash Fund of the Society. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. George L. Bowman made a motion that the expenses for all the ceremonies of the Tompkins and Hurley programs be paid for out of the Private Funds of the Society. This was seconded by Dr. Harbour and passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts and books had been received: Physician's saddle bags used in the Indian Territory by Dr. L. J. George, presented by Foy L. George; fossils found on Kochita Creek, presented by Dan W. Harrell; pinking iron and toy sewing machine, presented by Mrs. Edna Muldrow, Weatherford, Oklahoma; badge, official souvenir of Gov. Haskell's inauguration, writing pen used by Pete Hanraty when he was State Mine Inspector, presented by his daughters; gas rationing stamps used during World War II, presented by Charley L. Lloyd, Wilburton, Oklahoma; gold medal, music award, property of Miss Carlotta Archer, presented by Mrs. Vera Jones Chauncey, Stillwater, Oklahoma; gold panner made of horn, snuff box made in the shape of a watch, presented by Hugh McQuilken, Oklahoma City; Winchester made in 1867, presented by Walter K. Jarrell, Chickasha; corn husker made of a tusk, pair of glasses, fiddle hand seeder, presented by Mrs. H. P. Wormstaff, Hinton, Oklahoma; two pair of beaded leather gloves, presented by Thomas G. Young, Baltimore, Maryland; a manikin for the French bridal costume, presented by Halliburton's Store, Oklahoma City; large iron, salt kettles from the Robert M. Jones farm.

Photograph of artifacts, presented by Mrs. Glen Wise, Clinton, Oklahoma; photograph and poem of Will Rogers by David Randolph Milsten; colored print of Chief Fred Lookout, presented by William F. Finney; Will Roger's Consistory Class picture, presented by Charles E. Creager, Muskogee, Oklahoma; photograph of Miss Carlotta Archer, presented by Mrs. Vera Jones Chauncey; photograph of Col. James Logan, made from a negative presented by Sadler H. Burrow, Ozark, Arkansas; photograph of Judge Edgar S. Vaught; photograph of Dr. I. N. McCash; photograph of Judge Thomas A. Edwards; large framed photograph of Carl Sweezy, presented by Richard Goetz; framed plaque, presented by the Colonial Dames of America; photograph of Minnie Q. Rose, presented by Mrs. Beulah Blake.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn moved that the gifts be accepted with thanks and appreciation of the entire Board of Directors. Mr. H. L. Muldrow seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

A motion was made by Mr. George L. Bowman that the business session of the meeting adjourn. This was seconded by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and carried.

W. S. Key,
President

CHARLES EVANS,
Secretary

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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Summer, 1951

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ELIZABETH JACOBS QUINTON, CENTENARIAN

By Mrs. C. M. Whaley

Linking the real pioneer days with modern times in a most striking manner, Mrs. Elizabeth Jacobs Quinton, one hundred and twelve years old, stepped from a late model automobile for an afternoon call in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman. Mrs. Quinton, an eighth-blood Choctaw Indian, was possessed of a figure and carriage which well might have put to shame many women of less than half her age.[1] Leaning on the arm of Mr. C. C. Victory, as she came up the steps from the street was little more than a precautionary measure against slipping on the wet sidewalk, for the old lady was active in both mind and body, although, as she said, she had lived about long enough.

Seated in the Foreman library, Mrs. Quinton gave no evidence of fatigue or excitement, in spite of the fact that she had spent the day previous attending a family reunion in Tulsa and had just driven from that city to Muskogee on her way home.

While she said apologetically that her memory was not as good as it used to be, she answered questions put to her about her early life, and recalled with surprising accuracy many historical events and persons of nearly a century ago.

She was born in Newton County, Mississippi, near Tchula, and near the Six Town Indians.[2] She came out to Fort Smith in 1839. "Some of the Choctaws came before that time, and some came after we did. Some of them had to be emigrated, but we didn't wait for that; we came ourselves. Sam Bridges emigrated a good many of them. We started from Newton County, Mississippi, got on the boat at Tchula, right there, just about four miles from where

[1] This contribution to *The Chronicles* was received recently from Doctor Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, with this note: "During my research I learned of the existence of Mrs. Quinton, for whom the town of Quinton in the Choctaw Nation was named. It seemed to me that an interview with this venerable citizen would be of much interest for preservation and reproduction. I got in touch with Mr. C. C. Victory who agreed to bring her to my home in order to secure this interview. At my request, Mrs. C. M. Whaley came to my house to record the statements of Mrs. Quinton. Mrs. Whaley verv carefully recorded all of the interesting testimony of this venerable visitor, which is reproduced herewith."—Ed.

[2] The following letter giving biographical notes about Mrs. Quinton was received by Doctor Foreman from Noel Ballard, of the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix*:

"Dr. Foreman:

"Here is the picture of Mrs. Martha Elizabeth Quinton that I was telling Mrs. Whaley about. You may have it to use as you wish. I made the picture when I

ELIZABETH JACOBS QUINTON

we lived. We took the boat there—the Faun was the name of the boat. We came right on the Mississippi River."

The trip to this new country was an event of great interest to the fourteen-year-old girl, and she recalled it with much pleasure. "It was very comfortable there on the boat. Just like living at home, and we could sit there and see everything. We had plenty to eat, a stove to cook on, and a good bed, just like living in this house. We had a room, a nice room, and when we got things cleaned up we could go out and look at things along the bank." She did not remember how many came on the boat, "probably a hundred and fifty, I guess there was about that many. There was my aunt and her husband—they didn't have any children, never had any—and papa and myself. Then there was Patton's family, and some others—I don't remember. . . . . "

Mrs. Quinton recalled that there were very few white people in their new home in the Choctaw Nation, "Not more than one or two white families when we came. We stopped at Little Rock first—stopped there for three weeks, and then we took another boat, I forget. I can't remember its name. We took another boat to Fort Smith. We went to a wagon yard at Fort Smith and stayed all the next day, and then papa bought a place. It was about four miles from Fort Smith. It had all the buildings already on it and we moved there. My aunt went with us; she lived with us—my mother's sister. My mother was a white woman, they said I never saw her; she died when I was six months old."

The new home was about eight miles from Fort Smith and about the same distance from Skullyville. The young girl was sent to school at New Hope Mission, a Methodist school for girls near Skullyville, and about eight miles from the Jacobs' home. There was a boys' school at Fort Coffee, and the girls at New Hope had

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went to Quinton to do a feature story on her birthday in November, 1938.

"Martha Elizabeth Quinton, after whose family the town by that name was named, died April 24, 1941, at the age of 115 years, four months and 29 days. At the time of her death she was the oldest living person in Oklahoma—and probably most other states.

"She died at home of her granddaughter, Mrs. Jim Huggins, with whom she made her home, in Quinton. Funeral services were held April 26, 1941, at the Quinton Baptist Church with Rev. G. C. Smith, pastor, officiating. Burial was in the Jim Quinton Cemetery under direction of the Mallry (*sic*) Funeral Home of Stigler.

"Mrs. Quinton's maiden name was Jacobs and she was born at Tchula (correct), Mississippi, November 25, 1825. She first married Beverly Young, a captain in the Confederate Army, who was killed in action during Civil War. In 1868 she was married to Samuel Quinton who died at Quinton in 1904. She was the mother of nine children.

"Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) "Noel D. Ballard"

to make all the clothes for the pupils there.[3] "We had to make pants and coats—had to make all the shirts for them. We learned to spin and run the loom—make cloth." They spun both wool and cotton, but she could not recall where the wool came from, although it was shipped in. Little or no cotton was raised in those early days in that part of the country. "I never saw a cotton field until my third child was born," said the old lady. "It was a beautiful sight, that growing cotton, just like a field of snow."

The yarn all had to be dyed before weaving and Mrs. Quinton described the process. To make the different colors they "used first one yarb and then another. Take hickory bark and bile it, and take the ooze and put alum in it and it will be green. Take shawnahaw, or polecat weed some folks calls it—I call it shawnahaw, and it will make black. You have to put copperas in it, though, to set it." "Ooze," she said, was made when "you bile it and bile it till you get all the strength out of the yarb, and then you strain it to get out all the drugs, and then you put in the copperas."

"What do you want to know all that for?" she asked with some asperity, when questioned as to how other colors were made, "you don't want to make no cloth." When it was explained that most people living now knew little or nothing about the methods employed in her youth, she answered smilingly: "No, I guess they don't. If they was to see a loom now it would be equal to a show; it would scare them all to death. I've wove many a web of cloth in my time. People used to live better in them days; they had more. Now people just live out of paper sacks. I used to sit up till midnight to card wool," she went on, "and after we wove the cloth we had to put it in hot water to shrink it."

School days at New Hope Mission were vastly different from those in present day schools for young ladies. "Old Man McAlister was principal at New Hope. I don't know who was the head of the boys' school. The boys dassan't come over to our school. No man person was ever allowed to come near our place. We went to school in the morning and then in the afternoon till about two o'clock, and then the seamstress would call us up to the third floor.

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[3] Fort Coffee Academy, a boys' manual training school, was established in 1842 by the Choctaw General Council, and opened on February 9, 1844, in the old buildings of Fort Coffee on a tract of sixty acres of land. Five or six miles southeast of Fort Coffee and about a mile east of the Choctaw Agency, or Skullyville, a girls' school called New Hope was also established in 1842, and opened soon after Fort Coffee Academy. They were both conducted under the auspices of the Methodist Church by the Reverend William C. Goode, assisted by the Reverend Henry C. Benson. On August 12, 1850, the Reverend John Harrell was appointed superintendent of these schools. Some years later, books telling of their life in the Indian Territory were published by Mr. Benson and Mr. Goode: Henry C. Benson, *Life Among the Choctaw Indians,* (Cincinnati, 1860); William H. Goode, *Outposts of Zion* (Cincinnati, 1863).

The teachers at school were all women. I don't remember the names, the last names. We called them by their first names; there was Miss Carrie, and Miss Helen Steele, she taught the big class. It wasn't a big school. About a hundred and ninety-eight went to school—just a small school—Baptist [Methodist] school. They had five teachers and four seamstresses. They taught us in the third story up stairs. The seamstresses taught us to sew and knit. They made us do it right. If it wasn't right they made us rip it out if it was wrong. If we held a tight stitch up close to the needle she would look at it and look at it. I've seen them have a sock almost done and she would come along and make them ravel it all out and get it right, have to do it all over. Same way with sewing. They made us learn to do things right. That's the reason I can sew now, blind as I am."

Seated in a big chair Mrs. Quinton made a quaint picture. She was small, probably not more than five feet tall, with slender hands and tiny feet, so tiny that they might have belonged to a child in their soft kid, low-heeled strap slippers resting on a large footstool. She sat there smoothing her checked gingham apron. "Yes, I made it," she said. "I made this bonnet, too," referring to the dark blue sunbonnet she wore over her cap. "But I didn't make this dress. A woman gave it to me. That's the only way I ever get anything, somebody gives it to me or I make it." The dress was of black material, made with a plain waist and full skirt reaching to the ground, probably after a pattern in style during her early married life, but one which lent to her the dignity befitting a representative of her own generation.

Ice cream had been provided in honor of the occasion, and as she accepted a second helping, Mrs. Quinton remarked, "I don't know, but I believe I could eat ice cream and never want anything else. I might want something else, though, after a while," she added. Having finished the refreshments, she went on to describe her school days at the mission. "We made the bed clothes—sheets and pillow cases. The seamstresses would take bleaching and mark out patterns; they used to use a saucer for a pattern; they would mark around them, and then we would make the quilts. Each girl would do her best—the best one got a premium. I stood ahead in every class. I had six books and stood head in every one of them."

Asked about the food served the pupils at the mission she replied that it was plentiful and good. "The first session we went, though, we all liked to have starved, till the people got to cuttin' up about it, and after that we had plenty. They raised all our food, vegetables, hogs, most everything. Young folks now never stay at

home long enough to learn how to do anything. It's go all the time, go, go."

"You've kind of been doing it yourself, haven't you?" asked Mr. Victory. "Staying up till ten o'clock every night."

But Mrs. Quinton refused to be drawn out and defended herself by saying, "Well, I don't sleep much, anyway. I wake up in the night and have to smoke—have to take a draw or two." Here her pipe was lighted for her and between "draws" she went on to tell about the days at New Hope. "During the week we went to church every night. On Sunday we went at eleven and at three and then again at night. In the week we just went of a night. We had study hour every week night. There was a big bell hanging way up there. They would pull the string and we all knew what that meant, and every Friday evening four of the girls were chosen to cook and four to wash, and four for this and four for something else; we'd have to do it all week, that is the big girls would,—the little girls carried water to the rooms. Then every Friday they changed, so we could all learn how to do all kinds of work. The school building was built out of stone—It's all gone now."

Speaking of how carefully the girls were trained in deportment Mrs. Quinton said: "We were not allowed to laugh out loud, these big horse laughs like the girls do now. If our teachers would have heard us laugh out loud we would have been chastised when we got back to the school room." Asked if the girls were allowed to whistle, she said, "No!" most emphatically. The pupils were not allowed to speak Choctaw. "When they first started most of the children couldn't speak any English. If they talked Choctaw they gave them a teaspoonful of red pepper for every Choctaw word they said. I didn't know any Choctaw so I didn't have any trouble."

"I remember one time," Mrs. Quinton recalled laughingly, "I asked one of the girls what the Choctaws called 'two' and she told me 'tuklo' and I was going around saying 'tuklo' 'tuklo' to myself and the girls heard me. They didn't like it because the teachers let me sleep in the parlor with them, and they told them.[4] They called me in and asked me if I was talking Choctaw and I told them 'yes.'

"We had our examinations on the Fourth of July. We used to stand up on a stage. Way up, there was a great big stage, and we

[4] This amusing incident corroborates reminiscences from other old-timers telling of life in the Indian mission schools. Pupils who were mostly white, with only a small degree of Choctaw blood, often had difficulty overcoming the prejudice against "Nahullo" (white person), in their association with the fullblood and nearly fullblood pupils attending the early mission schools.—Ed.

would stand there to say every one of our lessons. We had a different colored dress for every book. For our grammar lesson we had on green. I had on a green dress and all the class had on green dresses; and for the next lesson we all put on another color dress. There were rooms right up the stairs and we would step right into another room and all come out on the stage again with a different colored dress on. We said our lessons on the big stage and the people sat out in the yard on the ground or on chairs. The parents came—them that had girls in school, and lots of them that didn't have no girls came, too. After we were through with our lessons they had a big dinner out in the yard. They had a big long table, a long one, about fifty yards long and everybody had their dinner, and then school was out and we all went home. School always let out on the Fourth of July and then took up again in September."

The little girls, she said, wore their hair cut short, and the larger ones had braids hanging down their backs with a bow on the end. Most of the Indians went to church a good deal, the girls at the mission, of course, being regular attendants. "I belonged to the Baptist Church," said Mrs. Quinton, "That Presbyterian preacher (referring to the Reverend Mr. Kerr, who had introduced her in Tulsa) called me a 'Deep Water Baptist'. "

Mrs. Quinton recounted a number of incidents of her girlhood days at home. "My aunt and uncle lived with us—she was my mother's sister. Mother, my own mother, died when I was six months old and my aunt took care of me. Her and her husband came out from Mississippi and stayed with us till I was eighteen years old. My father was Levi Jacobs. He was Indian, part Choctaw Indian. My mother's name was Rebecca Carroll. On the day I was eighteen years old papa gave a big dinner and invited everybody. He hadn't ever married since mother died. He waited until I was old enough to take my own part, and the day I was eighteen he married an Indian woman. The very next day my aunt and uncle went to Fort Smith and took a boat back east."

The family home was of hewn logs, a double house with a passageway between the rooms. "Some of the houses were chinked with clay, clay and sticks, but ours was covered with boards. Papa was a carpenter and the logs were sealed over with boards on the inside and the same way on the outside, just siding—like they are now. At first we didn't have any stoves. We cooked over the fire in the fireplace; we had a stove to cook on coming out on the boat but we didn't have any heating stoves. We didn't bring anything with us except our household goods and the slaves. Papa had some slaves and he had a wood yard there on the river where he would have the slaves cut wood for the boats. When the boats came we would all run down and look. Go right on the boats. We had lamps but mostly we used candles."

Describing the process of candle-making: "We got moulds and run the candles, sometimes big moulds to make twelve candles, and some only six. We'd take a piece of thread and twist it and tie it to a little stock and drop it down the hole in the middle of the mould for a wick, and then pour in the tallow. Beef tallow made good candles. We used sperm candles mostly. We had to buy them." She also remembered the old-fashioned grease lamps, made by filling a saucer partly full of grease, laying in a piece of twisted string for a wick, and allowing the lighted end to hang over the edge.

Mrs. Quinton did not remember the passing of the "Forty-niners" on their way to California, although she lived right on the "Military Road." "There were lots of people passing, going up and down the road all the time, but I don't remember about them." She did recall, however, many of her neighbors who later became well-known historical figures. "Papa used to take us girls to Fort Smith every Thursday. He'd take 'Stepma' on Saturdays and us girls on Thursdays. We knew just about everybody. The people that lived at Skullyville—there was old Colonel Tandy Walker lived there, and there was Lanier and Massey. Skullyville was just about as big a place as Quinton is now. There was a cake shop there." "No," in answer to a question, "it wasn't a bakery, just a cake shop; she just made cakes and cookies, big ginger cakes. Her name was McDonald. She didn't make any bread. They had a blacksmith shop there. Massey was a merchant. Tibaut was a merchant, and old man Hale, I knew him; he was a merchant there, and Nansley and Meinhardt. I knew Bob Jones—he had a store at Skullyville. He was a good man, was a well-to-do man. He wasn't what I would call a rich man, owned seven slaves. He had three stores, one at Skullyville, and I don't know where the other two was. One at Doaksville, I think.[5] I used to know the people at Doaksville, but I can't remember. We used to go to Doaksville, I used to go nearly everywhere."

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[5] Mrs. Quinton here undoubtedly refers to Colonel Robert M. Jones who became the wealthiest planter in the Choctaw Nation, if not in the whole Southwest, owner of nearly five hundred slaves and four plantations on Red River, besides a sugar plantation in Louisiana. Colonel Jones was of Choctaw descent, was in the employ of the Government during the Choctaw removal from Mississippi and had his first home and store at Pleasant (or Pheasant) Bluff on the Arkansas River, near the present site of Tamaha in Haskell County. About 1835, he was associated in a trading establishment at Skullyville, with Berthelet, a French Canadian. They later had their main mercantile business at Doaksville where they were long known under the name of Berthelet and Heald. Colonel Jones moved to the Red River Country and established his residence about 1843. This became known as "Rose Hill," one of the most beautiful plantation homes in the Indian Territory. The Oklahoma Historical Society now owns the Rose Hill site and the Jones' burial plot, in a forty acre woodland plot about three miles southeast of Hugo. Colonel Jones was a prominent Confederate leader during the Civil War, President of the United Nations of the Indian Territory aligned with the Confederate States and served as delegate from the Choctaw Nation to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, Virginia.—Ed.

She remembered Pickett and Gregg. "They had a little kind of a grocery store, like." She recalled the old Ainsworth house where Tandy Walker lived. William Armstrong, agent at the Choctaw agency,[6] "was a tall, light-complected man; had kind of auburn hair. He wore a moustache; he had side-burns for awhile, but he shaved them off after awhile. He was a nice man to do business with. The Choctaws all liked him and respected him highly. Peter Pitchlynn was an educated man; pretty smart man, but wasn't many people fancied him much. He stayed in Washington a good deal. Thompson McKinney lived there; I knew him, but I don't remember much about him." She had heard of James Fletcher, but didn't know him. "I knew all the Folsoms, all the old ones. Nathaniel Folsom was the old man, and there was William Folsom, and old McGee Folsom. I knew all the old ones."[7] She had heard of the Reverend Henry C. Benson, head of the Choctaw academy at Fort Coffee, but didn't know him.

Speaking of her marriage, Mrs. Quinton said, "I waited to marry until I got old enough to know what I was doing. I married about three years before the war (the Civil War). I got my marriage certificate at home in my trunk now. We didn't have to have any license, just a squire married us. We married in Scott County, Arkansas. I was living at home when the war broke out. Had a home of my own there close to Fort Smith. He (husband) joined the army (Confederate) the first of March, 1861. He didn't wait to get conscripted; he joined himself, volunteered. Heap of times I went with him. When the army went on he'd go on with them and then he'd get me a boarding place there at some house in the country, and then come back and get me. Then my husband would leave me

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[6] The Choctaw Agency was established in 1832, about a mile east of present Spiro, in Le Flore County. The village that grew up around the Agency was called "Skullyville," signifying "money town," from the Choctaw work *iskvli*, "money" or "small coin," and the English suffix "ville." Major Francis W. Armstrong, the first U. S. Agent here, died in 1835, and was succeeded by his brother, William Armstrong, who served in the position until his death in 1847. The Agency building was purchased by Tandy Walker who made this his residence when he served as Governor of the Choctaw Nation in 1857-59. This building later was for many years the home of Tom Ainsworth, a prominent Choctaw citizen. Pickett and Gregg were licensed traders at Skullyville for several years, having located there soon after the establishment of the Agency.—Ed.

[7] The Choctaws mentioned by Mrs. Quinton in these statements were prominent in the Nation. Peter P. Pitchynn (¼ Choctaw) was well known for his efforts in promoting the famous Net Proceeds Claim of the Choctaw Nation, and served as Principal Chief from 1864-1866. Thompson McKinney (½ Choctaw—see *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 [Autumn, 1950], p. 262) was an outstanding political leader, and long active in educational affairs. James Fletcher ("fullblood Choctaw") served from 1838-1844 as Chief of Apuckshenubbee District (Southeastern District). The progenitor of the mixed-blood Choctaw family of Folsoms was Nathaniel Folsom, a native of North Carolina and son of one of the New England Folsoms (born about 1756), died at Eagletown in 1833. The Nathaniel Folsom undoubtedly referred to by Mrs. Quinton was of a younger generation, who served in 1844-1846 as Chief of Mosholatubbee District in which Skullyville was located.—Ed.

there when the army moved on again and after the regiment got settled he'd come after me again. He carried me in a buggy. The army, of course, they went different ways: The infantry walked, and the cavalry went on their horses, and then there was the commissary wagons. My husband was a wagon master at first under Cooper. Then Cooper (Douglas Cooper)[8] made him a captain. Then he quit Cooper and joined Lindsay Young. I was with him close to the battle at Prairie Grove, or some call it Oak Hill. My brother-in-law was wounded at that battle. My husband and I went all over the battle field looking for him. We couldn't go out while the battle was going on; we'd have got shot, but after it was over and my brother-in-law didn't come in we went out to hunt him. We looked all over—all the dead soldiers there—I could just do almost anything. My heart got as hard as a rock. I was always afraid my husband would get killed. My brother-in-law was worse scared than hurt. He was just shot through the muscle of his arm, wasn't hurt much."

Asked what she thought about girls smoking cigarettes, Mrs. Quinton removed her pipe from her mouth and answered: "I think it's a mighty sorry thing, but the worst thing, the very worst thing I think there is is these girls wearin' britches,—and ridin bicycles—I think them's the very worst things there is."

In reply to questions about the Six Towns Choctaws she told how they tatooed themselves. "They'd mark out the place and pick it all around with a pin; then they'd fill it with powder and when it got wet it would get just as blue." Contrary to the general idea, these Choctaws, she said, were not particularly wild; they were not mean, not fighters, any more than the rest of the Choctaws. "They were just some Indians fell out with the rest of the tribe. They fell out with them over something and thought they would make Six Towns out of themselves, but they weren't mean, they were just like the rest of the Choctaws. Some of the Six Towns lived in Jasper County, Mississippi. Nitakechi, he was one of the wild ones—

[8] Douglas H. Cooper, appointed U. S. Agent to the Choctaws in 1854, was a leader of the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory during the Civil War, commissioned Brig. Gen. in the Confederate States Army.—Ed.

kind of wild, I guess.[9] I seen him, but I never had no acquaintance with him. He lived down on Red River."

"When anyone would steal anything," she went on, describing the Choctaw's summary dealing with crime, "they took them off and tied them up and then they whip them, give them about thirty lashes. They'd strip off their shirt and lash them on the back. And if anyone committed a murder they'd set them up on a block and paint their breast, paint a spot right over their heart. Then the sheriff would load six guns. There'd be three on one side of the jail-house and three on the other, but just them on one side had bullets in 'er, the others just had powder; and then when the sheriff give the word they'd all shoot at the spot on his breast, so no one knew who killed him." Mrs. Quinton remembered how bullets were made at home in the old days. "Yes, I used to run the bullets in the moulds," she said.

Mrs. Quinton's husband, her half-brothers and sisters (she had no full brothers and sisters) are all dead. Her half-brothers Isaac and Willis Jacobs, lived at Muldrow for many years and their wives and families are still living there. "Jim" was her oldest living son of eighteen children.

The old lady smiled as she told of her first ride on a train. "It was on that very first passenger train that even run there right by Talahini [Talihina]. Isaac was living then and he had come for me to take me home with him. Jimmy was 'bout 'leven years old, I guess. Yes, he was just about eleven, and he and Isaac sat on one side of the aisle and I was on the other. It was plumb funny. I seen a woman get up to get her a drink and she was agoin' from one side to the other, and pretty soon I seen someone else start down the aisle and they was holdin' on to the seats. I'd never rid on a train and I thought they was all drunk. I left my seat and went over to where Brother Isaac was settin' and he asked, 'What's the matter, did your seat get too hard?' and I said 'No, them folks is all drunk.' He said, 'No, they ain't drunk; that's just the train rockin' makes them walk like that'."

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[9] Members of the "Six Towns" or *Okla Hannali* Clan among the Choctaw lived in six towns in the southern part of the Nation in Mississippi, a group possibly of the Siouan stock that were confederated with the Choctaw in the prehistoric period. They had their own dialect, and were identified by the "bridle tattoo" on either side of the mouth, still worn by some of the old people as late as 1900. In the old tribal society, they did not rank as one of the pure, high class clans, though they developed some influential leaders in late Choctaw history. Nitakechi, nephew of the celebrated Chief Pushmataha, was pure Choctaw of the high ranking *Kusha* (pronounced nearly *Kunsha*) Clan. He was the recognized chief of the Southern (or Southeastern) District of the Nation before the Removal from Mississippi, and was one of the three leading chiefs who signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830. He settled in Horse Prairie, southeast of present Hugo, in Choctaw County, in 1832, and served as Chief of Pushmataha District for several terms. He died in Mississippi in 1846, while on a visit to his native home.—Ed.

Mrs. Quinton did not have the quavering voice of extreme old age. On the contrary her tones were firm and her enunciation distinct, her voice low-pitched and pleasant. Her English was surprisingly good, with the exception of a few colloquialisms. Her sight was not so good as it once was, nor was her hearing perfect, but she was able to get about by herself, and it was not necessary to raise the voice in talking to her. It was only requisite that one be fairly near to her and that the words were clearly spoken.

As she was leaving, Mrs. Quinton stood on the walk to have some pictures taken. Even in the outdoor light, with her sunbonnet removed, her black cap covering her hair, she appeared an extremely erect and active old lady of not more than seventy-five years. But while the illusion of comparative youth remained in the minds of those who had been present during her visit, the actual fact of living for more than a hundred years had had its effect.

After the interview in the Foreman home this remarkable old lady survived for more than three years, and died April 24, 1941, at the age of one hundred fifteen years, four months and twenty-nine days.

JOHN JUMPER

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

An interesting sketch of the life of John Jumper is contained in *The Story of Oklahoma Baptists,* by E. C. Routh (1932). Mr. Routh claims that Jumper was at one time the most influential chief among the Seminoles. According to Dr. A. J. Holt, a nephew of the Reverend H. F. Buckner, John Jumper was a son of the famous Chief Jumper, but Wyeth says he was a nephew. Whatever his parentage he developed into a great man in his nation.

John Jumper was among the first Seminoles who emigrated to the west; he encouraged education and early became a Christian when he joined the Presbyterian church. He was one of a party of white men and Indians who advised the Comanches in 1848; two years later he went to Florida to try to induce the remainder of his people to remove west and join the early emigrants.[1]

The Comanches became disturbed by the overtures of the whites to make peace and in their troubled state of mind, in the winter of 1848-49, a band of the Southern Comanches appealed to their friend Jesse Chisholm to go as interpreter with them to the emigrant Indians. Chisholm abandoned his trading with the Mexicans and Indians on Red River and accompanied the Comanches to his home at Edward's Settlement on Little River, in present Hughes County, where they arrived on March 3. Three days later they went to the home of Seminole Agent Marcellus Duval, where they began a council with John Jumper, principal chief and governor of the tribe, Wild Cat, the speaker, and other Seminole chiefs. They expressed their wish for more friendly feelings between their tribe and the whites and they desired particularly the advice of "Wild Cat whose reputation for sagacity and intelligence extended far over the Southwest."[2]

Wild Cat gave them sound advice from his own experience with the whites. He suggested for them to make peace as the white men were strong friends. The Seminoles wrote their advice so the Comanches could show it to the Creeks, Chickasaw and Choctaws, "and our own people and also all other friends & brothers, both red and white, to receive and take by the hand as a friend and brother our Comanche visitor."[3]

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[1] Although a diligent search has been made by the writer no record was found of the name of Jumper's mother. He is said to have been born in the Everglades of Florida in 1822 or 1823.

[2] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), pp. 244-45.

[3] National Archives, Office Indian Affairs, Seminole Agency, "Texas File" D 177.—Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 246, note 12.

When an interest concerning education arose in the Seminole Nation Chief John Jumper favored boarding schools and asked to have them established by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions which had great success among the Creeks.

Mrs. John Lilley related in her autobiography that soon after the Seminole Mission was started a relative of John Jumper was entered in the school in the summer of 1848. The little girl was an orphan named Mabel. Later they enrolled Jumper's two nieces, Jane, and Mary who was afterwards the wife of Thomas Cloud.

The *Fort Smith Herald,* April 27, 1850, stated that a deputation of Seminole Indians, headed by their chief John Jumper, in charge of Major Horace Brooks, left Fort Smith on April 22, 1850, in the steamboat *J. B. Gordon,* on their way to Florida to attempt to induce their tribesmen to emigrate.[4]

The Second Seminole War having failed, the Office of Indian Affairs determined to remove the remaining tribesmen to the West. Elias Rector of Arkansas superintended the removal, ably assisted by Chief John Jumper. The Creeks had agreed for the Seminoles to occupy a portion of their land in the Indian Territory.[5]

Lieutenant John Gibbons, Fourth Artillery, arrived at Fort Smith on December 3, from the Seminole Agency and he reported December 12, 1853, that a delegation composed of John Jumper, brother of Chief Jumper [Jim], Halleck Tustennukkee, who headed the delegation in 1849; Kapektsootsee (chief of emigrant party of 1850); Fohiss Hajo (Sam Jones' son), and eleven others including Jim Factor Indian interpreter, and Geohoba a black interpreter.

The delegation was to leave the next day in wagons for Little Rock and if there was no boat there they would continue on to Rock Roe.[6]

Creek Agent W. H. Garrett, in his annual report to C. W. Dean, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, in 1855, wrote:

"In a conversation with John Jumper, the principal chief of the Seminoles, ... he informed me that the Seminoles had been deceived by the government of the United States in regard to the selection of a country west of the Mississippi. He says that they were promised, before they left Florida, that if they would remove to the west a country would be given them of their own, where they could make and enforce their own laws, but instead, that now they have no country of their own, and were compelled to give up their nationality for the privilege of living in the country of the Creeks; that he is altogether opposed to the treaty

[4] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 385, note 38.
[5] Annie Heloise Abel, *The Indians as Slaveholders and Secessionists* (Cleveland, 1915), p. 20, note 7.
[6] National Archives, Adjutant General's Office, Old Records Division, "G" 1, Dec. 12, 1853.

PRINCIPAL CHIEF JOHN JUMPER, SEMINOLE NATION

of 1845, and desires that the government will give his people a country of their own."

Garrett added that in view of the unfriendly relations between the Creeks and Seminoles something should be done to pacify them. He observed that the state of affairs could not continue, that difficulties would continue to occur.[7]

On the seventh day of August, 1856 in the city of Washington, the United States and the Creek and Seminole Indians made an agreement by which the Creeks ceded a tract of land to the Seminoles for their home. The commissioner on the part of the government was George Manypenny. Tuck-a-batchee-micco, Echo-Harjo, Chilly McIntosh, Benjamin Marshall, George W. Stidham, and Daniel N. McIntosh were the Creek commissioners while the Seminoles were represented by John Jumper, Tuste-nuc-o-chee, Pars-co-fer, and James Factor.

Before this treaty there had been much unhappiness in the west between the Creeks and Seminoles. This is easily understood since the Seminoles were a former part of the Creek Nation which had separated in 1750 and gone to Florida to make their home. They had lived in the wilds of that territory and had little contact, except in fighting, with the whites while the Creeks had progressed in civilization. The treaty would guarantee to the Seminoles a permanent home, a chance to establish their own government and schools so that they could become more civilized.[8]

John Jumper had become a member of the Presbyterian church in 1857, but he was unable to reconcile Matthew, third chapter, with the Presbyterian administration of baptism; on September 23, 1860 he was baptized by the Reverend John D. Bemo into the fellowship of the Baptist church.[9]

The Reverend J. S. Murrow wrote the editor of the *Mississippi Baptist* from Micco, Creek Nation, on October 20, 1859, regarding the meeting of the Indian association of Creek, Choctaw and Chickasaw churches at Tuckabatchee Church, ten miles southeast of Micco (North Fork Town). A large number of Indians were present and the association was divided into two bodies—one for the Creeks and the other for the Choctaws and Chickasaws.

Among the notables present were Chief John Jumper of the Seminoles and the Reverend Henry Frieland Buckner, the celebrated missionary.

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[7] *Report*, Commissioner Indian Affairs, 1855, 136,37.

[8] Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties* (Washington, 1903), pp. 569-70.

[9] E. C. Routh, *The Story of Oklahoma Baptists* (Oklahoma City, 1932), p. 42.

The Reverend J. S. Murrow organized the first Baptist church among the Seminoles in 1860. It was later known as the Ash Creek Church and Jumper became one of the first members. He is said to have been a great preacher and he occupied the Ash Creek Church pulpit for many years.[10]

In a report from E. H. Carruth dated July 11, 1861, he told of a visit to his home by Chief John Jumper who "felt true to the treaties, & said that all his people were with the Government, but the Forts were in the possession of its enemies, their Agent would give them no information on the subject, he feared that his country would be overrun, if he did not yield.

Carruth endeavored to encourage him to adhere to his treaty and "The Chief told me that all the full Indians everywhere were with the Gov't, that he did not wish to fight, nor did his people, they had hoped to be left to themselves untill the whites settled their quarrels, his people had enough of war in Florida, & were now anxious for peace."[11]

On November 26, 1861, Carruth wrote to General Hunter that the Seminoles as a tribe did negotiate with Pike, but that the whole transaction was between Chief John Jumper, supported by four of his friends, and Pike. Carruth thought that the five were probably bribed. "That Pike was not averse to the use of money for such ends."

The Confederate government rewarded Jumper by appointing him an honorary lieutenant-colonel in the southern army. Carruth wrote that the family influence of Jumper enabled him to raise forty-six men and Ben McCulloch authorized him to call for 600 rangers from Fort Cobb, to enable him to crush the Union sympathy in his tribe.

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[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 54. (One of the very interesting Indian church organizations in the state is the Spring Baptist Church, located one and a half miles west of Sasakwa, in Seminole County. The church building is neatly built and well equipped as a country church, surrounded by a number of small houses used as living quarters during camp meetings located on a forty acre tract owned by the church. The southeast corner-stone of the church building bears the inscription, "Rev. John Jumper, Pastor, 1850 to 1894," followed by the Indian names of the minister and the six deacons. Beneath the stone is this inscription: "Original corner-stone Spring Baptist Church, established 1850. Contains Holy Bible." According to information from the present pastor, the Reverend Wilsey Palmer, Spring Church was organized in 1850 and first located on Buckhead Prairie east of present Lexington, in Cleveland County. It was later moved to near present Asher, in Pottawatomie County; then from Asher to Jumper's home, and from there to the present location. Chief Jumper's old home place is less than a mile south of the present Spring Baptist Church.—Ed.)

[11] Annie Heloise Abel, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 85.

Jumper was one of the signers of the two Comanche treaties which Pike made with that tribe. Chief Moty Kennard and Chilly McIntosh as well as Rector added their signatures.[12]

According to E. H. Carruth in a letter to Major General David Hunter, commanding the Western Division of the United States Army, written at Leavenworth, Kansas on November 26, 1861, he had spent the day with John Jumper before he left for the Creek Agency to see Albert Pike. Some four or five Seminole chiefs were present and Carruth did not think there was a man among them who favored going with the south. The council had not appointed delegates to treat with Captain Pike and Jumper had received his letter at night. He took the letter to Carruth the next morning, sent out a runner for four of his friends, and they spent the whole day together.

In spite of the agent's influence Jumper and his four friends left for the Creek Agency to confer with Pike,[13]

> " . . . . with, I believe, the honest intention of being true to the government, his own sense of right, and his people; but they were bribed, and today the Seminole chief has no people, and the nation is without a chief. His family influence enabled him to raise forty-six men, not all Seminoles, and [General] Ben McCulloch authorized him to call to his aid six hundred rangers from Fort Cobb, that he might crush the Union feeling in his tribe.
>
> "Satisfied as I am of the previous loyalty of John Jumper—Knowing as I do, that few Indians worked harder for the advance of his people—I view his treason more in pity than anger."

Agent Samuel M. Rutherford wrote from Fort Smith to Elias Rector on December 27, 1861, that he was pleased to report that John Jumper, Cloud, Short Bird, and Holatut Fixico were with Colonel Douglas H. Cooper "doing their duty as faithful and Loyal allies."[14]

When Albert Pike, in 1861, with a large band of mounted Seminoles and Creeks marched to the Plains to secure treaties with the wild Indians, John Jumper signed for his people.[15] General Pike described John Jumper as one of the noblest men he ever met in his life.[16]

According to the official records of the Confederate Army in the archives in Washington John Jumper was appointed a major in the First Seminole Mounted Volunteers on September 21, 1861.

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[12] Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 197, note 370; p. 198, note 370; p. 200, note 383. (These Comanche treaties were signed at the Wichita Agency, north of the Washita River and about five miles east of present Ft. Cobb, Caddo County.—Ed.)

[13] *Report* commissioner of Indian affairs, 1861, p. 47.

[14] Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 319. Of course this meant that these Seminoles had joined the Confederate forces.

[15] Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941), p. 146.

[16] Routh, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

He became a lieutenant colonel November 21, 1862 and he was reported as acting colonel on recruiting duty July 27, 1864.[17] At the time Pike assumed command of the Indian forces the Creeks were under Lieutenant-colonel Chilly McIntosh and the Seminoles under Major John Jumper. In General Pike's report of May 4, 1862, he stated that he had ordered Jumper "with his Seminoles to march to and take Fort Larned, now on the Pawnee Fork of the Arkansas, where are considerable stores and a little garrison. He will go as soon as their annuity is paid."[18]

The Confederacy paid Jumper the compliment of making him a lieutenant colonel. The order read:

> "*The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact,* That the President of the Confederate States be authorized to present to Hemha Micco, or John Jumper, a commission, confering upon him the honorary title of Lieutenant-Colonel of the army . . . . but without creating or imposing the duties of the actual service or command, or pay, as a complimentary mark of honor, and a token of good will and confidence in his friendship, good faith, and loyalty to this government. . . . . "[19]

Jumper and his troops were among the most loyal of Pike's forces but it was feared that after Pike was relieved of his command that many soldiers would desert. Many desertions had occurred because lack of food and garments.[20]

John Jumper was the major of the Seminole Battalion at the beginning of the Civil War. William Robinson, a Creek, was elected first lieutenant and when the body of troops was reorganized he was made the captain and later the lieutenant colonel.[21]

John Jumper was ordained a Baptist clergyman in 1865. James Factor, the first Seminole to be converted to the Baptist faith was ordained the same day . Dr. A. J. Holt related in his Pioneering in the Southwest that Factor was expelled from the Seminole council because he was "bewitched" meaning he had been converted. When Jumper investigated he became converted also. "Up to this time he had harbored malice in his heart against every white man because of the way the Seminoles were treated in Florida, but after his conversion all malice was taken out of his heart."[22]

During the Civil War Jumper had occasion to visit the com-

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[17] History of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Confederate Army, compiled from the Confederate Records in the office of the Adjutant General, under the direction of Grant Foreman, Vol. 2, 21. There was a Camp Jumper ten miles north of Perryville in June, 1864.

[18] *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion,* Vol. XIII, pp. 819-23.

[19] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland, 1919), p. 174, note 471.

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 200.

[21] H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory* (Saint Louis, 1892), p. 257.

[22] Routh, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

manding officer at Shreveport, Louisiana; he was invited by the officer to have a drink, but he declined explaining to the general that he never drank liquor.[23]

Stand Watie wrote to his wife Sallie from "Jone's June 23d 1865 . . . . . The Grand Council will convene 1st day of September when a commissioner from Washington is expected to arrive . . . . Jumper and Checote are expected in today. . . . . Stand."[24]

In the report of the "Proceedings of the Council with the Indians of the West and South-West, held at Fort Smith, Ark., in September, 1865" with commissioners D. N. Cooley, Thomas Wistar, Elijah Sells, Brigadier W. S. Harney, U.S.A., and Colonel Ely S. Parker, the Seminoles were represented by John Chupco, Pascofa, Fo-hut-she, Fos-har-jo, Chut-cote har-go. Their interpreters were Robert Johnson and Cesar Bruner; their agent, George A. Reynolds.

John Chupco, chief in 1865, did not sign the treaty of August 1, 1861 by which part of the Seminoles sided with the Confederacy. During the meeting at Fort Smith, Chupco stated:

"Our Father, the president, made a treaty with us many years ago—That treaty we loved and respected, and did not wish to violate it, because we wanted to preserve all the promises made to us by our Father for the care of our women and children.

"At that time, Billy Bowlegs was our Chief, when we left that country; and we left our country because we did not approve of the treaty made by our bad brothers, and we left our country to go North into the Cherokee country and Kansas." After several fights the Seminoles were left with nothing; many of their "law men, and capable men to do business, and a great many of our young men and women and children" were killed by Creeks under General William McIntosh."

On September 15, 1865, the Creeks came to an agreement with the United States commissioners. Assistant Secretary Garrett read a paper signed by ten prominent Seminoles, including John Jumper, in which they stated their desire to live in peace and harmony with their Indian neighbors.

Chief John Jumper and four other delegates, on September 16, signed a paper stating that when signing the document on the sixteenth in connection with the loyal Seminoles, that they were ignorant of all of its requirements and they desired to rescind their approval of the third and sixth articles of the treaty and requested to have the questions held open for further consideration.

Three days later Principal Chief John Jumper presented a paper to the commissioners in which he wrote:

" . . . . In your communication today to John Jumper . . . . you say that 'our people must be provided for', but that 'Congress must assemble be-

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54.

[24] Edward Everett Dale and Jesse Lee Rader, *Readings from Oklahoma History* (New York, 1930), p. 338.

fore any definite arrangements can be made.' We here simply ask how our people are to subsist until the assembling of Congress. . . . .

"We have been exiles from our own homes and lands, for more than two years; amid the ravages of war, we were unable to save very little of our property, very few cattle, horses, hogs, and no agricultural implements whatever. We were, before the outbreak of the white man's war, into which he drew us, a poor people just struggling to emerge from the darkness and poverty of Barbarism. . . . . We are now poorer than ever, a feeble, suppliant tribe. . . . . We have no fields in the low lands of the Washita river, where we are now and have been since February 1864 . . . . .

"What are we to do. . . . . The 'Confederate States' no longer exist, to their humanity and sympathy we can no longer appeal. . . . relief must be speedy, too, or it will be of no avail. . . . .

"We are now about to move our families from their present camps in the woods of the Washita, to our own land. There we shall not find the homes we left, yet we desire to go immediately thither to make such preparations as we are able for the coming winter, and for the sowing and harvest thereafter. We are anxious and determined to reestablish and maintain peace with our Seminole brethren, who have differed with us in this war, and resolve to keep good and steadfast faith with the United States Government. . . . ."

President Cooley replied that the communication would be placed on file, though it was not properly a part of the proceedings of the council, being addressed to the Commissioner of Indian affairs.[25]

Secretary Garrett read a paper from the United Seminole delegation declaring that they had met with their southern brothers and had signed a treaty of peace and amity with the United States; that they desired to and would settle all matters of difference with each other; that they were willing for their friendly brother from Kansas and elsewhere, to reside upon their lands and have a home with them.

They desired treaties entered into with the United States which would provide them with schools, churches, homes, and farming implements in order to lift them in the scale of mankind. After a few more provisions they wished to return home to care for their women and children, until the government should ask them to attend a treaty council. John Jumper was one of the ten Seminoles who signed this message, with his mark, in the presence of Indian Agent George Reynolds.

E. C. Boudinot on September 16 read a paper for the Seminoles lately from Armstrong Academy, stating that when they signed the document with the loyal Seminoles they were ignorant of its requirements and that they wished to rescind their action in regard to the third and sixth articles. This paper was signed by John Jumper as chief and his name was followed by four other members of the delegation and witnessed by J. H. Washburn.[26]

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[25] *Report*, pp. 1, 2, 18, 28, 36, 37.
[26] *Ibid.*, 2, 8, 36.

Ten years after the Civil War the government bought the area alloted to the Seminoles by the treaty of 1856. The Indians were paid fifteen cents an acre for their land the government them sold them 200,000 acres in the Creek Nation for fifty cents per acre.[27]

The Seminole Nation was divided by two factions after the Civil War. John Jumper was the principal chief of the contingent which had aided the Confederate government; John Chupko held a similar office for forces which had supported the Federal government.

W. Morris Grimes, chaplain of the United States forces stationed at Fort Gibson in March, 1869, wrote that the Civil War had split the Seminole church into two factions. "The then principal chief, John Jumper, went off to the Baptists, and took all that part of the church that went South, with him; this was much to be regretted; he was among the most promising fruits of the mission. During the war he was zealous for Christ, and at present is the chief prop of the Baptist church among the Seminoles, and believed to be a true man of God."[28]

The Creek Council met at Okmulgee in October, 1869 and organized with no trouble from the Sands party. Agent Lyons persuaded Sands and Checote to sign an agreement to abide by the constitution. John Jumper was present with three other men of his nation when this agreement took place. He was asked to make a speech and later he was called upon to "ask of God a blessing upon them (their peace)—which he done before they parted," according to Checote.[29]

In 1870 John Jumper was one of the Seminole delegates who protested against a bill to establish the Territory of Oklahoma. His name, with those of John Chupco, James Glatcoe, and Robert Johnson was signed with the Cherokee, Creek, and Choctaw delegates—all headed by Principal Chief William P. Ross of the Cherokee Nation.[30]

A peace council was held at the Wichita Agency in August, 1872 at which a number of noted Indians spoke. Among the number was the aged Chilly McIntosh who declared that the peace commissioners had come a long way from Okmulgee to smooth a road for the Comanches and Kiowas to travel along.

Lone Wolf and Kicking Bird were seated near, leaning against a tree and they required the interpreter to repeat several passages of McIntosh's talk before they were satisfied. *The World* (New York) reported that both of these Indians made long speeches and they

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[27] Kappler, *op. cit.*, 696; Muriel H. Wright, *Our Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1939), p. 126.

[28] *Report* commissioner of Indian affairs, 1869, 79.

[29] Debo, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

[30] *The Life and Times of Hon. William P. Ross* (Fort Smith, 1893), p. 144.

were followed by John Jumper "who arose and delivered a truly excellent address, commencing with the stock phrases that the Indians are all of one race though they speak in different dialects:[31]

" 'I want you to believe,' he said, 'that I am telling you the truth. Our business is to induce you to keep up on your reservation and make peace with the Government. You bring implements of war with you; I want you to lay them aside. This talk may disturb your minds, but, believe me, it is for your good. Your old men have raised you up to this practice, but we, your brothers ask you to lay it aside.'

"Jumper followed with a long history of the terrible hardships endured in their long fight with the United States government and said: 'The Seminoles have tried the war path, and I beg of you not to enter it—it is a dangerous road. Take the white path and the illuminating sun will light you on your way. . . . . Fearing your approach to destruction, I and my brothers have come from the timber country to see you."

A letter from Dr. G. J. Johnson stated:[32]

"John Jumper is a noble specimen of an Indian man, Seminole, 55 years with a slight grey tinging his jet black hair, 6′ 4″ in heighth and weighs 225 pounds. His features indicate fair intelligence and strong will and yet great benevolence. He is an active Christian, somewhat wealthy, a natural leader. Has been head chief of the Seminoles for 25 years until a few months since when he declined re-election that as he said he might devote himself more fully to the preaching of the Gospel.

"The new house of worship built by the Seminoles is in the grove near to Brother Jumper's residence and is a well constructed frame 25′ x 35′ on the ground with two stories, the lower for the purposes of week day and Sunday school and the upper floor for public worship; cost $1000.00. Provided with a small bell hung on a pole frame outside the house set up by being fastened to the trees."

In an act passed by the Creek National Council on October 16, 1875, the International Printing Company was incorporated within the Muskogee Nation. This company included prominent men of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek nations and the Seminoles were represented by John Jumper and John Chupko.[33]

The Reverend A. J. Holt, Baptist preacher and missionary to the Seminoles, related that in June, 1876, Jumper rode with him and John McIntosh, Creek interpreter; Hulbutta (Alligator), and Tussle Micco, on horseback to the Plains Indians. During the journey the Indians ate roasted terrapins which Jumper said were "heap good".

Dr. Holt stated: "I was introduced by John Jumper, the Seminole chief, himself a full blood Indian of gigantic mould. He told them that I was their 'Father-talker.' "[34]

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[31] *The World*, New York, August 29, 1872. P. 2, col. 2.

[32] Extract from letter from Dr. G. J. Johnson, Central Baptist, in *Atoka Vindicator*, April 3, 1875.

[33] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), p. 190.

[34] Typescript in Grant Foreman collection.

Chief John Jumper retired from office in 1877, having declined re-election. He had decided to devote his time and energies to missionary work and he became a noted preacher in the Baptist church.

Dr. Routh wrote that Jumper, James Factor of the Seminoles, and Peter Folsom, Choctaw, "were heroic souls whose names should be recorded on the roll of the faithful. . . . ."

Jumper was succeeded by John F. Brown, of Sa-sak-wa who was part Scot and part Seminole. He was principal chief for thirty years and during his administration the Seminoles made the greatest progress in their history.[35]

During the so-called Green Peach War in the Creek Nation in December 1882-83, Chief Jumper and John F. Brown journeyed to Okmulgee by way of Eufaula and Muskogee to express their regrets to Indian Agent John Q. Tufts for participation of citizens of the Seminole Nation in the battle about twenty miles southwest of Okmulgee.[36]

From Muskogee, August 1, 1883, the Reverend Israel G. Vore wrote to I. T. Tichnor, D. D. at Atlanta, Georgia: " . . . . There is to be a camp meeting on the 15th inst. at Bro. Jumper's place in the Seminole Nation, and Brother [Wesley] Smith wishes to bring some of the Baptists of Wichita Agency to it. . . . . After which the Prairie Baptists will return to their homes. . . . ."

The Reverend J. S. Murrow wrote the *Indian Missionary* from Sasakwa, Seminole Nation, September 1, 1884, that Brother Jumper's camp meeting had closed that morning, the camp ground having been removed from the old location to a high place in the open prairie:[37]

"It is a beautiful site, and when it first came in view with its well constructed eating arbors in a square around the large preaching arbor, all covered with hay, the white tents and covered wagons—the whole covering some ten acres of ground or more, it was a beautiful sight.

"But few visitors from other Nations were present, but the attendance from all parts of this Nation was large, and the services were good. The church had called its oldest deacon, Bro. Daniel Tus Harjo, to ordination as a minister and as he is an old quarter century friend of mine they were awaiting my visit that I might lead in his ordination, which was done Saturday. . . . .

"At the all-night meeting last night the colored people became so enthused that they formed a large procession and marched around the encampment singing and clapping their hands. It was a wild and weird scene. . . . yet there was a charm and solemnity about it that forbad condemnation. . . . ."

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[35] Muriel H. Wright, *Our Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1939), pp. 26-27.
[36] Debo, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-76.
[37] *The Indian Missionary*, McAlester, October, 1884, p. 2, col. 1.

The December, 1884 issue of *The Indian Missionary* printed at Eufaula, Indian Territory, contains an article entitled "A Talk with Bro. Jumper," in which the editor, W. P. Blake, explained why Jumper left the Presbyterian church and joined the Baptists. He stated that:

" . . . . while the defenders of sprinkling were seeking to hold him, a meeting was appointed by the Baptists. He said to himself, that meeting must decide this matter. If I am decided by that time I'll join the Baptist church; . . . . The meeting came, he was overwhelmed with the thought that he must attend to the matter. He offered himself for membership with the Baptists. . . . . They received him, and, as near as he could remember, on the 23d day of September, 1860, he was 'buried with Christ in baptism' at the hand of Rev. John D. Bemo . . . . . Br. Jumper is now about 70 years old. . . . ."

The following year John Jumper, chief of the Seminoles said: "We are Baptists, because the Baptists are right." At that time this church had 6,000 members and they considered their responsibility to the Indians was great. They were crying for missionaries but begged for native preachers.[38]

The Executive Board of the Baptist Territorial Convention was held at Muskogee on April 30, 1885, and John Jumper was one of the eleven members. The Muskogee and Seminole Baptist Association met August 5, 1885, at Alabama Church Wetumka, Creek Nation. John Jumper took a prominent part each day and he served on the committee on education. He told of his church at Sasakwa, especially commending its disciplinary conduct.[39]

On the thirteenth of February, 1886, twenty-five members of the Indian delegation in the national Capital called upon ex-Governor Andrew G. Curtain of Pennsylvania, at his residence on K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.[40] John Jumper, principal chief of the Seminoles, was chairman of the combined delegation. Black Dog, principal chief of the Osages, was called upon for a speech.[41]

The *Graffic News* of Cincinnati, October 16, 1886 (p. 267, col. 3), wrote as follows:

"John Jumper the present chief of the Seminoles, whose term as chief expired while I was in the Nation, was in the Florida war. He was

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[38] *The Indian Missionary*, January, 1885, p. 2, col. 3. This item was taken from an article written by Professor E. T. Allen, Indian University, Tahlequah which originally appeared in the *Journal and Messenger.*

[39] *Ibid.*, August, 1885, p. 1, col. 3.

[40] Andrew G. Curtain was born at Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, in 1817; he was educated and practiced law; elected governor of Pennsylvania in 1861; minister to Russia. Member of the forty-seventh, forty-eighth and forty-ninth Congresses; died October 7, 1894 (*A Biographical Congressional Dictionary*, Washington, 1903). No relation of Jeremiah Curtain who wrote an account of his stay in the Indian Territory in his *Memoirs of Jeremiah Curtain* (Madison, 1940), pp. 324-37, although closely associated with him for years in Russia.

[41] *The Indian Missionary*, March, 1886, p. 1, col. 2. Copied from *Council Fire.*

captured and brought to his present home in chains. His brother James Jumper, took part in the massacre of Major Dade and his force of one hundred and ten men, the Seminoles, having been taken by force to this country, perhaps have greater cause to dislike the whites than any of the other tribes."

The *Indian Missionary* furnished an Honor Roll of Students at the Indian University, Muskogee in March, 1887. Winnie Jumper, daughter of Chief Jumper, had a grade of 97 and the next month it was 96. She is remembered by Miss Ella M. Robinson of Muskogee, a fellow student, as a handsome girl with a beautiful singing voice. Her brother Joseph, a lad of about fifteen was over six feet tall and Bacone was the first school his father had permitted him to attend.

Chief Jumper is described by Miss Robinson who saw him when he visited Bacone University as six feet five or six inches in height and impressive in appearance. Three of the Jumper children were sent to the Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania and all died of tuberculosis after returning home, according to Miss Robinson.

The *Indian Missionary* reported in June, 1887, concerning a "newsy letter" from the Reverend John Jumper in which he told of the murder of "old Bro. Es-se-seko-gee," from motives of robbery. The church at Sa-sak-wa had decided to erect a new building at the same location and five persons had been baptized there in recent times. The March, 1888 issue of the *Indian Missionary* stated that carpenters were expected to begin work on Brother Jumper's Baptist church that week.

The Reverend John Jumper sent an announcement of a camp-meeting to be held at Spring Baptist Church from August 8, to the twelfth, 1889. The Whites, Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Wichitas and other Indians and Baptist ministers were invited to be present. He wrote:

"We shall remember this, that the day is not far advanced when we as Indian, were in a state of great ignorance and entire destitute of such thing as christianity. We enjoyed to a great extent in vain pleasures of our ancestors. In those days we were thoughtless as to the future state of our existance.

"Even in the very time of our lack of knowledge for God, He preserved and cherished us, and has followed us with His light, and has by His Holy Spirit turned many to the salvation of their souls. . . . ."

Jumper reported a very good meeting on May 19 when the Reverend W. P. Blake preached, and his sermon was interpreted by John F. Brown.[42]

The Reverend J. S. Murrow, accompanied by his wife and daughter, Mrs. Will McBride, left Atoka for Anadarko to attend a

[42] *The Indian Missionary*, June, 1889, p. 6, cols. 2, 3.

camp meeting in August, 1889. As editor of *The Indian Missionary,* Mr. Murrow, wrote an extended account of the journey and various places they visited on the way west. At the Wichita Agency the editor and his family stayed in the home of the Reverend George W. Hicks and "his excellent wife" while they attended the annual camp meeting of the Wichita church. When Mr. Murrow had visited the agency several years previously it was located on the north side of the Washita, but in 1889 it was situated on the south side of the river" on what was then the field of our friend Black Beaver." Mr. Murrow wrote:[43]

"Anadarko is quite a town, several stores, hotel, livery stable, nice dwellings, blacksmith shops, &c. Several thousand Commanches and Kiowas were encamped around drawing their grass money, or rent for land leased to cattle men. Some $32,000 were paid them and the stores were doing a heavy business.

"The Indians were gorgeously arrayed in Mexican blankets, red and blue strouding, bright calico, beaded leggings, mocasins, painted faces &c.

"We are now on the camp ground. The grounds are very sightly; an elevated prairie sloping down on all sides, timber and water near. The preaching arbor with good seats and covered with green boughs is in the center of the square, the camps surround it on four sides in regular form and symmetry.

"There are about four hundred Indians mostly Wichitas and Caddos. Other tribes including Kiowas and Commanches are expected today. They are dressed in their peculiar style. The men, shirts and leggins, with a long strip of cloth, usually white, wrapped around their bodies. Many men however wear pants, vests and coats, the Christian men especially.

"The women dress in a calico short jacket or shirt that extends below the waist and a wrap of straight cloth, white or calico of bright color wound about the loins and extending to the ankles. The garb of men and women is similar. Both sexes too wear their hair long, but some of the men have their's braided.

"The camp, style of worship, songs &c., are almost an exact copy of the Seminole and Muskogee camp meetings, which shows the strong impression Brothers John McIntosh, Wm. Conner, John Jumper, Tulsee Micco and others made in the early history of the church here. Even in baptism the candidate gives down just as raised out of the water and has to be carried out. . . . ."

The Reverend W. P. Blake wrote from Sasakwa, March 16, 1890 of a meeting at Spring Church that day where "Bro. Jumper ably seconded our efforts in the exposition of the word. . . . ."[44]

In the July, 1891 issue of *The Indian Missionary* (page 4, column 1) is an announcement of a camp meeting to be held at Brother Jumper's church at Sasakwa, beginning August 5 and ending on August 10. In an account of a meeting at Anadarko on August

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[43] This account was printed on one side of a "Supplement—Indian Missionary, August, 1889" to the regular edition of the paper.

[44] *Ibid.,* April, 1890, p. 3, col. 2.

20, 1891, it was stated: "The venerable patriarch, Rev. John Jumper was present and greatly added in the business of the body."

The *Tahlequah Telephone* copies an article from the Purcell (Indian Territory) *Topic,* on April 27, 1891 saying:

"Between 30 and 40 wagon loads of Indians passed through town yesterday and today on their way to Anadarko to attend the Baptist Association to be held there Aug. 20. All from Cherokee and Seminole nations. All have good rigs. Men are brave and communicative, women fat and good looking. Include Ex-Chief John Jumper, John McIntosh, pioneer Baptist minister, the first to expound the teachings of Christ to the Wichitas. . . . . Went into camp on the Walnut west of town last night. Will probably rest there today and take in the sights of Purcell."

John Jumpers' daughter Lizzie was the first wife of John F. Brown. She bore him five children: James who was killed from a fall from his horse when his neck was broken; John W. who is described, "a handsome man of giant stature who towered a head above other men—died of tuberculosis in his early years. He left a wife and two children. Solomon, Ruth, and Ina died of the same disease." The names of Colonel Jumper's older children were Rebecca (married John West); John, James, Winnie.[45]

According to the authority of Mrs. Alice Fleet, Ada, Oklahoma, the children of John and Lizzie Brown were: John W. Brown, Solomon E. Brown, Ruth Brown, and Ina Brown. Winnie Jumper married Henry Martin.

The *Muskogee Phoenix,* October 15, 1896, reported that John Jumper, ex-chief of the Seminole Nation, and late delegate to Washington, died Sunday morning last [October 11] at the age of seventy-three. His estate was estimated as $100,000.

The Weekly Elevator (Fort Smith), October 9, 1896, recorded the passing of John Jumper at his residence near Wewoka[46] on September 21, 1896:

" . . . . past 80 years of Age . . . . . He was in high repute in the councils of his tribe, and was frequently sent to Washington in their interests. He was a nephew of the Celebrated Micanopy, who was the great council chief of the nation during its long and bloody war with the whites. . . . . The news of his death to his people will be, in the eloquent words of Push-ma-ta-ha, 'Like the fall of a mighty tree in the stillness of the forest.' "

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[45] Authority of Mrs. H. W. Twinam, Prague, Oklahoma, October 14, 1950. Miss Minnie (*sic*) Jumper was mentioned as taking part in a program at Bacone where she recited "Jack's Rescue." This was probably Winnie Jumper (*The Indian Missionary,* January, 1891, p. 1, col. 2).

[46] Chief John Jumper's grave is located on his old home farm, south of Spring Baptist Church. The Oklahoma Division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy recently secured a marble grave-stone from the War Department to mark the grave of John Jumper, Colonel of the Seminole Regiment, Confederate States Army.—Ed.

During the administration of President Grover Cleveland, Jumper acted as interpreter for several delegations of tribes that visited Washington. He was the first real Indian Cleveland ever met.

In the Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes made to establish the citizenship of those Indians and for the purpose of alloting the lands, there appears on the Seminole roll compiled in 1905, but one person of the name of Jumper. That was nine year old Lizzie Jumper.

From printed accounts of the Seminoles still living in Florida in 1941, Willie Jumper was an aged Seminole. The Broward County officials had erected a sign for the School Bus Stop opposite the little Indian school near Dania. This caused so much talk among the Indians that Willie Jumper asked the agent the meaning of the words which he had interpreted as "School busted, stop." His relief was great when he was told that the government was still in funds and the school would operate as usual.[47]

In July, 1940, when the WPA Florida Writers' Project investigators visited the Brighton Reservation with a recording equipment provided by the Library of Congress, Lura May Jumper, eight years old, sang the "Rat Song" a traditional song sung by Seminole children while playing a game.[48]

[47] *Seminole Indians in Florida,* 1941, *op. cit.,* 49.

[48] Another citizen of Seminole blood in Florida is aged Charlie Jumper whose portrait is shown opposite page 71 in *Seminole Indians of Florida.*

SEMINOLE IN MEXICO, 1850-1861

*By Kenneth W. Porter**

In 1849-1850 several hundred discontented Seminole from the Indian Territory, under the command of the Indian chief Coacoochee (Wild Cat) and the Negro chief John Horse (Gopher John), crossed Texas to Coahuila, Mexico, and were settled near the border as military colonists; as such they did good service against wild Indians and Texas filibusters. After Wild Cat's death early in 1857 the Indians began to drift back to the Territory, the last party returning in the summer of 1861. The Negroes had been removed early in 1859 to the Laguna de Parras, in southwestern Coahuila.

The records of the Municipality of Muquiz,[1] in which the Seminole, or part of them, were settled during 1852-1861, have been used elsewhere as the basis of an article[2] dealing in a general way with the activities of these Indian and Negro settlers, but the character of the article and the necessary space limitations did not permit dealing in any detail with some of the individual Seminole whom these records mention by name. The purpose of this article is to preserve and present this personal material.

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[1] This article is based principally on the Records of the Municipality of Muzquiz and General Alberto Guajardo's Notes for a History of Coahuila, both in the private collection of Mr. Edward Eberstadt, to whose courtesy I owe the opportunity of utilizing them. The Notes are largely based on the Records, but include some information from other sources. Specific references to the letters and other documents in these records would occupy more space than the text, and are therefore dispensed with.

[2] Kenneth W. Porter, "The Seminole in Mexico, 1850-1861," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, vol. XXXI (February, 1951), pp. 1-36. This article is completely documented.

The Indians

Coacoochee (Wild Cat)

Wild Cat, who was the head chief of the Mexican Seminole from the beginning until his death early in 1857, was the favorite son of King Philip (Emathla), who was chief of the St. John's River Seminole in Florida and was married to a sister of Seminole head chief Mikonopi. Although a comparatively young man, born about 1810, he had been one of the most active and daring leaders in the war of 1835-1842 with the United States and after removal to the Territory he bitterly resented being forced to live in the midst of, and subject to, the powerful Creek tribe. As early as 1846 he was planning an alliance between the Seminole and some of the Texas tribes, both the wild and the sedentary, but when Mikonopi died early in 1849 he was disappointed in his ambition to succeed him as head chief and decided to transfer his headquarters to Mexico. In the autumn of 1849 he gathered together a hundred or so Indians and as many Negroes and made his way to the Mexican border, where he and his followers were welcomed as allies against the Apache and Comanche Indians.

He was commissioned a colonel in the Mexican army and for six years was recognized as a daring, intelligent, and highly successful commander. He never succeeded, however, in his plan of uniting the Texas Indians under his leadership, except for a couple of bands of Kickapoo who temporarily acknowledged him as chief but soon deserted him. The Mexican authorities recognized his ability, but also considered him to be haughty and insubordinate. They supported him, however, when, in the last year of his life, his chieftaincy was challenged. An Indian chief named Coyote and a group of followers seem to have set themselves up as independent of Wild Cat and the Negroes were reported as being unwilling to obey anyone except their own chiefs and the Mexican authorities. The governor of Nuevo Leon y Coahuila, however, ordered that, while Coyote's followers and the Negroes should be obedient to their own chiefs, they should also be subordinate to Wild Cat as head chief. Wild Cat was not in good health at the time, possibly as a result of his excessive addiction to intoxicants, and this may have weakened his leadership.

Wild Cat's death from smallpox early in 1857 was, however, greatly regretted. In 1930 an old Negro woman, who was a child at the time the Seminole crossed the Rio Grande into Mexico, still had vivid recollections of Wild Cat and his death. "We wus all crying fur we done lost him," she said. "He was so good."[3]

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[3] Laurence Foster, *Indian-Negro Relationships in the Southeast* (Philadelphia, 1935), pp. 42-43. Wild Cat's career, in Mexico, because of his importance, is treated in still greater detail, and with complete references to manuscript and other primary sources, in Porter, *op. cit.*

Nokosimala (Bear Leader)

Nokosimala[4] was undoubtedly Wild Cat's "cousin and lieutenant, the Crazy Bear," mentioned by Mrs. Cazneau,[5] who, according to her, was made "sheriff" of the municipality set up for the benefit of the Seminole. He was portrayed in a colored lithograph in Emory's *Boundary Survey* under the name of Noko-shimat-tastanaki, translated Grizzly Bear,[6] but which actually means Bear Leader Warrior.

Nokosimala served as second-in-command of the Seminole Indians until Governor Santiago Vidaurri of Nuevo Leon y Coahuila on April 25, 1856, recognized Coyote as second chief.

When both Wild Cat and Coyote died early in 1857, Nokosimala was passed over for the chiefaincy, allegedly because he was a better hunter than a war-chief, and a young man named Leon or Lion was elected to the office.

Nokosimala, however, proved much more zealous and active than the titular head chief, who seems, indeed, to have been quite inactive. He went on a successful expedition late in December, 1857, at the head of 30 Seminole and in company with 17 Mexicans, to attack the Lipan and Tonkawa *rancherias* in the Cañon de Nataje and when early in 1859 many of the Seminole Indians in Mexico, including the head-chief and three other principal chiefs, left for the United States, Nokosimala at long last was recognized as head chief of those who remained.

Early in April, 1859, he marched with nine warriors as escort to a caravan proceeding to the towns of Chihuahua and on this expedition his party is said to have assisted in the destruction of a Comanche camp near San José de las Piedras and the capture of more than a hundred horses.[7] Other expeditions during the summer seem to have been unsuccessful.

Nokosimala's chieftaincy was impeached the following year by a trouble-making tribesman, but the Seminole declared that they fully and gladly recognized him as chief, Wild Cat's young son not wishing to assume any authority until he should have gained more experience.

Nokosimala and the other Seminole finally became disillusioned with Mexico and in 1861 returned to the Indian Territory.

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[4] Mexican forms: Nacocimala, Nakasimal, Nicosimala, etc. "No-co-se-mathlar (the Bear King)" had been a companion of Billy Bowlegs in Florida in August, 1843 (John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), p. 485, but Seminole nomeclature is so unimaginative that this identity of names does not necessarily signify an identity of persons.

[5] Mrs. William Leslie Cazneau (Cora Montgomery), *Eagle Pass, or, Life on the Border* (New York, 1852), pp. 74, 143.

[6] William H. Emory, *Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey*, vol. i (34th cong., 1st sess., Sen. ex. doc. 108), p. 52.

[7] Capt. George F. Price, *Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry* (New York, 1883), p. 78.

Coyote

Coyote is never mentioned except under his Mexican name, but his Seminole name almost certainly began with the word Yaha (wolf). "Yah-hah Fixico" (Heartless Wolf) signed the treaty of 1845, giving the Seminole greater autonomy, which resulted from a visit by Wild Cat to Washington the previous year.[8]

Coyote does not appear in Mexican sources until the spring of 1854, but was very active thereafter as commander, or co-commander with Wild Cat, of expeditions against Indians and filibusters. A part of the Seminole had apparently always obeyed him rather than Wild Cat, which, since Wild Cat was the son of a St. John's River chief and probably a nephew of the Alachua chief Mikonopi, suggests that Coyote may have belonged to another division of the Seminole—Mikasuki, Tallahassee, or possibly Creek. On April 25, 1856, the governor of Nuevo Leon y Coahuila recognized Coyote as commander of "the part of the Indians who have always obeyed him" and as second chief of the Mexican Seminole in general, but only as a subaltern to Wild Cat except during the latter's absence.

Perhaps put on his mettle by this honor, Coyote particularly distinguished himself during the remainder of the year. At the head of ten Seminole he went out in search of stolen cattle and located a Tonkawa camp of twenty-five or thirty warriors, which he attacked, killing four and capturing eleven horses, but was forced to withdraw when his ammunition ran out. Shortly after this he went in pursuit of a party of thirteen Comanche raiders, attacked them by surprise with only six men, killed seven, badly wounded three, and captured eight horses and two mules.

Coyote died in January, 1857, in a smallpox epidemic which took the lives of twenty-eight women and twenty-five men of the tribe, including the head chief Wild Cat.

Lion

Lion, known only by his Mexican name of Leon, was elected as Wild Cat's successor to the head chieftaincy, in preference to Nokosimala, Wild Cat's kinsman and sometime second-in-command. Although Lion is described as "an honorable, brave, and active young man," he was never mentioned prior to his election to the chieftaincy and was not particularly active thereafter, being far exceeded in that respect by the sub-chiefs Susano, Felipe, and Juan Flores, as well as by Nokosimala himself.

The Seminole word *kotza* (panther) is translated either as lion or as tiger and Lion's Seminole name presumably stemmed from that word. A Seminole named Cotza Tustenuggee (Panther War-

[8] Charles J. Kappler, compiler and editor, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, vol. ii (Washington, D.C., 1904), p. 552.

rior), described as a nephew of Alligator and a son of King Philip, signed the Capitulation of Fort Dade, March 6, 1837, as one of Alligator's representatives.[9] A man of that name also was one of those who accompanied Alligator from the Indian Territory to Florida in October, 1841, on a peace mission to their friends and relatives who remained hostile.[10] Very likely they were the same. If Alligator's representative and companion was actually a son of King Philip, he would have been Wild Cat's brother or half-brother and would thus have been a likely person to have accompanied him to Mexico. And if Lion was Wild Cat's brother, this relationship might account for his succession to the chieftaincy, according to the old Seminole principle that a chief's brother or nephew was his logical successor. That Lion was Wild Cat's brother is, however, merely a possibility.

Lion was one of the fifty-one Seminole Indians who on February 17, 1859, left the Seminole settlement of Nacimiento for the Indian Territory, although for some reason he left his wife behind, and promised to return within ten months with as many more as he could bring. He did not, however, do so.

Sub-Chiefs

Mention of Seminole Indians in Mexico has thus far been confined to head chiefs and second chiefs. To the former category belonged Wild Cat and Lion, to the latter, Coyote, while Nokosimala belonged to both. There were also a number of recognized sub-chiefs, who were never formally recognized as occupying the position of second chief. The sub-chief who probably occupied the highest rank short of second position, and who was certainly an important figure among the Seminole Indians in Mexico over the longest period of time, was Pasoca.

Pasoca

Pasoca[11] was probably the same as "Passackee" or "Pas Soc Sa" who in 1844 accompanied Wild Cat on a delegation to Washington.[12] He was probably also "Pass-ack-ee, an old Seminole chief. . . . quite advanced in life,"[13] who in 1846 gave evidence in behalf of the freedom of a Negro woman.

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[9] *Niles Register*, vol. ii (Mar. 25, 1937), p. 49, quoting from the *National Intelligencer. Army and Navy Chronicle*, vol. iv (1837), p. 215. *Charleston* (S. C.) *Courier*, Mar. 23, 1837. 25th cong., 3d sess., H. of R., War Dep't, Doc. 225, p. 53.

[10] Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

[11] The Mexican form of the name is Pasaqui.

[12] National Archives, Dep't of the Interior, Indian Office, Seminole File 1844, J1454-1467, Letter: Seaborn Hill, Creek Agency, Apr. 16, 1844, to Thomas L. Judge, Washington; *ibid.*, M1941, Protest against the Wild Cat-Alligator-Crazy Tiger-Passakee Delegation.

[13] Nat'l Archives, War Dep't, QMGO, Consolidated Files, "Fort Gibson," Letter: Lieut. R. W. Kirkham, Fort Gibson, Cherokee Nation, Aug. 26, 1846, to Gen. T. Jesup, QMG, USA, Washington, D.C.

Pasoca, it is probable, was also the Pasoca Yahola who in 1846 was a member of the Seminole executive council at a time when Wild Cat was head chief Mikonopi's "counsellor and organ."[14] Pasoca Yahola in 1849 joined with Wild Cat in opposing the Creek demand that Negroes living among the Seminole be deprived of their guns.[15]

Pasoca Yahola went on a delegation to Billy Bowlegs in Florida late in 1849,[16] very probably as an emissary of Wild Cat. A chief named "Parsacke" had been with Billy Bowlegs, Hospitaka, and others in the Great Cypress in 1841;[17] possibly he was Pasoca Yahola and his former association with Billy Bowlegs caused him to be selected for the Florida delegation. If the Mexican Pasoca was also the Pasoca Yahola of the Florida delegation, as the latter's connection with Wild Cat and friendliness toward the Negroes makes more than likely, he could not have gone with Wild Cat on the first trip to Mexico in 1849-1850 and must have been among the few who accompanied him on his second trip from the Territory to Mexico, in 1850-1851.[18]

Pasoca commanded the Seminole Indians who accompanied Colonel Emilio Langberg on an expedition into the Laguna de Jaco early in 1852, while Wild Cat went on a mission to Mexico City, but he does not seem to have been very active thereafter, probably because of his age. He was, however, a member of the party of Seminole Indians who went back to the Territory in the fall of 1858 and then returned to Mexico early the following year. He was accompanied on his return by his son, known to the Mexicans as "Pasaqui chico" (Little Pasoca), who had been residing in Arkansas. Pasoca was one of the chiefs who on February 17, 1859, left Nacimiento for the United States.

Tiger

A sub-chief who does not seem to have been particularly important prior to the movement of 1858-1859 for returning to the

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[14] *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for* 1846. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, Okla., 1934), pp. 243-246.

[15] 33d Cong., 2d sess., H. of R., ex. doc. 15, p. 28.

[16] Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, 261.

[17] Sprague, *op. cit.*, pp. 271, 295, 319.

[18] Another chief in whose name Pasoca is an element must be distinguished from Wild Cat's associate. This is "Par sac Micco," who protested against the 1844 delegation of which Wild Cat's friend Pasoca was a member. This "Par sac Micco" is probably the same as "Passac-Micco," who escaped from Fort Jupiter early in 1838 when over 600 Indians and Negroes were seized (Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 195), and the "Pasac-Mico" or "Pasuc Mico" who "came in" under the persuasion of Alligator and signed an appeal of Nov. 15, 1841, urging Billy Bowlegs and Waxey Hajo to surrender (Sprague, *op. cit.*, p. 353). Pessac, Passac Mico, Passacce, Pas-sac-e-mico, Parsackemicco, Passac-Mico, and Passac are names applied to a guide or guides serving the troops in Florida late in 1841 and early in 1842; probably all these names refer to the same man—the signer of the Nov. 15, 1841, appeal (Sprague, *op. cit.*, pp. 357, 362, 368, 374).

Indian Territory was Tiger, or Tigre as the Mexicans called him. He was undoubtedly the "Kotza-fexico-chopko, or Long Tiger" (more properly Long Heartless Panther), who, with "Parsakee" and "young Coacoochee, or Wild Cat," went to the Territory in the fall of 1858 and returned with "an order from the chief of the Seminoles to bring the remnant of the tribe back to Arkansas."[19]

He was in all probability Wild Cat's ally in the Territory, Crazy Tiger or Crazy Tiger Cat, who, along with Alligator and Pasoca, accompanied him on his mission to Washington in the spring of 1844.

He also may very well have been the Mikasuki chief "Cotzar-fixico-chopco (Mad Tiger)" who was one of the most savage hostiles in Florida in the final stage of the Seminole War.[20]

Tiger, with Pasoca, Lion, and Juan Flores, headed the party who left for the Territory in February, 1859.

Young Coacoochee

Under Seminole custom, a chief was ordinarily succeeded by a brother or a sister's son rather than by a son of his own, although there were exceptions to this general rule. Wild Cat, when he died early in 1857, left behind him a young son, known only as "young Coacoochee, or Wild Cat," or, as the Mexicans called him, "Gato chiquito"—The Little Cat. He was not, however, considered for the chieftaincy, which fell to Lion.

Young Wild Cat was probably a very young man indeed. The Negroes of Brackettville, Texas, and Nacimiento, Coahuila, whose ancestors came from the Territory to Mexico with John Horse and Wild Cat, preserve traditions of a son of Wild Cat named Billy, probably the same as "young Coacoochee," who accompanied the tribe on the Hejira of 1849-1850 at a time when he was so young as to require a "nurse," a little Negro girl of perhaps ten or twelve named Kitty Johnson.[21] Presumably her young charge was even younger. In 1857, therefore, he must have been in his middle 'teens.

Young Coacoochee accompanied Tiger and Pasoca on a visit to the Indian Territory in the fall of 1858 and returned with them to Mexico early the next year. He was, however, among those who remained behind when Lion, Tiger, Pasoca, Juan Flores, and their families and friends left for the Territory.

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[19] National Archives, Dep't of the Interior, Indian Office, Texas File T359.

[20] Sprague, *op. cit.*, pp. 272, 331, 395, 434. This chief is also referred to as a Creek.

[21] Interviews with Molly Perryman (*ca.* 1863-), Brackettville, 1941, 1942, 1943; Penny Factor (*ca.* 1874-), Brackettville, 1943; Julia Payne (*ca.* 1862-1946), Nacimiento, 1932 (courtesy of Mrs. D. S. McKellar), 1944; Rosa Fay (*ca.* 1860-), Brackettville, 1942. Molly Perryman, Penny Factor, and Julia Payne were daughters of Kitty Johnson; Rosa Fay's mother Clara used to play with Billy.

A Seminole trouble-maker apparently felt, or claimed to feel, that this time Wild Cat's son should succeed to the chieftaincy, instead of Nokosimala, and complained to the governor that the latter had not been properly elected. The other Seminole, however, asserted that young Wild Cat did not wish to assume any authority until he should have increased in experience. By this time he must have been in his late 'teens, perhaps twenty years old at the most.

Young Wild Cat presumably returned to the Territory with the hundred Seminole Indians—the last in Mexico—who were *en route* to the Red River in October 1861.[22]

Juan Flores, Susano, Felipe, and Manuel Flores

Several Seminole sub-chiefs are known only by their Mexican names and are thus particularly difficult, probably even impossible, to identify further. Probably they were Seminole who submitted to Catholic baptism and were in consequence given Christian names. They emerge for the most part after Wild Cat's death.

One of the most conspicuous of these was Juan Flores, who seems, indeed, to have been the principal war chief during Lion's head chieftaincy. Early in 1857 he commanded a party of Seminole Indians who, in company with a band of Negroes under Juan Caballo (John Horse), went out to pursue a party of hostile Indians who had attacked five travellers in the Jarilla de San José and had mortally wounded one of them. They had no success except the capture of five horses by the Negro captain and two mares by Juan Flores.

Juan Flores apparently commanded the Seminole Indian contingent of twenty men who in March, 1858, in company with twenty Negro warriors, pursued Mescalero horse thieves to the bank of the Rio Grande and took from them over a hundred horses and mules and other spoils. They killed two of the enemy but the only casualty suffered by the Seminole Indians or the Negroes was a slight arrow wound to "the valiant Seminole Juan Flores." The Mexican authorities ordinarily used this adjective as if it were a part of his name, which adequately indicates their opinion of his merits.

The "valiant Juan Flores" was one of the chiefs commanding the Seminole Indians who left for the Indian Territory early in 1859.

During the summer of 1857 a Seminole Indian, known only as Felipe, was briefly prominent. He first came into public notice on July 20, when he complained of alleged abuses by the Seminole Negroes in the use of water for irrigation. On August 3, Felipe commanded ten Seminole who captured fifty animals from the

[22] University of Texas Archives, James Buckner Barry, CO, 1849-1914, Folder 2, 1860-1862, Wm. O. Yeas, Adjt., Camp Colorado, Tex., Oct. 10, 1861, to Capt. Jas. B. Barrry, Comdg., Camp Cooper. Buck Barry, *A Texas Ranger and Frontiersman*, James K. Greer, ed. (Dallas, 1932), p. 142.

Lipanes in the Potrero (pasture ground) de Doña Mariana. And this is the last we hear of Felipe.

Susano also enjoyed a briefer but even more spectacular season of glory. On August 8, 1857, he and two companions overtook five Comanche with stolen horses in the *derramadero* (drain) of Aguardiente and gave battle, wounding one and taking sixteen mules, three horses, a mare, and four saddles. Susano immediately undertook another expedition, using these animals. On the 21st, out deer-hunting with six companions, Susano encountered some Lipanes near the Cañon de Nataje and discovered that they had stolen horses hidden nearby. The Lipanes offered to share the horses with the Seminole, but the latter refused and Susano shot the chief. The others fled and the Seminole captured fifty horses.

Susano remained in Mexico until the last of the Seminole Indians departed, but apparently did not distinguish himself further.

Manuel Flores, who may have been a brother of the "valiant Juan Flores," seems to have been one of the few Seminole who, during their decade in Mexico, learned enough Spanish to serve as interpreter. He is mentioned in this role as early as October, 1855, and in August, 1858, appeared before the governor of Nuevo Leon y Coahuila at Monterrey with "Capitan Leon" and "Nakasimal" to complain that the Negroes used too much water and request that they be subject to Chief Lion as formerly to Wild Cat.

We hear nothing further of the Seminole interpreter Manuel Flores.

Other Seminole Indians: Guëro, Tomecae, Utalke, Chiquinai, and Konip

The majority of the Seminole Indians in Mexico, of course, occupied no official position and are not even mentioned in the official records. The few who are referred to by name deserve comment corresponding to the available information.

An Indian named Guëro is mentioned in March, 1856, but his name is obviously Spanish, being an Americanism signifying blond, presumably because he was lighter in complexion than most Seminole Indians.

In February, 1859, an Indian named Tomecae is mentioned. An examination of the index to Swanton[23] will reveal a number of Creek and Seminole names, particularly tribal designations, such as Tommakees and Tumaque, of one of which the above name could easily be a Spanish corruption. King Philip, Wild Cat's father, had a subordinate known as Tomoka John.[24]

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[23] John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, D.C., 1922), pp. 487-489.

[24] *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, vol. vii, pp. 849-850.

Utalke, mentioned in February, 1859, as one of the Indians who was remaining in Mexico, bears a name unmistakably of Indian origin, which identifies him as a member of the powerful and aristocratic Wind clan. Wild Cat had a brother named Otulke[25] who may very well have accompanied him to Mexico, although this identity is merely a possibility.

Of the Seminole in Mexico below the rank of sub-chief, we are best informed about the one whose character was probably least attractive. Konip[26]—whose name, perhaps appropriately, signifies Skunk—first distinguished himself early in 1859 by accusing three fellow tribesmen of planning an uprising against the Mexican authorities, but presented no satisfactory evidence. In October, 1860, Konip appeared before the governor at Monterrey, charging that Chief Nokosimala had not been properly elected and that ten quadroons were encroaching on the Seminole land, taking their water and killing their hogs. The other Seminole, however, denied these charges, asserting that they gladly and fully recognized Nokosimala as chief and that the quadroon settlers lived at Nacimiento by their full consent. Konip, they added, was a drunkard and a liar, who was a fugitive from tribal justice for having nearly killed a fellow tribesman in a brawl. We hear no more of Konip.

The Negroes

The Seminole Negroes in Mexico, whom the Mexicans called "Mascogos," probably because many of them spoke the Muskogee or Creek language, were probably as numerous as the Indians, or more so. In some respects we know more about them than about the Indians, because the latter were in Mexico at the most from 1850 to 1861 and then returned to the Indian Territory, whereas many of the descendants of the Negroes are still living at Nacimiento, Coahuila, or just across the Texas border at Brackettville and Del Rio. The names of the Negro military colonists and their children consequently appear on Mexican and United States census lists and those who, after the Civil War, served as scouts in the United States army on the border, are mentioned in enlistment records and on muster rolls. When it comes to their actual experiences in Mexico, however, the Muzquiz Records are less informative. The history of the Seminole Negroes in Mexico, particularly after the departure of the Indians, is indeed a story in itself and in this immediate connection I shall confine myself to the comparatively few Negroes mentioned in official Mexican documents during the period of 1850-

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[25] Sprague, *op. cit.*, pp. 296, 297, 298, 328.
[26] Mexican forms are Conepé and Compé.

1861, with whatever further information on their background and later history is available.[27]

John Horse (Gopher John)

The principal chief of the Seminole Negroes in Mexico was John Horse, better known, particularly among United States army officers, by his nickname of Gopher John. The Mexicans called him Capitán Juan Caballo and, beginning in 1856, he is often referred to as Capitán Juan de Dios Vidaurri (alias) Caballo, probably as a result of submitting to Catholic baptism.

John Horse was a tall, fine-looking brown man, reputedly of mixed Indian, Negro, and Spanish ancestry, who was noted for his great coolness and courage, his deadly accuracy with a rifle, and his flair for diplomacy.

He had been born in Florida about 1812, a so-called "slave" to an Indian, but during the Seminole War he rose to the rank of sub-chief and served as representative both of the war-chief Alligator and head-chief Mikonopi. After the surrender of the chiefs with whom he was most closely associated, he served with distinction as guide and interpreter to United States troops in Florida and was of great assistance in bringing about the surrender of other chiefs, including Wild Cat with whom he had become acquainted when both were hostages at Tampa Bay in 1837.

In the Indian Territory he became the principal figure among the Negro element in the Seminole tribe and was closely associated with the Seminole faction hostile to Creek domination, of which Wild Cat was the recognized leader. He was a close collaborator with Wild Cat in the latter's plans for a removal to Mexico.

During the Seminole Negroes' residence near the Texas-Mexican border, 1850-1859, John Horse was recognized by the Mexican authorities as their chief, although regarded as subject to Wild Cat. In 1856, however, as noted in the earlier sketch of Wild Cat, the Negroes, under John Horse's leadership declined, for reasons which can only be surmised, to recognize Wild Cat's authority.

Although John Horse is remembered as a brave and intelligent commander and as a generous and kindly "father of his people,"

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[27] Apart from the Muzquiz Records, information in regard to individual Seminole Negroes is drawn from the following sources: National Archives, War Dep't, Adjutant General's Office, Seminole Negro-Indians Scouts, enlistment records and monthly reports, 1870-1881. U. S. Census, 1880, Texas, Kinney Co. "Memoranda relative to Seminole Negro Indians," Military Div. of the Missouri, War Dep't, *loc. cit.* Mexican Archives, Mexico, D.F., Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, num. 94(1891), 44-12-60, "Lista de los negros de la tribu Mascogo agraciada per el Gobierno General con terrenos de la Colonia del Nacimiento." Interviews with various Seminole Negroes, 1941-1943, at Brackettville and Del Rio, Texas, and Nacimiento, Coahuila. Information of particular importance or from other sources will be separately indicated.

his most important service was probably his steadfast insistence that the Negroes should not become involved in the civil wars of the time but should preserve amity with all Mexicans. In consequence, the Negroes would fight only against the wild Indians and the Texas filibusters. This policy of neutrality was probably the salvation of the little Negro colony, which, after nearly a century, is still in existence.

John Horse outlived Wild Cat by a quarter of a century, dying in Mexico City in August, 1882, while on a mission to the President on behalf of his people.[28]

John Kibbitts

John Kibbitts,[29] who usually led the Negroes in Mexico when John Horse was not personally in command, was a tall, black man, born in Florida about 1810, who bore the busk-name of "Sit-tee-tas-to-nachy" (Snake Warrior). He had probably been one of Mikonopi's Negroes.[30]

Kibbitts commanded the body of about one hundred Negroes who returned to Nacimiento from the Laguna de Parras about 1865, and was active in obtaining recognition from the Mexican government of the Negroes' right to the *hacienda.* In 1870 he led his band over to Fort Duncan, at Eagle Pass, Texas, and was recognized as headman and first sergeant of the first detachment enlisted in the Seminole Negro-Indian Scouts. He died in 1878 and is buried in the Seminole Cemetery at Old Fort Clark, near Brackettville, Texas.[31]

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[28] The sources for the above sketch are so numerous that it would be impossible to list them. They are principally documents in the National Archives, Washington, D.C., or in various Mexican archives, and the files of a number of newspapers. Some of the sources for his life prior to his settlement in Mexico are mentioned in Porter, *loc. cit.*, which also gives a somewhat detailed account of his activities in Mexico, 1850-1859. The author is engaged on his biography, under the tentative title of *Freedom Over Me.*

[29] Other forms: Kibbetts, Kibbets, Kibbett, etc., and even Kiveth and Cubit. Mexican forms also include Jhon Kibbet and Juan Quibit.

[30] Nat'l Archives, Quarter Master General's Office, Consolidated Files, "Fort Gibson," "Negroes who surrendered to General Taylor . . . . ," "Kivet, Micconopy." On the other hand, Kibbitts or Cubit is a name very similar to that of a Seminole called "Kub-bit-che," (Kappler, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 552), which is probably a corruption of Kapitca, meaning Lyewater, the name of a clan. The Mikasuki chief at the time of the Seminole War, 1817-1818, was named Kapitca Micco (Lyewater King). It is possible, therefore, that John Kibbitts had as master or patron a member of this clan, from whom he took his name.

[31] Departamento Agrario, Mexican Archives, Mexico, D.F., "El Nacimiento," Informe, pp. 55-71. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs . . . for . . .* 1870 (Washington, 1870), pp. 328-329. Interviews: Rosa Fay, 1942; Julia Payne, 1944 (courtesy of Mrs. D. S. McKellar). Rosa Fay was born about 1860 and Julia Payne, born a year or two later, was John Kibbitts' step-grand-daughter.

Cuffee

Although John Kibbitts seems usually to have been John Horse's second-in-command in Mexico, the Negroes declared in May, 1856, that in John Horse's absence they recognized Captain Cuffee[32] as their chief. Cuffee was not an uncommon name among Negroes, since among certain West African tribes it was conventionally given to boys born on Friday.[33] In the absence of a surname it is impossible to identify this Negro captain, but he may have been Cuffee Payne, who, 20 years later, in 1875, was a very old man living among the Seminole Negro-Indian Scouts at Fort Duncan.

Julian

A Negro named Julian was apparently of some importance in March, 1856, during Governor Santiago Vidaurri's campaign of extermination against the Lipanes, in which he used Seminole Indians and Negroes as well as Mexican troops. Possibly he was the same as Julian the interpreter, mentioned in May, 1855.

Julian was the Mexican name ordinarily conferred on Negroes whose Christian name in "American" was William, but no one of that name, old enough to have been prominent among the Seminole Negroes in Mexico at this time, appears on subsequent lists or is remembered today.

Santos

Two Negroes named Santos and Bibian became involved in the summer of 1855 in a controversy with members of the Shields family, who were free mulatto settlers from South Carolina. Santos was probably Santos Julio, the name the Mexicans gave to Sampson July, born at Tampa Bay about 1824, whose older sister Susan was the wife of Chief John Horse. Sampson July was subsequently a principal figure among the Seminole Negroes in Texas and Mexico and rose to the rank of sergeant in the Seminole scouts.

Nothing further is known to me about the Negro Bibian (Vivian).

Felipe Sanchez

Felipe Sanchez, apparently a Negro captain, was mentioned on November 7, 1858, in connection with a proposed campaign against the wild Indians. Sanchez is a surname used in Mexico by the Bowlegs, or Bully, family of Seminole Negroes and also by the Daniels family of Creek Negroes, but in this case doubtless refers to Fay Bowlegs,[34] who was probably the father of the Felipe Sanchez

[32] Mexican forms: Café; Cofé.

[33] Martha Warren Beckwith, *Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folk Life* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1929), p. 59.

[34] Letter: John Jefferson, June 5, 1947, to author. In an earlier letter (May 11, 1946) Mr. Jefferson wrote that Felipe Sanchez was Fay Bruner, but the Bruners' Mexican surname is Bruno.

(Fay Bully), who in 1891 at the age of forty years was living at Nacimiento.

Felipe Alvarez

Felipe Alvarez commanded the first contingent of Seminole Negroes to leave Nacimiento for the Laguna de Parras in May, 1859. In 1891, at the age of seventy, he was still living in Parras, one of the very few Negroes who did not settle either in Texas or at Nacimiento during the late 1860's and early 1870's. His American name is not definitely known, but Alvarez is a surname used by the Fay family. Fay, indeed, is the Seminole Negro version of Felipe[35] (Philip), so perhaps he was the founder of the family and subsequent Fays took their surname from his Christian name.

Tomás

Both the Seminole Indians and the Negroes were occasionally accused of stealing horses or cattle from the Mexican inhabitants, in some cases probably unjustly, although in others the charge was probably only too true. In the summer of 1860, after most of the Negroes had been transferred to the Laguna de Parras, an "indio Mascogo" named Tomás and others of the same tribe, who presumably had refused to accompany the main body, were being pursued by a posse on the charge of robbery. The outcome of the affair is not known.

Thomas was by no means a common name among the Negroes. In fact, the only Seminole Negro of that name who is known to have been in Mexico at the time was Thomas Factor, a man of about thirty-six, who was an uncle of John Horse's wife. Thomas Factor is reported in Seminole Negro tradition to have been shot and mortally wounded by a Mexican for whom he had been working when he "asked for his time."[36] It is at least possible that the "indio Mascogo" Tomás was Thomas Factor and that the accusation of robbery developed out of a controversy over wages.

The Seminole Negroes were by no means the only members of that race in Northern Mexico. In the 1850's, in fact, the number of runaway slaves from Texas in that region was estimated at about 3,000,[37] to which could be added an indefinite number of free settlers. A number of Negroes, mentioned in the Muzquiz Records, probably therefore did not belong to the Seminole tribe, either by birth or adoption, though some of them were doubtless more or less closely associated with the Seminole.

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[35] Letter: John Jefferson, May 11, 1946, to author.

[36] Interview: Nellie Valdez (Mrs. Adam Fay), grand-daughter of Thomas Factor and his wife Rose Kelley, Nacimiento, 1943.

[37] *The Texas State Times* (Austin), Oct. 6, 1855. University of Texas Library, John S. (Rip) Ford, Memoirs, vol. iv, p. 628.

Pedro Saens or Sains, early in 1856, was appointed armorer to the Seminole, but was murdered shortly after by an American employee named John, not otherwise identified. Another Negro of the same name, presumably his son, and a Negro named Hilario Potosi, accompanied the Seminole on a successful expedition against the Mescaleros early in 1858. Later in the year they complained that they had not received their share of the booty.

The Shields brothers, Benjamin, Archibald R., William, Michael, and Francis, who have already been mentioned in another connection, were an unusual family. They were free mulatto settlers from South Carolina and seem to have been literate. At least two of them, Benjamin and Archibald R., intermarried with the Seminole Negroes, and their descendants became identified with the group.[38]

A young Negro named Albert Williams, a runaway from San Antonio, to which he had been brought from Arkansas, was among those who accompanied the Seminole Negroes or "Mascogos" to the Laguna de Parras late in the spring of 1859.

Two Negroes named "Aram" and "Boobe" (*sic*) were threatened with condign punishment early in 1859 for having stolen two horses; they are not identified as Seminole.

A bare mention of a Negro named Roberto Gallos, late in 1859, completes the list of Negroes appearing in the Muzquiz Records.

Thus, in the single municipality of Muzquiz, could be found during the 1850's a varied group of Negro settlers: a large band of Seminole Negroes, whose culture was essentially Indian and who, as such, were particularly well-equipped to fight the wild Apache and Comanche; skilled craftsmen, such as the Seminole armorer; runaway slaves from Texas; two or three suspected horse and cattle thieves; and a family of well-educated mulattoes. The most interesting and unusual of the lot, however, in the opinion of most people, then and now, were probably the Indian-raised Negroes under Captain John Horse.

The Seminole migration to and sojourn in Mexico is in a sense a part of Oklahoma history. It was from the Indian Territory, now a part of Oklahoma, that Wild Cat's Indians and Negroes left for Mexico, and it was to the Indian Territory that the surviving Indians returned. The descendants of the Negro immigrants are for the most part living today in the border regions of Texas and Mexico,

[38] Archibald Shields married Roselle Kibbitts, daughter of John Kibbitts. Julia Payne, one of my principal informants, was the daughter of Benjamin Shields and Kitty Johnson, John Kibbitt's step-daughter.

but some of them, too, are in Oklahoma, for in 1883 Sergeant David Bowlegs, of the Seminole scouts, anxious for a better life for his children than was possible on the Texas-Mexican frontier, led a party of about thirty-seven Seminole Negroes, mostly belonging to the Bowlegs, Bruner, and Wilson families, back to what is now Seminole County, where they were "well received." Their descendants still maintain visiting relations with the Negroes of Brackettville and Nacimiento.[39]

Possibly descendants of the members of Wild Cat's band, mentioned above, will read this article and find it of interest; some of them may even be led by it to communicate to this publication, or to the author, additional information, perhaps of a traditional character, on this interesting but comparatively little known episode in Seminole history.

[39] National Archives, Adjutant General's Office, 1870-M488, No. 2, Letters: Lieut. John L. Bullis, Ft. Clark, June 14, 1880, to Ass't Adjt. Gen., Dep't of Texas; Col. D. S. Stanley, Ft. Clark, May 19, June 19, 1882, to Adjt. Gen., Dep't of Texas; *ibid.*, Dep't of the Interior, Indian Office, Seminole Files, 1882-10736, Letter: Brig. Gen. C. C. Augur, Ft. Clark, May 19, 1882, to Adjt. Gen., Dep't of Texas; 1885-12308, Statement: Brig. Gen. D. S. Stanley, Headquarters, Dep't of Texas, San Antonio, May 16, 1885. Interviews with Molly Perryman, 1942, 1943; Rebecca Wilson (*ca.* 1880), Brackettville, 1943; George Noble (1862-?), Nobletown, near Wewoka, Seminole Co., Okla.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN THROUGH ENGLISH SPECTACLES, 1608-1791

By Robert Rutland

Students of the American Indian have long recognized their debt to the English soldiers, traders and adventurers who returned to their native land to publish works of varying worth on the aborigines of the New World. The English book-fancier, on the eve of the Enlightenment, was mildly interested in these Indians who were feted in court,* romanticized in the poets' corner, and generally expected to possess those qualities of virtue and courage as only man in a primitive state might enjoy. There was an inverse ratio between this interest in the Indian and the remoteness of the frontier, as previous studies of the American seaboard attitude toward the West will attest.

One of the first to capitalize upon this "fad" was Captain John Smith. Smith's histories of his adventures and the curious embellishments in subsequent make-over editions demonstrate his willingness to make the Indian attain the ideal then becoming current among the English. Hence one does not find the Pocahontas story in his *A True relation of such occurences and accidents of noate as hath happened in Virginia since the first planting of that collony* (1608); but in the rewritten version in *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer isles* (1624) Smith declared the Indian princess "got his head in her armes. . . . to save him from death."[1]

Even the reports of frontier massacres, Indian captives and bloody battles could not change the idealized version of the Indian in England. After Rousseau and other French writers took up the task of glorification, a turn toward realism became evident. James Adair sought a true understanding of the Indian amongst his British brethren with his *History of the American Indians.* Adair, a trader with years of experience on the American frontier, advanced a quaint theory about the Indian's descent from Israelite ancestors.[2] He was equally speculative regarding the color of the Indian, which he firmly believed resulted from "the parching winds, and hot sun-beams, beating upon their naked bodies, in the various gradations of life, [which] necessarily tarnish their skins with the tawny red colour."[3] As a prognosticator Adair was most inept, for he predicted

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* Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Indians Abroad* (Norman, 1943).—Ed.

[1] Quoted in Allan Nevins, *The Gateway to History,* (New York, 1938), 140.

[2] James Adair, *History of the American Indians,* (London, 1775), 15 *et passim.*

[3] *Ibid.,* 3.

the virtual extinction of the Cherokee tribe's warriors around 1810.[4] But despite the obvious faults, Adair's work contained much valuable information and cannot be overlooked by scholars investigating that period.

The Englishmen often exaggerated what they saw, accepted hearsay with great credulity, and were uncritical to a degree now considered shocking. Captain Thomas Morris was somewhat realistic about his military mission of 1764 which carried him into Indian country and the presence of Pontiac. Despite his perilous position, Morris alluded to the Indians as "an innocent, much-abused, and once happy people," when he edited his journal in 1791.[5] Furthermore, Morris saw the advantages of an enlightened Indian policy and had great respect for the Indian's sense of honor.

John Long, another trader with nearly 20 years' experience among the Algonquin, Chippewa, Iroquois, Shawnee and Mohican tribes, wrote a narrative with more accuracy than most of his predecessors. His subjects ranged from a neat description of scalping ("the operation is generally performed in two minutes") to quotations from Peter Kalm's *Travels*.[6] His work was published in 1791, and its merit lies principally in Long's description of his personal adventures and his personal observations, rather than his attempt to write good history. Thwaites said Long "seems to have been superior to the ordinary trader," and his determination to write the story of his American sojourn would confirm this judgment. To an extent, Long's realism was a "debunking" agent in the period when the Indian was mentioned in English parlors as "the noble savage," and his description of frontier brutality is most candid when he relates the drunken debauchery of four days' duration caused by a gift of rum.[7] On the other hand, the stoic resignation of an Indian woman "in labor a day and a night, without a groan" would restore much lost admiration to the English reader who in the first place was seeking just such a picture of Indian forebearance.[8]

Long was perhaps the most critical of the early English writers who moved among the Indians. He prefaces sentences with a Livy-like "It is said," then challenges the source by adding, "but I believe it is merely an opinion." He reported customs which still can interest the ethnologists, and his Indian-English dictionary was at least a commendable attempt to promote understanding among the white men and Indians. His unaffected and straightforward style, as Thwaites pointed out, "will always be readable."

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[4] *Ibid.*, 227.

[5] "Journal of Captain Thomas Morris of His Majesty's XVII Regiment of Infantry," in Reuben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, 32 vols. (Cleveland, 1904-1907), I, 318.

[6] "Long's Voyages and Travels, 1768-1782," in Thwaites, *Travels*, II, 59.

[7] *Ibid.*, 93.

[8] *Ibid.*, 96.

Interest in the English view of the Indian before 1800 was recently enlivened by the release of a heretofore unpublished manuscript written by Thomas Hughes, a young British army officer[9] Hughes was an ensign who served under Burgoyne and was captured by the Americans at Ticonderoga. His journal was written "for his Amusement, & Designed only for his Perusal by the time he attains the Age of 50, if he lives so long." Unfortunately, Hughes died far short of his goal, in 1790, and it is one of his last entries which concerns us. After the Revolution, Hughes was assigned to duty in Canada, where one of his last missions took him to Detroit and there gave him an opportunity to observe the Indians who traded at that outpost. Hughes, like John Long, was a reporter more interested in facts than second-hand accounts (although he was to use the latter). Since the journal was kept as a personal memento, he had no need for rhetorical flights that marred other works. He wrote that his knowledge of the Indian "was principally confined to the nations who border'd the Lakes," but elsewhere allusions to western tribes make it plain that he had discussed the land beyond the Mississippi with the Indians at Detroit.

The entire account, written shortly after Hughes returned to Quebec in 1788, covers only ten pages in the printed journal, and well repays the reader. Hughes' terse observations included the size of Indian men and women, care and schooling of the young, hunting grounds, tribal government, treaties, warfare, torture, cannibalism, dress, eating habits, family customs and morality.

Hughes plainly was led astray when he did not depend on personal observation:[10]

> Some of the southern Indians, such as the Sioux, Pawnees &c, fight on horseback with spears and bows and arrows—in their countries are vast plains or savannahs, where they chase the buffalo. Some of these savannahs are a hundred miles long, cover'd with grass four or five feet high, and abounding in buffaloes, who go in herds of some hundreds. The Pawnees are in a state of warfare with all the northern nation[s] and they are the only nation that are sold—and sell—for slaves all that are taken prisoners. Many of them were at Detroit—bought of the Indians who had taken them. The Pawnees live on the south side of the Mississippi and are by all accounts a very numerous nation—they make bad slaves, being idle and always trying to get away.

Obviously, Hughes erred when he accepted the word of the Indian slaveholders at Detroit unquestioningly. The Pawnees certainly were not constantly at war with all the northern tribes, and Hughes was deceived by the slave term *pani*. Hodge indicates "the name *pani* (*pawnee*) was given in the last [18th] century to every Indian reduced to servitude."[11] Hence in Hughes' time it was

[9] R. W. David, ed., *A Journal by Thos: Hughes*, (Cambridge, 1947). In some catalogs, E. A. Benians, who wrote the introduction, is listed as the editor.

[10] *Ibid.*, 183.

[11] Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1907-1910), II, 199.

merely a synonym for slavery, a word with no strict relationship to tribal origins, and one with its roots deeply embedded in the past. Too, the Pawnees were not "a very numerous nation" according to Colonel Henry Bouquet's liberal estimate (actually made by Captain Thomas Hutchins) of 3,700 warriors at the close of the French and Indian War.[12] That every *pani,* regardless of his tribal ties, abhorred slavery we cannot doubt.

Other Englishmen who contributed to the growing shelves of Indian literature included Cadwallader Colden (1750), Robert Rogers (1765), Johnathan Carver (1778) and Lieutenant Henry Timberlake.[13] Their value varied according to the writer's contact with the frontier, his sources of information and his critical judgment. Carver "borrowed" material from Adair, but most of the writers knew the frontier and the Indian through long experience. By the middle of the next century it was apparent that the fields of anthropology, ethnology and history germane to the American Indian would have to be reworked in keeping with the new emphasis on the scientific method. The early works of these Englishmen nevertheless retain considerable historical interest and make excellent reading for the dilettante and expert alike. And perhaps no one has stated the merit of their works more poignantly than Worthington C. Ford did when (discussing another problem of a similar character) he declared, "We have formal histories of the time . . . . It is well, however, occasionally to return to original contemporary records, and get at first hand the impressions, the fears, and the aspirations" of those men who pioneered this fascinating field of study.

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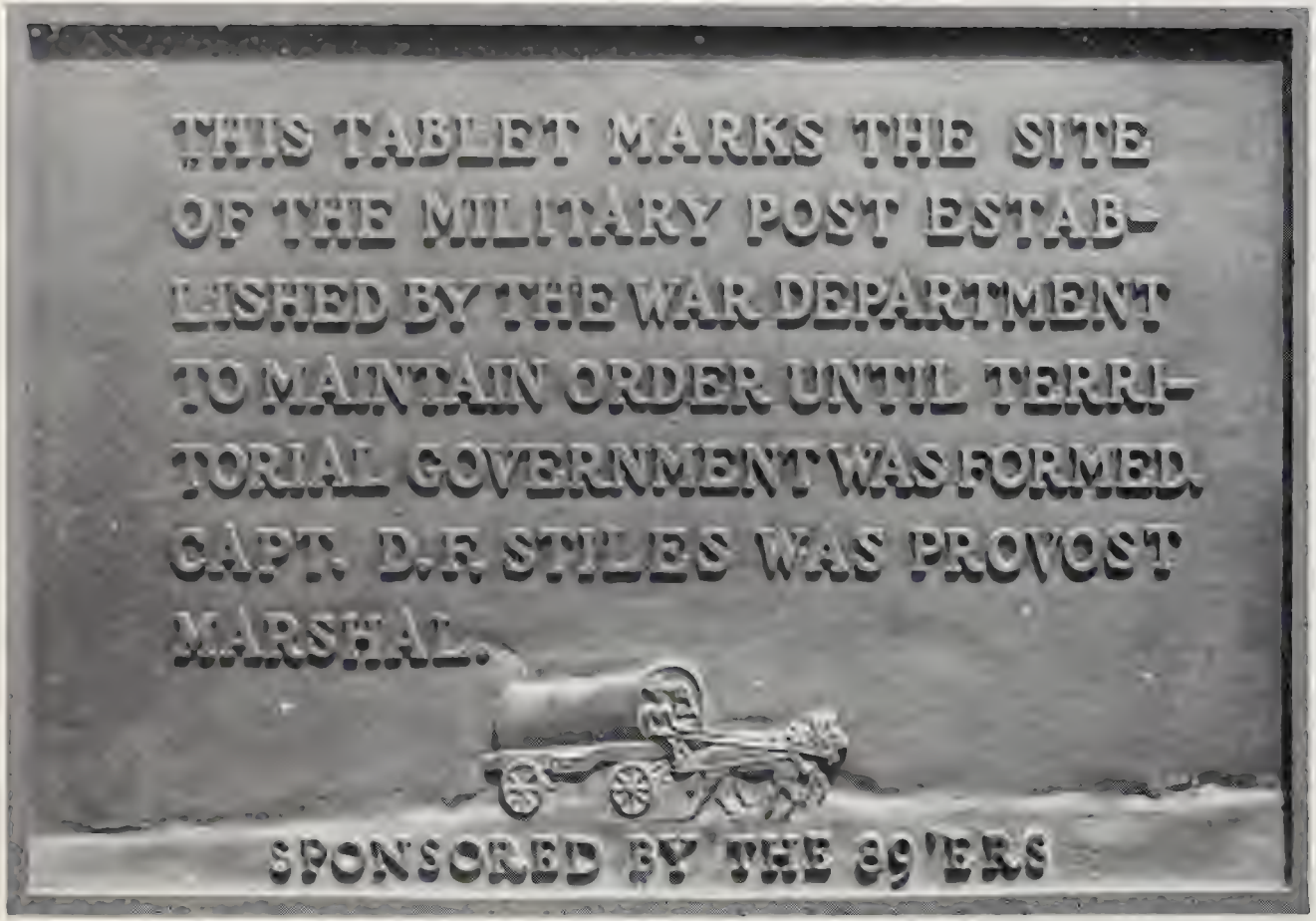
[12] Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States,* 6 vols. (Philadelphia, 1852-1857), III, 559.

[13] See Benjamin Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century,* (New Haven, 1925).



Bronze Tablet (size 11 x 16 inches), erected by *The '89ers*, 400 North Walker, Oklahoma City

OKLAHOMA CITY HISTORICAL MARKERS

*By Golda B. Slief**

The '89ers, an organization dedicated to the purpose of perpetuating the history of pioneer days in "Old Oklahoma," decided early in their organizational work to investigate the possibilities of naming streets and placing historical markers as a means of commemorating the Run of 1889, to immortalize the early day builders of Oklahoma City and to measure progress made by the pioneers.

Many streets in Oklahoma City were named in memory of prominent citizens, among them are: Durland, Geary, Harvey, Hudson, Lee, Stiles and Walker Streets;[1] Classen Boulevard, Overholser Drive (West of the City) and Colcord and Couch Drives on either side of the '89er Circle which is around the large fountain on the east and in front of the Municipal Auditorium.

It was not until 1935 that the marking of historical sites in the City got under way. Mrs. John L. George, President of *The '89ers,* named a committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Celene Reed to locate authentic sites and to make recommendations to members. The succeeding years, under the administration of Mrs. Jack Jones and Mrs. Mabel Carrico Holtzschue, were busy ones for *The '89ers* as we find the organization taking a prominent part in laying the cornerstone of the new Municipal Building on November 10, 1936, and in the development of Civic Center which followed. *The '89ers* were asked to name the streets adjacent to the new structure.

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[1] *Durland Street,* named for O. C. Durland whose homestead was east of Stiles Park developed into city lots; *Geary Street,* for James Geary, an early day officer of the Board of Trade; *Harvey Street,* for David Harvey, first Oklahoma territorial congressman; *Hudson Street,* for Edmond Hudson, townsite surveyor and member of first City council; *Lee Street,* for Oscar Lee, hotel builder; *Stiles Street,* for Captain D. F. Stiles, head of the Red Horse Cavalry here at the time of the Run of 1889; *Walker Street,* for C. P. Walker, secretary of one of the townsite companies; *Classen Boulevard,* for Anton H. Classen, builder, developer and philanthropist; *Overholser Drive,* for Henry Overholser, first Preisdent of the Board of Trade and builder of the first opera house; *Colcord Drive,* for C. F. Colcord, prominent pioneer builder in Oklahoma City, and President of Oklahoma Historical Society; *Couch Drive,* for William L. Couch, first Mayor of Oklahoma City; *'89er Circle,* in memory of pioneers who made the Run, April 22, 1889.

The names of Colcord and Couch drives also that of the '89er Circle were suggested and duly named by the City authorities under Mayor John Frank Martin who promoted these in the beginning. The City Park Department, Mr. Donald Gordon, Superintendent asked the co-operation of *The '89ers* in securing a memorial tablet to be placed near the reflecting pool at the east entrance to the Municipal Building.

The dedication program for the Memorial Tablet and the historical markers within the limits of Oklahoma City was held on April 22, 1939 in honor of the pioneers who founded this City in 1889. A short history of the founding in 1889 prepared by Dr. A. C. Scott and inscribed on bronze plates was placed in the vault of the Memorial Tablet. This tablet and the historical markers have been recently visited Miss Muriel Wright of the Historical Society and myself to ascertain the information placed on them. The inscriptions and the locations were found to be as follows:[2]

1. This tablet marks the location of the canal built in 1889 by the Oklahoma Ditch and Power Co. Charles W. Price, Pres. and C. P. Walker, Secy. The canal head was four miles west. The power plant was located at Broadway and Canal streets. It furnished power to operate an electric light plant for a brief period.
   Location: 819 S.W. Third Street, at entrance of present Oklahoma Operating Co.
2. The First Methodist Episcopal Church was organized June 23, 1889, with seventeen members. The Sunday School organized June 9, 1889 by Dr. D. W. Scott.
   Location: First Methodist Church, 131 N.W. 4th Street.
3. This tablet marks the camp site of Capt. David L. Payne prior to 1889. This ravine was known as Indian Springs. The company was known as Oklahoma Boomers.
   Location: 1200 North Lindsey, Northeast corner of Webster School grounds.
4. This tablet marks the site of the State Capitol which was moved from Guthrie and located in the old Irving high school Building.
   Location: 400 N. Walker, Irving School.
5. The Washington School was one of the first public schools built in Oklahoma City. It was opened January, 1895.
   Location: 315 South Walker, east entrance Washington School.
6. This tablet marks the location of the first city park, named "Riverside Park."
   Location: 200 East California, west door Wheatley School.
7. The Emerson School was one of the first public schools built in Oklahoma City. It was opened in January, 1895.
   Location: North Walker between 6th and 7th streets, east door Emerson School.

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[2] These Oklahoma City historical markers are in the form of bronze plaques of uniform size, 11 x 16 inches. Beneath the inscription on each is a regulation design or insignia showing a covered wagon with two figures on the front seat, drawn by a team of horses. At the bottom of the plaques, beneath the insignia on each, appears the signatory line: "Sponsored by the 89'ers."—Ed.

Municipal Auditorium, Oklahoma City, and '89er Memorial Tablet at head of Reflecting Pool.

8. This tablet marks the site of the military post established by the War Department to maintain order until Territorial government was formed. Capt. D. F. Stiles was Provost Marshal.
   Location: 400 North Walker, west door Board of Education Building.

9. St. Joseph's Church was founded May 19, 1889. Rev. N. F. Scallon, Pastor, J. T. Martin, Chr., Joseph Crisney, Sec'y. and Col. J. T. Hickey, Treas., were the first officers. The Cross was raised July 31st.
   Location: 4th and Harvey, south door St. Joseph's Church.

10. The first newspaper published in Oklahoma City was located here. The Oklahoma City Times owned by A. C. Scott and W. W. Scott. The first issue was May 9, 1889.
    Location: 21 West Main, entrance old "Bass Building."

11. This tablet marks the site of the Arbeka Hotel, the first hotel in operation at the time of the Run of '89. It was named by Mr. James McGranahan.
    Location: 17 South Santa Fe Street, southeast corner of present building.

12. This tablet marks the location of the first Oklahoma City post office on April 22, 1889. It was a one-room log shed where thousands called for their mail during the first two or three weeks. G. A. Biedler was Postmaster. The task of handling tons of mail arriving daily required almost superhuman effort.
    Location: In unit block on South Santa Fe Street, on northeast corner of building.

13. This tablet marks the site of the Citizens Bank. The first bank opened for business May 30, 1889. James Geary, President, L. A. Gilbert, Cashier and A. L. Welsh, Asst. Cashier.
    Location: 20 North Broadway, at entrance Huckins Hotel.

14. This tablet marks the site of the first public Library called the "Oklahoma City Library." The charter was granted December 10, 1889.
    Location: 132 West Grand, inside column or corner post of Commerce Exchange Building.

15. This tablet marks the site of the First School (subscription) in Oklahoma City which was opened in June, 1889 by Mrs. L. H. North.
    Location: 124 N.W. 5th Street, entrance to building, "Siloam Lodge, 276."

16. This tablet marks the location where the first Y.W.C.A. was organized on April 7, 1907 in the Empire Building. Mrs. J. F. Warren, President, Mrs. John Threadill, Vice-President.
    Location: 124 West Main, east wall of entrance to Empire Building.

17. The first Hardware Store in Oklahoma City was established on this site by W. J. Pettee & Co., April 22, 1889.
    Location: 121 West Main Street, directly in front of Pettee's Store, in sidewalk near curbing.

Tablets were also made to mark the sites of the first Fourth of July celebration in Oklahoma City, at Stiles Park; the first City Hall, at the northwest corner of Grand and Broadway; and the first Y.M.C.A. rooms, in the Baltimore Building. The marker at Stiles Park was not found in the spring of 1951, probably covered with grass and earth, or taken away. The other two tablets, the City Hall and the first Y.M.C.A. rooms, seem never to have been erected, according to a letter received from Mrs. Byrd W. Bottoms, former

Secretary of *The '89ers.*[3] The organization records of *The '89ers* give the following inscriptions and data for these three tablets:

18. This tablet marks the first Fourth of July celebration held here. Horse racing was the chief diversion. During the festivities the temporary grandstand collapsed, killing some and wounding one hundred persons.
    Location: N.E. 8th and Stiles Streets, in Stiles Park.

19. This tablet marks the location of the first City Hall. The City obtained title to the lots under the provision of the old "Squatters' Rights" law.
    Location: Northwest corner of Grand and Broadway.

20. This plaque marks the location where the first Y.M.C.A., was organized in 1900 in the Baltimore Building. Gen. F. S. Cramer, President; A. C. Scott, Vice-President, and Harry DeWolfe, Secretary.
    Location: Corner of Grand and Harvey Streets.

Other activities of *The '89ers* of historical value have included the publication of a book containing stories of the Run and of the early days written by citizens who made the Run and by their sons and daughters. This book was published in 1943 under the title of *Oklahoma—The Beautiful Land.*

Special space for historical exhibits has been allotted *The '89ers* in the Oklahoma Historical Society building near the State Capitol. Many historical documents and objects are on display there that pertain to the early history of the portion of Oklahoma opened to settlement in 1889.

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[3] A letter to Miss Golda B. Slief from Mrs. Byrd W. Bottoms, Apt. 204, 2635 Durant, Berkeley, California, received in March, 1951, states in part as follows:

"In regard to the Historical Markers sponsored by the '89ers, a complete record is, or was, in the files of the City Park Department at the time Mr. Gordon was the Supt. . . . .

"I regret my memory fails me about the first City Hall on Grand and Broadway but I have a hazy memory of the reason it not being placed, that the building was to be torn down but the marker was made for it.

"The marker for the first Y.M.C.A. rooms in the Baltimore Building, corner of Grand Ave. and Harvey was cast but not placed. The owner at the time was the widow of a banker, (sorry I cannot recall the name now) and she refused to give her consent, thought placing the marker would detract from the possible sale of the building. . . . .

"The marker for the Fourth of July celebration in the Stiles Park was placed there cemented in a concrete slab and faced the west, very near the center of the Circle. . . . .

"Preserving all records of historical events mean so much, and I am glad to hear of your work along this line. I wish everyone was as much 'sold' on Oklahoma history as I am. You should hear the proud voice of these Californians say, 'I'm a Native Son or Daughter' . . . . ."—Ed.

EARLY HISTORY OF CATESBY AND VICINTY

*By F. P. Rose**

I arrived in Woodward, Oklahoma, the morning of Friday August 29, 1901. With two other cousins, Charlie Paine and Gilbert Nixon, we left the Nixon home, near Madison, Wisconsin, early the morning of July 15 for Oklahoma. It was my twenty-first birthday. We had a new wagon and each a good young horse. Since there were no main roads in those days, and people were not well acquainted beyond their own neighborhoods, we placed a yardstick on a map of the United States and drew a line from Madison, Wisconsin, to Woodward, Oklahoma.

This route took us across the Mississippi River at Dubuque, Iowa, to St. Joseph, Missouri, down the river bottom to Atchinson, Kansas, at which point we crossed the Missouri River into that state. Thence through Topeka, Newton, Hutchinson, Kingman, Medicine Lodge to Hardtner, where we crossed the border into Oklahoma headed for Alva.

The history of our experiences on this trip would make an interesting story of itself. People along the road would beg us not to go on but to turn back, telling us it was but a short distance further to the Indians, outlaws, and the homes of desperadoes. This idea prevailed through Iowa, Missouri and Kansas even as late as that year of 1901. However, of course, as we proceeded we passed fine cities, prosperous farms and peaceable people. I recall as we passed through Medicine Lodge viewing the effects of Carry Nation's hatchet on the large mirror behind the bar in their "blind tiger", as saloons were referred to in those days.

Leaving Hardtner late in the afternoon we camped our first night in Oklahoma a few miles south of that little store and post-office. From there on the houses became farther apart and the country had the appearance of newer settlement. We forded the Salt Fork of the Arkansas River and reached Alva about noon. At

* Mr. F. P. Rose, a native of Madison, Wisconsin, attended school at Rochester, New York, at London, Ontario Province, Canada and at Ann Arbor, Michigan. He lived at Catesby, Oklahoma, from 1901 to 1924, when he moved his family to Alva where he was grain buyer for the Alva Roller Mills. He was elected and served as a member of the House from Ellis County, in the 3rd and in the 4th State Legislature. In 1935, he moved to Arkansas where is prominently known for his Guernsey herd on his fine farm near Rogers, Arkansas. He was one of the organizers of the Arkansas Guernsey Breeders Association, and has been active in the development of better dairy conditions in Arkansas. Since an eye operation in 1948, he has devoted his time to historical research as a hobby, and has had several feature stories published that have received recognition in the field of local history. —Ed.

that time, as I remember, it seemed as though most of the business buildings were along the north side of the square, with only a few scattering houses between there and the Northwestern State Teachers College about a half mile to the south.

From Alva, since nobody could tell us how to get to Woodward, it was suggested we go west ten or twelve miles to a little postoffice and store named Cora, turn south there to the Big Timber Crossing at the Cimarron River. It was the dry summer of 1901, and other than a good wheat crop among the homesteaders along the road, the crops were completely burned up, there had been no rain for months. People were heartsick and discouraged, and we could have secured about any of the present fine farms west of Alva for a song.

On the road south from Cora, which was very dim, I don't remember a house, we had reached the land of the large cattle ranches, the land of which was open for homestead entry. We camped that night at Big Timber Crossing on the Cimarron. We began to feel sort of lonesome and to realize that from here on we were "on our own." About sundown a cowpuncher rode up to see what was going on, and visited with us a couple of hours and tried to tell us how to get to Woodward across the big pastures, as we were just about lost.

He warned us to watch for rattle snakes. I remember the story he told us about the experience he and another cowpuncher had together with a rattle snake. It seems that this other rider rather thoughtlessly got off his horse for some reason and lit on the ground within a few feet of a large rattle snake which bit him on the leg. It was a hot day and it would not take long for the poison to bring on serious results. He jumped off his horse and tied his handkerchief tightly above the wound and they made a dash for the timber about a mile away, where he securely bound his pardner to a tree with both their lariat ropes. He built a fire and proceeded to heat his iron picket pin to a bright red heat, and then placed the point of the pin as close to the wound as he could without touching the flesh.

As the heat from the iron drew the poison out it turned a greenish color whereupon he would reheat and apply the iron again. After several applications of the iron it failed to turn green and he concluded the poison had all been drawn out, and the rider recovered. He said that if he had not been so securely tied, the rider would have broken loose from the terrible agony of the treatment.

We were in the Quinlan pasture, which was said to be about thirty miles square. About the first thing when we started the next morning was to get lost trying to find our way up through the red hills out of the Cimarron bottom. We wandered around all that day and camped again for the night, still lost, out of anything to eat. A spring we found the water was so gypy that even the horses would no more than sniff of it.

About the middle of the next morning another puncher found us and escorted us to the Quinlan ranch home, where the cook really filled us up. From there it was but a few miles over a plain road to the little village of Quinlan on the Santa Fe Railroad. Here we spent the last dime we had with us for a few things to take with us to eat, and started on for Woodward along beside the railroad track.

We camped that night about a mile south of the little town of Curtis, about six miles east of Woodward. One of the boys saw what appeared to be a melon patch a little distance from the road. As soon as it was dark the other two boys headed for the melon patch and soon returned with a large melon under each arm, their eyes shining like stars. They were so hard they couldn't stick a knife in them. After a few more trips with the same result, we decided it was not melon time. We later discovered they were pie-melons and had to be cooked to eat. In those days pie-melon sauce flavored with lemon or orange was quite a treat.

My father, Eben Rose, was to come on the train and meet us on arrival at Woodward. The next morning, broke and nothing to eat, we made an early start and reached Woodward about ten o'clock. We drove up the crooked old main street lined on both sides with mostly old frame buildings, and got our first sight of a real western frontier cow town. Woodward in those days, while on a little "milder scale" was about like Dodge City. Quite a shipping point for the range cattle of those days, it was naturally full of cowboys. The hitchracks were lined with saddle horses. A few buggies and wagons could be seen, and occasionally a covered homeseeker's wagon.

We found a place to hitch the team, and while the other boys stayed with the wagon, I got out to hunt for the Old Cattle King Hotel where Father was to be waiting for us. The sidewalks were crowded and everything seemed to be in full blast. Every few buildings would be a saloon or an eating place. The mercantile stores were mostly large concerns for equipping the cattlemen and their ranches. The old Cattle King Hotel, which was Woodward's finest, was located on the southwest corner of the street, diagonally across from where the post office used to be. The land office was an old frame building where the federal building now stands.

It is needless to express my pleasure to see my father sitting on the hotel porch reading a paper. I had not seen him for nearly four months. After we explained our hunger and poverty, he gathered us up and we started to look for an early dinner. About all we could find among the eating houses that early in the morning was some half cooked navy beans but they went down with great relish.

Woodward was full of "locaters," men who would take homeseekers out to locate a claim for a fee of $15. Like all new land

openings, there were always "sharks" and Woodward had its share. Often they would show a fine location over and over and then give the homeseeker the location numbers to a worthless piece of land. Several instances of this kind resulted in some "shootin'."

My father who had been waiting for us for three or four days had talked with a good many of these locaters. He selected a man by the name of Will Carey who lived about thirty miles west of Woodward and was the founder of what in a short time became known as the Chaney neighborhood and Post Office. After "dinner" we hunted up Carey and made arrangements to have him start at once with us, leaving our horses and wagon in a feedyard at Woodward.

Carey himself did not go but sent his nephew John Goodwin with a wagon and a span of large white mules that proved to be good walkers, and we moved right along. From Quinland to Woodward the settlements were very few, but after we got away from Woodward, during the twelve miles to the Wolf Creek Crossing, there were not more than three or four houses. The country began to look better, for though it was still suffering from the drought, the few spring crops looked green and thrifty.

After crossing Wolf Creek we made our camp for the night, out on the raw prairie. As I lay there wrapped in a blanket on the ground beside the wagon gazing up at the bright stars, I heard my first coyote give forth that weird, lonesome, bloodcurdling laugh for which he is noted. Just after dawn John Goodwin announced that breakfast was ready, and with the smell of bacon and coffee in that cool, fresh Oklahoma air, we bounced up at once.

After breakfast John hitched up the mules and we started on. During the twenty mile drive from Wolf Creek to Carey's place there was not a single house in sight, just one rolling open prairie as far as one could see. It was a beautiful sight. Here and there were bunches of cattle grazing, some of the steers with great long horns, five or six years old. In those days where the cattle were fitted for market strictly on the range, it was claimed they had to have the age on them before they would carry the necessary flesh for market. The reason this vast stretch of prairie country, which constituted old Woods, Woodward and Day Counties, had not previously been homesteaded was because the great Cattlemen's Association had fought it in every way and circulated the report that it was too arid a country for successful farming. It was an ideal stock country the way cattle were handled in those days.

We reached Carey's place about noon for dinner. At that time it consisted of a part dugout in a bank with a lumber front and upper story. There were one or two other settlers home adjoining whose names have slipped my memory. The appearance of the country,

still rolling prairie, kept looking better. We were getting into the "buffalo grass" country and it seemed to be plenty of good grazing. Buffalo grass was a short curley grass, heavily sodded, and which matured and stayed good for winter grazing. Cattle would put on lots of flesh, winter grazing in this "short grass country."

We drove six miles straight west from Carey's to the point we were to look at. It was good country and the place my father and I picked sloped gently to the south. The numbers of his land was the Southwest Quarter of Section 2, Township 23, and Range 26. Mine was just across the road south, the Northwest Quarter of Section 11, Township 23 and Range 26. Thirty-three miles straight west from Woodward and three miles north. Two and one-fourth miles east of the Texas line and one quarter mile south of the monument marking the Northeast corner of the Texas Panhandle and the Southeast corner of old Beaver County.

The Dry Prong of Clear Creek, which headed about a mile and a half south ran along the east side of my place and crossed the extreme southeast corner of my father's place, on the bank of which stood an immense, old cottonwood tree, a land mark for the whole country. About two miles farther down the creek to the few trees which were small. There was no telling how old this tree was, as it must have been too old when the first cattlemen started cutting down timber for fence posts.

After some time spent in looking around for corner stones, we went back to Carey's for the night. Early the next morning (Sunday), we started back to Woodward to file on our claims. From our location to Cary's there had been no trace of a road, and this was probably the first time a wagon had ever been over this part of the country. From Carey's nearly to Wolf Creek there were a few faint wagon tracks made by Carey going back and forth to Woodward. No houses in sight, only cattle. It was all virgin country.

We arrived back at Woodward late in the afternoon, and since the next day (Monday, September 2) was Labor Day, we would have to wait till Tuesday to file, since the Land Office was closed on the holiday.

That Labor Day of September 2, 1901, was truly celebrated in typical style of the old western cow-town. I have never seen anything like it since, or even attempted in Western Moving Pictures. It was the last event of its kind for the settlers swarmed in so thick during the next year that when the next Labor day rolled around, all the great ranches and their cattle were a thing of the past. The cowpunchers took over with a bang soon after daylight, as if they were afraid the day was not going to be long enough for the festivities. Some of the most skillful contests of riding, roping, and shooting that their minds could conceive transpired as they dashed back and

forth over the several blocks of Woodward's main street. There were no trained "pitching horses" in those days, they were broken and ridden "in the raw" whenever a fresh horse was needed. They did not use a "hack-a-more halter" in those days; whenever the "roust-abouts" turned a rider loose on a horse, all he had to stick in the saddle with was his spurs. If there was any serious hard feeling or "feuding" spirit between any body in that crowd, it was laid aside for a day of sportsmanship. Those who indulged in hard liquor seemed to handle their capacity successfully, and if someone did get too much, he was put to bed to sleep it off.

Since we had not participated in the "festivities", we were up bright and early the next morning with Carey. We had a lawyer prepare our filing papers of application to homestead on the land we had selected. After the Land Office opened at 9 o'clock, it was but a few minutes until we were the proud possessors of the "gift from Uncle Sam" of 160 acres for $16.50, the filing fee.

By the time we had completed our business in Woodward, bought a supply of groceries, grain for the horses, a sod-plow and few other tools, it was early in the afternoon when we got started on the journey back to our homesteads. Gilbert Nixon and Charlie Paine did not file on any claims as they thought it better to wait until their folks could arrive in about two months. We reached Wolf Creek and camped for the night, and the next night stayed at Carey's place. I might add here that about all the vegetables which could be bought were potatoes, and navy beans, which with cans of tomatoes and peaches, just about completed the list.

The next morning we set out across the prairie the six miles straight west to our claims, keeping a watch for the "old cottonwood tree" which was the only land mark to go by. After some meandering around we spied the old tree and reached it about noon. After lunch we put up the tent—12x16—which we had brought with us, making it comfortable. Since there was no wood to burn, we had our first trial using "cow-chips", the standard fuel of those days. They would be kindled by a few handfuls of dry grass, and made a pretty fair "bed of coals" after you learned how.

We had brought a water barrel from Woodward with us and filled it at Carey's, but since we had three horses to water besides to drink ourselves and cook with, water was our first object. As we were several miles from our closest known neighbor, and not knowing the direction or how far to the nearest ranch house, we decided to see if we could find water in the sand of the dry creek bed a few feet from our tent and at the foot of the old cottonwood.

After digging down a couple of feet water began to seep out of the sand. While it was pretty warm from being in the sand it was good water, so we dug out a hole about four feet square and

about three feet deep, and fixed a board curbing, from some wooden boxes we had, to keep it from caving in. We were very fortunate for we lost all trace of the spring a few feet from where we had dug.

While it was a beautiful spot to build on, in that fairly narrow bottom beside the old cottonwood tree, we had been warned not to build in a creek bottom on account of high-water which generally followed heavy rains. We took the team and sod plow and went up on the prairie to the southwest corner of my father's claim, where Gilbert and Charlie plowed a couple of acres of the buffalo grass sod. The drought had been continuous for several months here as well as elsewhere, and the ground was hard to plow. The sod did not turn over in long "ribbon", but would break or crumble every few feet, but we thought we could get enough out of what was plowed.

All we knew about sod houses was the few we had seen, but we had found out the method. Most of these sod houses were from ten to twelve feet wide and from twelve to sixteen feet long; if a family was too big, they would build another. The idea was that if any bigger the sod walls might not settle straight up and down and fall either in or out. The roofs were generally slightly rounded or "car shaped"—like the roof on a freight car. They would be covered with tar paper, a rim of sod laid around the outer edges. Then five or six inches of dirt would be put on to hold the tar paper down. This kind of a roof shed the water very well. A few made more of a pitched roof and used shingles.

We had always lived in a house with plenty of room, and could not imagine getting along in anything less than a building 24 x 44 feet inside, since Nixon's and Paine's would have to stay with us until they could build. So we staked out the lines for a building that size. We thought that by making the walls about two and a half feet thick, and not over six and one half feet high, we could put on a shingle roof and have plenty of room. Thus the start of the famous old "Sod Store" at Catesby was began.

In laying the sod wall, we would cut the lengths with a spade about two and a half feet long, and they would average at least four inches thick. To handle them without breaking, we would roll them over on a foot board a little longer than the length of the sod. Then we would load them on a wagon, slip the board out, and pick up another, until we had all the wagon would hold up. Then we would haul them up along beside the wall, unload them in the same manner with the board and place them on the wall. The sods were laid overlapping the joints like brick. The grass side was always laid down. It was hard heavy work and when night came you realized you had done a days work.

When we had about two feet of the wall up all the way around, Charlie and Gilbert started for Woodward to see about the mail and

bring back a little lumber for the door and window frames. During this time, my father who was in frail health and not used to roughing it, got so homesick without mother, and from our poor cooking that he seemed to give up and stayed in bed. About all we were living on was boiled beans, a little dry salt pork, and canned tomatoes. Since we could not make or get bread, we had to use crackers.

A day or two after the boys had left, a young fellow rode up on a horse to see what was going on. His name was Herb Filer, and he told us his uncles, Charles and Hayden Kilgore, had a ranch south of us and their buildings were about two miles south along the Dry Prong Creek. He was very pleasant and sociable, said they had a fine large spring and that he was sure we could get some bread from his aunt. I got on my horse and rode back with him and found the Kilgores very fine people, and from then they were always good friends of ours. Mrs. Kilgore said she would be glad to help us out with making bread for us. That did father a lot of good.

Kilgore's pasture contained about eight or ten sections. Their north line fence extended along the south side of my place, its total length was about five miles east from the Texas line which was their west line; their pasture was two miles wide. Our land laid in a pasture which had for its east line the division fence between the next pasture east. The west line ran north along the Texas line and then along the east line of Old Beaver County, a total length of about five miles. Thence east to meet their north and south line on the east. The last point was at the junction of Clear Creek and the Dry Prong of Clear Creek which headed at the Kilgore buildings and ran north along the east side of our land. This ranch was known as the Springer-Hess Ranch, the name of the widow lady who owned the water-rights. Her parents name was Russian, and the ranch was sometimes refered to by that name. Clear Creek was a fine stream with always plenty of water.

The pasture east of the Springer-Hess ranch was the largest in that part of old Woodward County. It belonged to Ira Eddleman and his brother Frank (I believe that was his first name) who lived in Woodward. It must have contained over forty sections. Its southwest corner was the northeast corner of the Kilgore ranch. From this point it extended eastward, and possibly a little northward, for about eight miles, then northward to the neighborhood of West Otter Creek and then westward to Clear Creek. From its southwest corner it ran north—about two miles east of Catesby—beside the Springer-Hess pasture to Clear Creek, then jogged probably a mile east and then north about a mile after it crossed Clear Creek. This was their northwest corner, and gave them about a mile of Clear Creek, which had become quite a large stream at this point. Their headquarter buildings were on the east side of Clear Creek

in this northwest corner. They had several wells with windmills and tanks scattered over their pasture.

North of the Springer-Hess ranch the next pasture was several sections belonging to Mrs. Sandefer, and controlled about a half mile of Clear Creek. North of the Sandefer Ranch, Tom Harlan held several sections on Clear Creek. North of Tom Harland over on the head of Spring Creek, old Mr. Goodale operated on several sections. From a few miles north of Goodale's to the Beaver River a family named Nesbit had a "holding." The Old Beaver County line or "No Man's Land" was the western extremity for the ranches in Woodward County.

In the southeast corner of Beaver County Frank Wentworth had a small ranch. North of him C. K. Moody (Charlie) had a small layout, and the old Venus Postoffice was located in his house, which was just up on the north bank of Clear Creek, which was dry most of the time at this point. North of Moody's there were several brothers named Taft who held several sections. West of the Wentworth place J. I. Lovell, the old hotel man at Gage, had a small pasture. North of Lovell and west of Taft's, over on the Kiowa Creek, the Petty family had quite an acreage near the old Madison Postoffice.

In the corner of Texas an "old timer" named Gigger had about fourteen sections. West of him another old-timer named Charlie Dennison had a small ranch. South of the Gigger Ranch, Andy McKisson, a famous old cowman had quite a ranch, which I think extended south to the South Canadian River. If I remember correctly it was known as the XYZ ranch. The Stuart family that founded the First National Bank of Shattuck owned several sections on the north end of this ranch.

I think this will give a very good idea of the ranch situation as it existed in the fall of 1901 when we landed in their midst, about as green a bunch of "tender-feet" as ever hit the West. While "homesteaders" were about as welcome as a sheepman in a cow country, yet we found all these cowpeople very pleasant and glad to help us any way they could.

One of the principal reasons which caused the rapid decline of the cattle man and their loss of the range was their own shortsightedness. When the movement of the "homeseekers", who failed at the time to secure land at the El Reno drawing during the summer of 1901, headed for northwest Oklahoma, with hundreds of others from Kansas, Missouri and Arkansas who had also heard about the country, began to arrive, the cowmen started in locating them on claims in their pastures for the $15 a piece the locaters were charging. It looked like easy money to them, because they figured that these people, arriving in the middle of the winter with no buildings to

move into would soon become discouraged, and in the spring they would all be gone, and they would have their pastures again plus the easy money.

However, these people were mostly grandchildren of the early settlers in the states from which they came and from the stories they had heard about pioneering they had some idea of what hardships they had to face. Like their ancestors, when conditions became too crowded "back yonder" they headed west where they hoped to better their conditions and have room to expand with their growing families. When spring came and the black spots of plowed ground began to grow, it was a bitter dose for the cowman. Most of them owned very little land themselves, and what they did have was rough land with a spring and along a creek or river and practically worthless for farming.

About a week after Gilbert and Charlie left, I traded the large Northern horse I had brought with me to Charlie Kilgore for a couple of saddle ponies broke to work in harness as well as the saddle. While he was somewhat of a trader, I appreciated advice about the Northern horses not acclimating, and we needed a team any way. He gave me a good clean trade, and in all the years I knew the Kilgore brothers they never tried to take the advantage of me, and were my friends.

Kilgore fixed me up with a good used wagon and harness, and while the ponies looked pretty small compared to the horses we had been used to, they were honest and willing to pull their best whenever called upon. Besides they were used to rustling on the grass and not used to much grain. Having no fence I had to keep them hobbled or on a picket rope. This enabled me to get some more sod laid on the walls of the house.

I guess the boys had been gone nearly ten days when one midmorning they drove into "camp" and my mother was with them, having met her at the train at Woodward, after receiving a letter from Gilbert's folks when she would arrive. I can't start to express my feelings to see my mother, and father was getting very feeble but he immediately aroused out of his lethargy, and acted like a new man. Mother started to fix him up something to eat, and baked a sort of bread in a skillet over the cow-chip fire. We had no stove yet because we could not use one in a tent, and coal-oil stoves were unknown then.

With mother on the job to look after father and do the cooking, I began to make pretty good headway on the house. About this time some of the punchers from the Springer-Hess ranch had discovered us and would stop and visit every day. They would laugh at me and tell me a house that size would not stand six months, but it actually was standing thirty years later when it was torn down

to get rid of the rats in it. Several times they would jump their horses over the walls. They were, however, very kind and would drive whatever cattle, which might be near, two miles or more down the creek so they would not find the sod house and tear it up with their horns during the night. We could hear the steers and old range bulls bawl when fighting during the night, but they never bothered us.

At last the walls were completed and ready for the roof. I was up on the top of the wall trimming it down smooth on the inside with a spade, when father came through the opening for the back door and called to me to "Look out, quick!" I looked down and there was a large rattle snake about half way up the inside wall below me climbing up the rough ends of the sod. I jumped down on the outside and came in the front door. The snake just hung on to the wall, and I cut him in half with the spade. He had fourteen rattles and a button. It was the first prairie rattler we had seen. Since we saw no more he must have strayed into the immediate neighborhood.

When Charlie Kilgore told us that Gage was about twelve miles closer than Woodward, we decided to go there for our lumber for the roof. It was the first we had heard of Gage, and in fact Kilgores and the other couple of punchers were all the people we had seen for a little over a month, and they reported no other new settlers. Father and I started one morning for Gage for the bill of lumber, twenty-four miles distant. From Kilgore's south there was a dim trail for about four miles and then we struck an old wagon trail which came from Gage across the corner of Texas to Beaver City.

There was not a house in sight until we got within about eight miles from Gage which belonged to a horse dealer named Miller—I believe his first name was George. He was shot and killed about a month later over a horse trade near Seiling. We stayed all night with him and reached Gage about the middle of the morning. Gage I don't suppose had over about a couple of hundred people at the time, and was a sort of cowtown on a small scale. The main street was only a block long, and was fairly well built up on both sides. The old Lovell Hotel was on the south side of the railroad track facing Main Street. J. L. Yount had a good general store west of the hotel and was a very likeable man. Ed Massey had just built a new building on the east side on the south end of the main street and had about the largest general stock in town. There was another general store in the north end on the west side owned by Ed McDonald. A man named Montfort had a saddle and harness shop. There were a couple of hardware stores, a few eating houses, and barber shop. Jake Pryor was the banker. He had a little frame building about 12 x 15 feet, the front half of which was the "lobby" and the rear half the "bank."

The two rooms were separated by the counter, from which to the ceiling he had 2 x 4's, upright for a grill. They were spaced just far enough apart so you couldn't reach through with your hand. He had an old safe, a desk and a couple of chairs. Jake would stand "behind the bars" with a forty-five Colt's laying on the counter, a pad of blank notes, and two or three stacks of bills. Jake was a pretty good sort of a fellow and became one of my best friends for years. Father made a deposit with him and we went across to the York-Key and Sharp's lumber yards to see which would give us the best figures, since it was going to take quite a large bill to roof the sod building and other things we needed. The Sharp Lumber company sold us the bill and I drove around to load up. We did not know how much the ponies could haul so did not put on too big a load. We got back out to the Miller place again for the night, and got home late the next afternoon and found mother safe and glad to see us. Our little team of ponies had performed wonderfully.

After several trips I got everything hauled out, and was ready to start work on the roof. It still had not rained, but we were so long building the wall that it had plenty of time to settle as I went along, and did not get the weight above up too fast to make it top heavy. I was really proud of my ability. While father was not able to help any with the work, he knew how the work should be done and showed me how to mark out and cut the rafters and to erect the framework for the roof, as well as the window frames, etc. I did it all myself, raised the rafters and ridgepole, tied the rafters across from where each end rested on the wooden sills laid on top of the sod walls, to complete a truss with each one, put the sheeting on, and did the shingling. I don't recall how many thousand shingles it took, but allowing for the roof projection over each end a couple of feet, and that much eave projection on the sides so the rain water would not drip down on the sod walls, the roof was nearly fifty feet long and about forty feet wide.

We were living at Ann Arbor, Michigan, where I was attending school when we got the Western fever. After I left to come through by wagon, mother sold off all the furniture except some beds and bedding, dressers, cooking utensils, personal things and old heirlooms which she store din Ann Arbor till we were ready for them. A couple of weeks before the house was finished, she had ordered them shipped and we were looking for them any time. They came and I hauled them out, and with a cook stove I bought, we got the east half of the building fixed up fairly comfortable, even with the dirt floor. Still there had been no more new settlers. No more houses six miles east to Carey's, and no more in the twenty-four miles to Gage. While waiting for Nixon's and Paine's to arrive, I spent my time gathering up a large pile of cow chips as a start on winter fuel.

One afternoon, late in November, Gilbert and Charlie arrived from Gage with their folks and my younger brother, Ralph, with all the baggage they could bring through on the train. The next morning Charlie, with Gilbert, started back to Gage to be there when his father, mother's brother Alongo Paine, arrived with their car load of belongings they were bringing from Wisconsin.

In a few days Gilbert and Charley came with a big load of things leading a horse which had come through in the car with their things. Behind them came Uncle Lon with a fine span of grey horses which he had brought in the car and also a big load. It took them several trips to get everything out, including about a hundred bushels of oats for horse feed. The big part of their things they stored in the west half the sod building, and besides all of us living together, the house was none too big. There was Uncle James Nixon and Aunt Eliza, mother's sister; Uncle Lon, a widower, and his family consisting of Charlie, Nellie, Burt, Jennie, and John.

As soon as they had their things all out, Uncle James, Uncle Lon, Charlie, Nellie, and Jennie started for Woodward to file. Uncle James Nixon filed just west of me on the Northeast Quarter of Section 10; Charlie just north of him and west of father on the Southeast Quarter of Section 3; and Nellie on the Northeast Quarter of Section 3, all in Township 23, Range 26. Jennie filed cornering with Nellie on the Southwest Quarter of Section 35, Township 24, Range 26. If Carey had not held this for them it would have been too bad, since all land had been filed on for a considerable distance around us, though none of the claimants had showed up yet. Uncle Lon did not try to file, and Gilbert was still a little under twenty-one.

When they got back, things began to pick up. Nixons started building a sod house about half way west on their place, and Paine's started building their sod house about the middle of Charlie's claim. It began to look like a little settlement. One morning, about the time the others were completing their houses, we noticed a covered wagon camped a mile east of me with some activity going on. It was Otto Brown and his family from Perry, Oklahoma, who had arrived after dark. A few days Orie Haight and family from Edmond drove up; they had filed just west of Charlie Paine. Van Manuel and his bride, also arrived on their claim a mile north of Brown.

Soon families were arriving on their claims at the rate of several every day. When we did start to get neighbors, it seemed as if the whole country settled up all at once. Everybody was busy from daylight till dark putting up sod houses, dugouts, half-dugouts and sod fronts in banks where they had them. People came from Kansas, Missouri, and some from Arkansas, in all kinds of rigs and contraptions hauling their belongings.

My Mother was a wonderful woman and a great manager. After we got ourselves comfortably settled, a sod house 12 x 14 feet inside built across the road from father's and mother's house, on my homestead as well as a board shed for the ponies, we were getting a little low on finances. I knew nothing about responsibility except go to school, but a good education was not going to help much for awhile. While Mother had had no business experience, she could see the wonderful possibilities of a store and post office in the community. It met with the approval of the new neighbors, and a petition was sent in to have mother appointed postmistress. I think the name of Springdale was suggested on account of the spring we had dug down by the old cotton wood tree.

As soon as our kinsfolks moved to their new homes and we had plenty of room again, mother had me take her to Gage to buy a small stock of groceries, and of course bring out the mail for everyone on account of their being too busy to go for it themselves. She bought several sacks of flour (Honey Bee made at Alva) a few sacks of potatoes, a sack of sugar, a couple of cases of syrup, a sack of navy beans, a couple of dozen packages each of Lyons and of Arbuckle coffee; some canned tomatoes, a cady each of Star, and Horseshoe chewing tobacco, some Bull Durham and Granger Twist smoking tobacco, a small scale, and a few other things. I think her "opening stock" came to about $50. but that bought lots of things in those days. While it cut quite a little hole in our "reserve", mother never winked an eye for she knew she had a duty to perform to her family and the future of the community, and she always had great faith in herself to accomplish whatever she set out to do. If I remember correctly, the store was started in January, 1902.

About this time we had John Goodwin, from the Chaney settlement, come over and dig us a well a short distance from northeast corner of the sod house, which was built the long way east and west, facing the south. Goodwin got us a good strong well of seep water at fifty feet. There were peculiarities in well digging on different sides of a dry creek or deep canyon. At the same ground level on one side water would be obtained at around fifty feet, while the other side the depth to water would go from seventy-five to one hundred feet. Some of the early dug wells were as deep as three hundred feet. In digging a well there would generally be ten or twelve feet of rich black "buffalo grass dirt," then followed a hardpan subsoil down to a sort of mixture of sand, clay and small magnesia rocks in which was found seep water.

The store business rapidly increased, and we were making at least one trip to Gage every week for supplies. We soon began to hire loads hauled as it was necessary to expand with the different kinds of merchandise to meet all the requirements. It was not long till we were using about one fourth of the building for the store.

MRS. ELLA M. ROSE

Hay and grain were out of sight owing to the drought. As soon as Nixon's and Paine's buildings were finished, I went with them north about twenty some miles to the Beaver River, where a ranch family named Nesbit had a lot of fine saltgrass hay for sale at $4 per ton. It was fine hay and we bought about five tons each. It took two days for the trip, and a ton to a trip on one wagon was a good load since there was no sign of a road the entire distance, and after we crossed Clear Creek four miles north of Catesby, there was no house passed except Goodale's place on Spring Creek. North of Beaver River to the Cimarron River was all in one big pasture, and remained so most of the year 1902.

One afternoon while with Nixons and Paines looking up their corner stones just over the slight long rolling hill north of Catesby, there were three men rode up from the north. They were Lee Polin, W. P. White and A. L. Zartman, who had settled about three miles north a few months before we came. This was the first either party knew of each other. They said that Will Hoke and Fred Ritterhouse had settled neighbors on their north.

Along late in January, 1902, after we got our hay hauled, the homeseekers began to come from Woodward by Catesby looking for locations in Beaver County. Since we had a store, water and some hay stacked up, they camped over night with us. We could not afford to sell them our good hay, so I got one of our new neighbors, who had brought a mower and hayrake with him, to put up about twenty tons of the dead bunchgrass in the canyons. It was coarse and not much good, but it made "filler" for their teams, and I sold it for 25¢ an armful. Lots of the horses would hardly eat it, but I would gather it up and resell it again. Hay was that scarce.

Charlie and Hayden Kilgore's pasture was all settled in the spring of 1902 and they sold out their water holdings and moved to Gage and started a feed yard and livery business.

Eddleman Brothers sold their ranch headquarters land to a man from Kansas by the name of Murray Rader, who later became an early sheriff of Ellis County. The Springer-Hess outfit still held some rough land during 1902. There was considerable trouble from their cattle breaking into crops. Several settlers planted castor beans around the borders of their land, which when the plants were young were deadly poison to stock.

Early in 1902 the travel of the homesteaders became nearly constant.[1] They came in all sorts of contraptions, from good looking covered wagons to covered wagons that looked like they could go

[1] Most of the names of the list in *Appendix* accompanying this story are of people who came in during the early part of 1902, and others later in that year. They moved in so rapidly I do not remember just the order in which they arrived.

no further, they were so badly cobbled up. One outfit consisted of an old Ozark couple, driving a cow and a mule to their wagon, accompanied by about a dozen razorback hogs herded by some grandchildren. "Locaters" from Woodward would dash by all hours of the day and night with their springwagons loaded with "prospects". Often they would wake us up to inquire if "so and so" had passed. A large percent of those failing to get land at the El Reno drawing came up through Woodward and out into Beaver County.

As I recall the winter of 1901-2 it was pretty much mild and open weather, and although there were several hard freezes, there was very little if any snow. This was a blessing to those coming to their claims, since they had to live in their covered wagons until their sod shanties were completed, for few of the neighbors had room for "overnight guests" in their own generally crowded homes, and fuel was scarce.

Early in January, 1902, my mother started a union Sunday School in her kitchen. There were soon twenty-five or thirty attending, several little groups of children walking from as far away as the Chaney neighborhood, seven miles east. Mother would always give the children who walked, a big slice of bread and butter before they started home. She wrote to old friends in Rochester, New York, who sent her a small portable organ, some Sunday School literature regularly.

The first preacher was Rev. Ed Williams, a Baptist, who heard about the Sunday School, and arrived early one Sunday morning from his home several miles north of the May settlement, west of old Fort Supply on the Beaver River. After a few trips he said the collections were not large enough to pay him for coming, and that was the last we saw of him. He was later the member of the Oklahoma State Constitutional Convention, from the district which became Harper County.

Our sod building was getting pretty crowded with the expanding store business, living quarters, and kitchen where mother would often furnish meals for the locaters and their passengers. My brother Ralph, helped mother in the store while I was kept busy looking after feeding teams and keeping the freight hauled out. On one occasion while at Gage after freight, the barn in the Harlan feed yard caught fire about daylight. I just managed to save our team and some men pulled our wagon out by hand. I lost a roll of bedding and a good overcoat.

Feed yards in those early days consisted of a large fenced in corral, with a barn and hay mow close to the entrance gate. Attached to the barn would be a long shed with stalls and mangers. Across from the barn, at the gate, would be a "bunk-house," where the teamsters stayed. This would be a fairly long building, in the

front end of which would be a small cook stove, a table, a few benches, two or three skillets and a few empty gallon syrup pails for making coffee. The rest of building had a thick matting of loose hay on the floor, for the men to spread out their bed rolls on. I have seen cowpunchers come in all hours of the night, and make coffee, drinking it boiling hot and never "bat an eye." That I could never understand.

One of the most thrilling exhibits of "bronc-busting" I ever saw, occurred at Kilgore's feedyard one afternoon. A bunch of wild horses had been driven in from the plains of west Texas. They were "mustangs" or descendants from the old wild Spanish horses, and weighed between 850 and 950 pounds each. They were tough, wiry animals, and when broke, became gentle and never knew the end of the day, either under the saddle or hitched to a livery buggy. In this bunch of wild horses were two beautiful buckskin colored mares, almost exactly alike in appearance, but one of them had the earmarks of a "mean one." Her movements about the corral and the other horses indicated she was pretty "snakey" and an outstanding animal to break. A purse of $5 was raised for the one who could ride her. A short, bowlegged, old cow-hand named Johnie Byers volunteered. She was roped and snubbed, but would pitch the saddle off before it could be cinched. Finally she was blindfolded and held by the ears until she was carefully saddled and Johnie Byers crawled "aboard." There was no bridle or anything to guide her, when the word was given to turn her loose. The instant the blindfold was removed, she streaked like a flash out of the corral gate and headed out over the prairie towards the railroad track, on which a freight train was pulling into Gage, with no right-of-way fence along the track. She was so fast no other rider could get near enough to turn her away. She was pitching and spinning like a windmill in a stiff breeze, and pulled every trick she could think of to dislodge her rider. Old Johnie Byers rode her with his spurs clamped into her sides, waving his arms and hat and yelling like a wild Indian. She came up close along the side of the moving train, and followed it still going as wicked as ever. Johnnie rode her like he was a part of her, alternately slapping the side of the box-car and then the side of her head with his hat. Through town they went, where the least false step they both might have went under the wheels. I guess she must have gone nearly two miles when she began to tire and give up. Johnnie rode her back at an easy trot, by this time herded by other riders. She gentled down to a kind disposition, and with her mate became a very popular team for traveling-men to take out.

Early in March, 1902, the settlers started breaking sod to plant a crop, and black spots began to appear all around over the prairies, growing larger every day. Orie Haight started a blacksmith shop on his place a mile west. While he was busy sharpening plowshares, Mrs. Haight drove three little Indian ponies to a breaking plow, to

which he had attached wheels and a seat, carrying a young baby in her lap. Everybody old enough to work, men and women, boys and girls, were working like tigers getting comfortably settled, fencing, digging wells, and starting to get a crop out.

During the latter part of March mother received her commission as postmistress and her supplies to open the postoffice April 1st, 1902. The name selected by the Post Office Department was Catesby. Mother received a letter from Dennis Flynn, the delegate in Congress saying he had given the name Catesby selected after an old general in the Mexican War, since the other names submitted for the new Post Office were too common.

One of the conditions for the establishment of the postoffice was that we would have to carry the mail three times a week from Venus for three months at our own expense, since July 1, 1902, would be the date on which the Government would let all mail carrying contracts again for four years. Thereafter the job of carrying mail to Catesby would be paid for under contract. The mail at that time left Venus three times a week in the morning, carried on horseback by Fred Gigger; going to Old Ivanhoe, twelve miles southwest on the Texas-Beaver County line, thence southeastward through Lipscomb, Texas, to Higgins, Texas, on the Santa Fe Railroad; and then return the next day over the same route.

Venus was a little post office about six miles northwest of us in Beaver County, and was kept by Mrs. C. K. Moody in her house, as a sort of convenience for the ranches adjoining them. Old Ivanhoe postoffice was on the state line and had been established a long time. It was related that at one time while Beaver County was known as "No Man's Land," Ivanhoe had been quite a rough border town.

About the time the Catesby post office was established, another new post office named Speermore was established eight miles north of us. It was named for the two men, W. H. Speer and his partner named Moore, who started a store at that point. At about the same time the Chaney post office was established seven miles east of us by W. L. Hull. I notice I neglected to mention in connection with the Ivanhoe post office, that about the same time also, it was moved about two miles northeast to a point where a man by the name of Mitchell had started a store, which became known as New Ivanhoe. Also six miles southeast of us a family named Howard started a little post office named Alexandria but there was never any store there. Speermoore got its mail from Venue. Chaney carried mail from Gage, and I believe Alexandria also carried its mail from Chaney.

I started carrying the mail on April 1st, riding a dark bay Indian mare pony bought from one of the settlers who had come from near the Indian Territory. She was a fine animal but the

instant you started to get into the saddle, she would start to "bolt" quick as a flash, and the rattle of the lock on the mail sack fastened on the saddle made her worse. To prevent any chance of her getting away with the mail sack, I had some one hold her head until I was ready to go. When starting back from Venus, I would lead her into the deep sand of the creek bed in front of the house, and this slowed her down till I got in the saddle. I could never pull her out of a gallop the entire distance to Venus and back.

All the people who settled anywhere within a range of several miles were good, quiet people. They did not have much money but they were thrifty and progressive and the country started to move forward under their efforts. I don't remember of a "tough" family or a scandal during all the years we lived there. There were many people from Kansas City who took claims for speculation; hold them a few months and then sell their relinquishments to someone wanting to become a permanent resident. The claims of these speculators were closely watched and if they did not comply with every letter of the law, their right would be contested at the land office. Generally after a long litigation, they would give up their claims.

Early in April the settlers started planting their crops. Planters were very scarce, and no one had the money to buy new ones at the "hold-up" prices being asked for new farm machinery. Everything the settlers needed had to be bought, and the expression originated among them that they were "betting Uncle Sam their filing fee of $16 against his 160 acres they could stay the five years necessary to prove up and get title to their land."

The few seed planters in the country that first spring of 1902 were loaned around until they were worn out. There were acres and acres planted by hand with an axe, by making an opening in the sod every three feet and dropping the seed in, then pressing it together with the heel. A few had the old-fashioned hand-jobbers, but they soon wore out. Several made home-made planters by punching a hole in the side of a gallon syrup bucket. It was filled with seed, the cover replaced and an axle run through from end to end. Every third round of the breaking plow, the bucket was attached and as it rolled along on its side in the bottom of the furrow, every time the hole came down it dropped the seed. The next round of the plow covered it.

Since practically all the crops (corn and kaffircorn) planted that first year required no cultivation or attention until ready for harvesting in the fall, nearly all the men and grown boys went to wheat harvest and threshing in Kansas to earn the money to carry on their families and improve their homes. The men took the teams so the women and children generally had to walk to Catesby for supplies and have a little credit until their menfolks could send some money home. Harvest wages were considered very good, $1.50 per day

single handed or $3.00 a day for a man and his team. That made a lot of money in those days when 50¢ would buy a pair of the best overalls, and 25¢, a good work shirt.

On July 1st, 1902, the Post Office Department established the first Star Route from Gage through Chaney, Catesby, Venus, Ivanhoe to Logan on the Kiowa Creek in Beaver County. The distance was about forty-four miles, to be made in three round trips a week, or up one day and back the next. The first contractor was James F. Elmore, who had a homestead about half way between Ivanhoe and Logan. His compensation was $750.00 per year. A short Star Route was established from Venus to Speermoore three times a week, the contractor being C. A. Brown of Speermore. After about a year the Venus post office was discontinued, and the Star Route extended from Speermoore to Catesby. Alexandria post office was supplied with a short Star Route from Chaney.

Catesby was the first and only store in the 36 miles from Woodward; the same in reference to the 24 miles to Gage, and the 20 miles to Shattuck. In a year or two, it became known as a main spot on the trail. The transient travel of homesteaders constantly grew heavier, and with the establishment of the Star Route, which carried passengers, grandma Rose at "the old sod store" at Catesby soon became known all up and down the way, for her hospitality and kindness in serving the needs of the public. With all her other work in connection with the store, the post office, her household work, she managed to serve meals to the travelers when called on. My younger brother, Ralph, was considerable help, and while she had a woman to help, it required a lot of wonderful management on her part.

I was kept busy looking after the feeding of the teams which stopped at noon, or camped over night. I do not have any recollection of how many tons of prairie hay I got put up that summer. Also I occasionally made trips with the freight wagon when some special business had to be looked after. As the weather got cooler in the fall, campers crowded in their wagons would make beds on the floors in the kitchen and store. The sod cabin on my place was likewise filled in, and I often slept on the counter in the store.

The growing season of 1902 was wonderful. When the menfolks returned from the wheat harvest, they found abundant crops waiting to be harvested. The wild prairie chickens soon became a destructive pest on the shocks of grain. It was a common sight to see several flocks of a hundred or more in one field, tearing into the shocks for the grain. Large coveys of quail were plentiful in the wild plum thickets.

After the crops were gathered the next thought was of winter fuel. The cow chip supply was becoming a thing of the past since

Sod Building erected at Catesby in 1901, by F. M. Rose

the range cattle were gone, and nobody had the money to spare to buy coal. The problem was solved by putting a couple of extra sets of sideboards on a wagon and going over into the large pastures in Texas where there were still lots of cattle. We would take a wash tub, tie a short piece of rope in one handle, and drag it over the prairie until full of chips and then empty them into the wagon. I remember we gathered a pile about 50 feet long by ten or twelve feet wide, and about eight feet high, or as high as we could throw them without climbing up and mashing them.

Most every one was fairly comfortably prepared for the winter. While they had nothing to sell to buy groceries with, they stretched their summer harvest wages, ate rabbits, prairie chicken and quail and managed pretty well. Every one was cheerful and confident, waiting for spring to come to get out a crop again. Patches on clothes were considered more honorable than medals, in their struggles to gain a comfortable home in the future. All of these people were a credit to any community. It became quite a polite art that first winter to eat boiled corn or kaffircorn, and gracefully and quietly spit the hulls out while at the table. Even the sour wild plums cooked with pie-melons and a little sugar tasted good as a spread on bread.

We had a lot of snow and very cold weather during December, and I recall going down along the Dry Prong with a grain sack and gathering up prairie chicken and quail, starved and frozen during the cold spell. These we thawed out, dressed and ate. The older prairie chicken did not make such good eating because they were tough fleshed and tasted strong of the sage brush they fed on. Even with our store we lived very frugally because there were so many things we needed and planned to do.

There was nothing unusual transpired that first year of 1902. Every moment and opportunity were used to improve their homes and homesteads. There were very few festivities or parties, as nearly everyone went to bed when it became dark to save fuel. Sundays most of the neighbors would gather at the sod store for Sunday School in the afternoon, and if there was a preacher in the neighborhood, he was called on for a sermon.

When farms and pastures were fenced along the section lines, the first roads, which generally angled across the country in as nearly a straight line as possible to a destination, became closed. There was lots of confusion caused in locating section lines which did not cross some deep ravine or run out against a steep bank in the rougher country along the river or the creeks. Often one traveled a road to Gage in the morning, but coming back the next day, a new road had to be found.

Fence posts cost from 15¢ to 20¢ apiece, and any one who could afford a fence with the posts closer than four rods apart with two

barb wires was looked upon as a sort of plutocrat. Milk cows had not yet become plentiful, but horses had to be pastured, and travel stopped from crossing fields of crops. Besides for some reason, we were in a "herd law" district, the north line of which was the township line, a mile north of Catesby.

During the year 1902 all vestige of the once great cattle ranges had disappeared, and the prairies took on the appearance of a farming country. The range had forever been destroyed by the plowed fields of the resolute settlers who had come determined to conquer the wild country and establish new homes like their ancestors had done in the older sections in the East. It was just a few miles west to the Texas line, beyond which, there remained the last surviving cattle ranches.

APPENDIX

Earliest Pioneers Who Settled The Catesby Vicinity, Oklahoma, During 1901, 1902, 1903.

Alderson, Mrs. Jennie (Fout)
Alexander, George W.
Athen, Ike
Ayers, William H.
Baker, Frank
Baker, George
Baker, Newt
Baker, Perl
Bales, W. I.
Baysinger, Mel
Bemis, James
Bickford, Ernest
Black, John
Blanche, David
Brown, Otto
Brown, Fred
Burke, Richard L.
Childers, C. C.
Chance, Ed
Chance, Walter
Case, Thomas
Case, Mona
Case, Bert
Case, Nina
Crandall, A. B.
Crandall, Harry
Crandall, Roy
Cookman, Mel
Cookman, Claget
Conant, W. T.
Cochran, Albert
Cochran, Rosa
Cochran, Charlie
Cox, Leroy F.*
Cox, Clyde
Cox, Don
Cox, Frank
Davies, Wilburn
Davis, Sidney C.
Dale, August
Dale, Stephen
Drolte, Fred
Drolte, Charlie
Drolte, Earl
Deeds, George
Deeds, Burt
Dennis, Charlie
Dennison, Charlie*
Dennison, G. P.*
DeLate, Clarence
Darr, Frank C.
Fritz, William
Fritz, Mattie
Fritz, Hattie
Fritz, Elmer
Filer, Fred
Filer, Mrs. Annie
Filer, Herbert*
Fout, Harvey
Fout, Charlie
Gray, Terrel
Gaines, Ernest
Green, George
Gallamore, W. T.

* Settlers who had ranches in 1901-02.

Getz, Sam
Getz, William
Haskins, Ruben
Hutchinson, H. A.
Harston, W. G.
Haight, Orie
Homoky, Antony
Hoke, William E.
Henke, August
Henke, Paul
Henke, Fritz
Hoover, Mrs. Ada W.
Hart, Ralph
Hart, Jay
Herman, Palmer
Hays, Art
Hays, J. W.
Hibbs, G. A.
Hull, Walter
Jenkins, Will
Jenkins, Marion
Jones, James
Jolliff, W. A.
Klise, Chas. E.
Kilgore, Charlie*
Kilgore, Hayden*
King, Charlie*
King, Miss Alpha E.
Largent, W. A.
Largent, Elmer
Lupton, Miss Cordia
Luck, Henry
Lovell, Millard
Lovell, John
Lloyd, David
Lloyd, Gomer
Lloyd, Howard
Lloyd, Dick
Lloyd, Henry
Lloyd, Jack
Lloyd, ——
Larkey, A. A.
Larkey, Will
Larkey, Charlie
Larkey, Alex
Larkey, Pearl
Larkey, W. H.
Light, Harvey
Light, Frank
Lightfoot, Hugh
Lightfoot, Guy
Linn, Levi
Lydick, Perry
Millsap, B. N.
Moyer, Frank
Moore, A. J.
Manuel, Van A.
Manuel, Neely
Mason, John
Miller, Will
Miller, Fred
Moody, C. K.*
Nixon, James F.
Nixon, Gilbert A.
Nehrbass, Fred C.
O'Hern, Mike
O'Neil, Barney
Polin, Lee S.
Paine, Alonzo A.
Paine, Charlie
Paine, Miss Nellie
Paine, Miss Jennie
Paine, Burt
Paine, John
Peetoom, Perte
Peetoom, Richard
Peetoom, Coneilous
Rose, Eben (Mrs. Ella M. widow)
Rose, F. P.
Rose, Ralph G.
Ritterhouse, Fred
Ritterhouse, Louis
Root, Asher L.
Richards, Tom
Roth, Alonzo
Roth, Harry
Russian, Springer-Hess Ranch*
Ricker, Wesly
Ricker, Curly
Stout, Barney
Shaw, C. M.
Shaw, J. T.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, Ed
Tuttle, James M.
Teats, Richard L.
Thomas, Burt
Trekell, Tom E.
Terrell, J. W.
Terrell, George
Terrell, Frank
Terrell, Will
Terrell, Roy
Vinyard, George W.
Vinyard, Ed
Wingert, James E.
Wingert, Earl
Wingert, Kay
Wentworth, Frank*
White, W. P.
Waldron, George
Wood, Claude
Wiley, John
Wiley, James
Zartman, A. L.
Zartman, Miss Rosa
Zartman, Ira
Ellison, William E.

SURVEY OF EDUCATION IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA FROM 1907 TO 1915

*By Joe C. Jackson**

When the Cherokees, one of the Five Civilized Tribes, arrived in what is now Eastern Oklahoma, they brought the beginnings of their educational system with them. Their missionaries and tribal leaders readily joined hands with the other groups that were already in the area.[1]

Dwight Mission, established in 1829, was closely followed by the founding of Fairfield Mission, and Park Hill Mission, in 1835, by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. By 1851, there were twenty-two schools in the Nation.

Although the tribe had been appropriating public funds to aid some of the church groups in supporting schools, it was not until 1841 that efforts were made to found public schools in the Cherokee Nation. In this year there were eleven publicly supported day schools in the Cherokee country—a number that continued to increase until the Civil War closed them along with the missions.[2]

As soon after the struggle as possible, the Cherokees reopened and expanded their public day schools. By 1867 there were thirty-two such schools in operation—a number that increased yearly until 317 were in existence at statehood.

With the restoration of the day schools came the restoration of the two national seminaries and some of the mission schools. These institutions, coupled with a number of private schools such as Hogan Institute, Galloway College, and Brooks Cottage constituted the Cherokee educational picture as it existed when the schools passed from tribal control at the turn of the century.

What has been said of the Cherokees generally applies to the other four tribes. In every case missionaries either accompanied the tribe to the West or else arrived on the scene shortly after removal. Thus, mission schools formed the core of their first educa-

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* Dr. Joe C. Jackson is Dean and Associate Professor of History, Central State College, Edmond, Oklahoma. His article on education in Eastern Oklahoma contributed to this number of *The Chronicles* is adapted from his thesis, "The History of Education in Eastern Oklahoma from 1898 to 1915," submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the University of Oklahoma as a requirement for the degree of Doctor of Education, in 1950.—Ed.

[1] Union and Hopefield Missions were established among the Osage several years before the Western Cherokees arrived in 1829.

[2] Two seminaries, one for males and one for females, were opened by the Cherokee in 1851.

tional efforts. As an example, the Baptists, shortly after removal, opened a school for the Creeks near Fort Gibson and the American Board opened a manual labor boarding school for them at Coweta in 1845. Asbury Manual Labor School was likewise established by the Methodists in 1850 near Eufaula. Comparatively large sums were appropriated by the tribal councils in establishing these schools, to be supplemented by regular donations from the various mission boards in their operations.

In a like manner, the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists established missions among the Seminoles, Choctaws, and Chickasaws. For instance, Wheelock, Spencer, and Armstrong Academies were established in the Choctaw Nation by 1844. The Manual Labor School for boys and Bloomfield Academy for girls were established and opened among the Chickasaws by 1852.

Four of the Five Civilized Tribes established a system of day or elementary schools, and a number of boarding schools where both elementary and secondary subjects were taught. These were supported entirely out of tribal funds and were controlled by a national superintendent and appointive local boards.

Excepting the Cherokees, most of the academies, or boarding schools, represented former mission schools that had been taken over by the tribes. In many cases, the support and administration of such schools was conducted jointly by the tribes and churches concerned. However, by 1900 most of the boarding schools were supported and administered entirely by the Indian Nations.

In pursuance of the Curtis Act of 1898, the Federal government appointed a superintendent for Indian Territory and proceeded to take control of the schools in the area.

The Federal authorities found the tribes exceedingly reluctant to surrender control of their institutions. In fact, it seemed for a time that one or two of the tribes might not acquiesce. However, when it was learned that the Secretary of the Interior was to control their funds and that such moneys were to be disbursed as he directed, there was nothing left for the tribes to do but "cooperate with the inevitable."

Under Federal control many outward forms were left unchanged. In fact, it was not unusual to leave popular Indian leaders in important administrative positions. However, there was never any doubt as to where the ultimate source of authority was lodged.

In his first report the Federal superintendent pointed out that in the Cherokee Nation there were two academies, a colored high school, an orphan asylum and 120 day schools; in the Creek Nation there were eight boarding schools, two homes for orphans, and sixty-five day schools; in the Seminole Nation there were eight day schools

and two academies; in the Choctaw Nation there were 160 day schools, four academies, and twelve small boarding schools; and in the Chickasaw Nation there were thirteen day schools, four academies, and an orphans' home. Each nation, except the Seminole, had a number of private and denominational schools and practically all towns had subscription schools in some form.

In the rural areas, whites, who generally outnumbered the Indians, were without educational advantages. Since there was no way they could organize local units of government and tax themselves for schools and since the Indian schools were closed to them, the rural whites had to depend on scattered, poorly taught and poorly equipped subscription schools.

Under Federal control, funds were made available to expand and increase the number of day schools in the Territory and open them to whites. Consequently, by 1907 there were 996 day schools in the region, most of which were available for white children.

Along with its program of increasing educational opportunities for rural children, the Government broadened the curriculum of the academies to the end that vocational work replaced or supplemented much of the liberal arts; intensified and broadened the program of summer normals; raised teacher standards; made it possible for towns to incorporate, vote bonds, levy taxes and thus provide schools through legal channels; minimized graft and corruption; and generally laid the groundwork for the state educational system that was to come.

Thus, when the Twin Territories were united in 1907 to form the state of Oklahoma the newly elected officials in old Indian Territory found a stable foundation on which to build as well as a "blue print" for them to follow.

The State Constitution divided the lands of the Five Nations and the minor tribes into forty countries.[3] All rural schools were to be presided over by an elective county superintendent and elective local boards of three members for each school. It was the responsibility of the first county superintendents to divide the counties into school districts. In speaking of this problem, Mr. C. E. Fair, an early superintendent of Latimer County, states:[4]

> In the Spring of 1908, Miss Alice Fleming, the first superintendent of the County, divided the area into twenty-seven school districts. Owing to the topography of the area and the growth of population in the

[3] E. D. Cameron, *Second Biennial Report, Department of Public Instruction, State of Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1908), p. 107. Hereinafter referred to as *Superintendent's Biennial Report.*

[4] C. E. Fair, *Educational History of Latimer County From Statehood to* 1917, manuscript in possession of C. E. Fair, Sulphur, Oklahoma. Hereinafter referred to as *Fair Manuscript.* Many of the school districts were very irregular in shape owing to the necessity of getting as much taxable property into an area as feasible. District lines were later readjusted as more property became taxable.

formerly sparsely settled communities, it has been necessary to change the boundaries in many of the districts . . . . eleven new districts were added bringing the total to thirty-eight.

Prior to statehood, in spite of the fact there were 995 rural schools in Indian Territory, supported by tribal funds, Congressional appropriations and surplus court fees, and in spite of the fact every town of any size had its own school system, educational facilities were far from adequate. In his second biennial report, the State Superintendent said: "Children in that part of the state formerly known as Indian Territory were left to grow up in idleness and ignorance, and their condition was pitiable in the extreme . . . . but now all has been changed and public schools are within the reach of all."[5]

During the first year of statehood, 2,142 school districts were formed in Indian Territory and schools were established in each of them.[6] Although it was necessary to build many new school houses, a large number of the buildings formerly occupied by the Indian day schools were utilized.

Organizing school districts was not as difficult as it might seem. Many districts had already been surveyed by the Indian tribes and the Federal government. Since all rural school houses were constructed by the patrons, they were located in the more populous areas. Hence, the Indian Territory districts were organized for convenience in accordance with topography and population.[7] Thus, in many cases the county superintendents merely followed lines already marked.

In support of the point that the county superintendents found a sound base on which to build, attention is again called to the policy of using the neighborhood school buildings when feasible.[8] For instance, in the chapter pertaining to the Chickasaws it was pointed out that the Nebo school south of Sulphur made the change from Chickasaw and Federal supervision to that of county and state supervision with a minimum of disturbance to the patrons. The same teachers, the same local board, the same school house and the same equipment were utilized as before.

To avoid misunderstanding, it should be pointed out, however, that transition was ordinarily not this easily accomplished. In the

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[5] *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1908, p. 1.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] See *Appendix A* for county statistics from the *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1908, p. 107. School population refers to persons between the ages of six and twenty-one.

[8] *Fair Manuscript*, p. 3. More than one-third of the districts formed after statehood were coextensive with Indian Territory districts. It was not until increased population and population shifts forced the issue that many of the old district lines were changed.

first place, to provide adequate facilities, the county superintendents were forced to survey more than twice as many districts as were in existence. Thus, it was necessary to construct many new buildings and move and renovate many old buildings. Sometimes it would be found that two and occasionally three of the old neighborhood school houses would be in the same district outlined by the county superintendent.[9] As to the problems involved in such procedure, the following excerpt from a directive issued in 1908 by B. H. Hester, county superintendent of Rogers County is illustrative:[10]

> Notice is hereby given that the Superintendent of Public Instruction has formed a school district bounded as follows: Twp. 24 Range 16 Twp. 24 Range 17. Black crosses on the map show the location of two neighborhood school houses which are to be moved to the south side of Section 14 as indicated by the red crosses on the map. We desire that Miss Ross be continued as teacher by the Government and then we will add a second teacher.

As soon as the directive was made public, protests were lodged with John D. Benedict against removal of the neighborhood buildings. Benedict immediately informed the supervisors that his office was not going to interfere in such matters and that henceforth the initiative was to be lodged with the State of Oklahoma and not the Federal government.[11]

So pointed was Benedict's communique that two or three of the supervisors felt called upon to clarify their position. In pursuance of this idea, the Chickasaw supervisor wrote: "Contrary to what has been said, I have not and will not use my influence against the work of organizing school districts . . . . and I have no objections to teachers taking county examinations."[12]

Continued increase in population after statehood necessitated constant revision of school districts. As the years went by, more and more of the old neighborhood school districts were divided or eliminated as the old was supplemented and gradually absorbed by the new.[13]

When the county system was inaugurated, the school term, as directed by the Federal supervisors, had already begun. In order

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[9] Aside from the log structures, most of the old buildings and practically all of the new buildings were of cheap frame construction, rectangular in shape with three or four windows to the side. Ordinarily there were two doors at one end and no openings at the other.

[10] Directive of B. H. Hester, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Rogers County, Oklahoma, Jan. 13, 1908, *Dawes Commission Files*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Hereinafter referred to as *DCF*. A number of the county superintendents had formerly served as teachers in the Territory, Ballard to Benedict, Nov. 27, 1907, in *DCF*.

[11] Benedict to Redd, Jan. 18, 1908, in *DCF*.

[12] Umholtz to Benedict, Feb. 3, 1908, in *DCF*.

[13] Falwell to Benedict, 1908, in Grant Foreman, ed., *Copies of Documents Pertaining to Indian Affairs*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Hereinafter referred to as *Foreman Transcripts*.

to avoid confusion and interruptions, such schools already underway, were not molested. New schools, however, were commenced in other areas where they were needed.

It was soon apparent that it was exceedingly difficult to get enough taxable property in the new districts to maintain an adequate term of school. Since only the interest from the State school fund could be used and since the new districts could raise no money until tax list could be made and the levies collected, it was necessary to turn to the Federal government for aid.[14]

Congress again responded to the need and reappropriated $300,000 for use in maintaining rural schools in the Indian Territory side of the state. The number of schools aided from this source was increased from 486 in 1907 to 865 in 1908.[15]

As great as the need was, however, many county superintendents and other officials felt Federal aid would mean Federal control. In fact, some leaders suggested that if the Federal government sought to interfere in administration that they would shun the aid and be contented with a shortened term of school. Needless to say, the Congress was not disposed to appropriate the money and remove all restrictions as to its use.[16]

Since many of the fullbloods lived in remote areas where public schools were not available or else were not willing to send their children to such schools, the Federal government continued its program of day schools supported by tribal funds and surplus court fees. Consequently, Benedict and the supervisors stayed on the job during the first few years of statehood. Thus, the Congressional funds to be used in the county school program were left to the distribution and administration of the Federal superintendent.

In keeping with his announced policy of gradually eliminating the Federal program in favor of the state, Benedict assured the State authorities that the fund would be administered with a minimum of interference. He met the Governor and State Superintendent at Guthrie in 1908 and worked out the following agreement which re-

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[14] The Enabling Act provided that Congress was to appropriate $5,000,000 as a state school fund to compensate for the fact no school lands were set aside in Indian Territory. Edward Everett Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (New York, 1948), p. 309.

[15] *Report of the Commission to the Five Civilized Tribes* (Washington, 1908), p. 49. Hereinafter referred to as *RCFCT*.

[16] Umholtz to Benedict, Dec. 2, 1907, in *DCF*. To Benedict and his supervisors, it seemed foolish that the state of Oklahoma was unwliling to take Federal funds subject to reasonable regulations.

ceived the unanimous endorsement of the Legislature as well as the approval of the Secretary of the Interior:[17]

Whereas: The state constitution declares for absolute equality in the public schools between Indian and white races.

Whereas: Equality in taxation is essential for the support of public schools.

Whereas: Much land in Indian Territory is withheld from taxation.

Whereas: The Federal government has been using Indian funds to aid in the education of allottees of school age.

Whereas: In practically every school in Indian Territory both Indians and whites are in attendance.

Whereas: The school system in operation in Oklahoma Territory was made operative throughout the state.

Whereas: It is impractical not to have uniformity throughout the state.

Whereas: Former Indian Territory has been districted by the authorities into public school districts.

Therefore, be it resolved, that, as long as public school funds are appropriated for the public schools of the Five Civilized Tribes, outside incorporated towns:

1. One member of the board of education shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.
2. Three members of the State Board of Examiners [to examine applicants to teach in the common schools] shall be nominated by the Secretary of the Interior.
3. Upon each board of county examiners, one member shall be appointed by the Secretary of the Interior.
4. Schools for the joint attendance of Indians and whites shall be opened and maintained each year until the district tax levy and the per capita apportionment of the state fund is exhausted. Then the Federal superintendent shall direct the expenditure of Federal funds so as to provide, if possible, at least an eight months' term of school in every district.

This agreement made it possible for the Federal government to supplement the work of the counties and the State and thus underwrite a minimum educational program for the rural areas of old Indian Territory. The Federal supervisors were called upon to secure from the county superintendents lists of schools that needed aid. Benedict would then, in conjunction with the Secretary of Interior, allocate the funds.[18]

Thus, many of the rural schools in Eastern Oklahoma were supported by local taxation, state apportionment, tribal funds, and Congressional appropriations. However, schools having no Indian children could not receive support from tribal funds. Such schools had to depend on local, state, and congressional funds.[19]

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[17] *RCFCT*, 1908, p. 51.

[18] Benedict to Falwell, Oct. 3, 1908, in *DCF*. Generally, Federal aid supported the schools for three or four months each term. Long and involved questionnaires were sent to the local districts in order to ascertain their need. Benedict to School Districts, Questionnaire, Sept. 9, 1908, in *DCF*.

[19] Ballard to Benedict, Jan. 6, 1908, in *DCF*.

Naturally this created what some called a "dual system" of education. In the first place, it was necessary to continue the tribal day schools until the state could adequately take care of the Indian children. Such schools were exclusively supported and controlled by the Federal government.[20] In the second place, there were the county schools administered by the county superintendents with the Federal authorities checking Congressional funds spent in their behalf. These schools, from local and state funds, could operate only about four months each year. During this time the teachers were paid and the units administered by the county. However, when the Federal government extended their terms to six or eight months, the teachers were paid by Benedict and the supervisors often joined with the county superintendents in administration.[21]

In commenting upon this procedure, the State Superintendent observed:[22]

> I stand committed to the doctrine of local self government and think it very important that the state run its own schools, but I am glad to say that Hon. John D. Benedict . . . . has fallen into line . . . . and is aiding rural schools . . . . as he agreed to do at the beginning of the year. . . . . If they continue and recognize the absolute authority of the state, we welcome their assistance. If they cannot do this we will not receive their aid.

In 1908 there were 357 Indian day schools supported by tribal funds in Indian Territory. In keeping with the policy of eliminating these units as rapidly as county schools were available, the number was radically reduced during the next few years. For instance, in 1911, the day school superintendent reported that the Government was making a systematic effort to place all Indians in public schools. He further stated that there were few areas where public schools were not available and that all the Indian day schools had been abolished except one near Spavinaw, one near Sasakwa, two in Pontotoc County and one in Marshall County.[23]

As to its policy of general aid to the county schools, Congress appropriated $300,000 in 1908 and continued to appropriate the same

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[20] *RCFCT*, 1908, p. 52.

[21] Benedict to Falwell, Nov. 3, 1908, in *DCF*.

[22] *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1908, p. 73. Attention should be called to the fact the state constitution defined a colored person as one of African descent and required a system of separate schools be maintained. The Indian schools were the recipients of Federal aid along with the white schools. Tulsa County Superintendent to Benedict, Sept. 16, 1909, in *DCF*.

[23] *RCFCT*, 1911, p. 84. Benedict's office was abolished in 1910. His duties were taken over by a Supervisor of Schools and three day school superintendents working out of the Indian office at Muskogee.

At the present time there are only two Indian day schools in Oklahoma, Bascom, in Pittsburg County and Mt. Zion, in McCurtain County. The state has no supervision of these schools. *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1948, p. 15.

amount each year until 1915.[24] However, as more property was placed on the tax rolls and other State sources were made available, the policy of general aid to county schools was rapidly discontinued.

Along with the discontinuance of general aid, the Federal government broadened and clarified its program of help to rural districts where Indian children were in attendance.[25] In this connection, the following letter is illustrative:[26]

> According to plans approved by the Secretary of the Interior, Oct. 25, 1913, funds for aid of common schools in eastern Oklahoma will be paid on the following basis:
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> 1. In all districts, outside of incorporated towns, having an enumeration of eight or more Indian children, tuition will be paid at the rate of 10¢ per day for their actual attendance. . . . . If, at the close of the term, the tuition, with other district funds, is not sufficient to have maintained an eight months term of school, the district will be paid a lump sum to make up the difference.
> 2. In all other districts, outside incorporated towns, having made a levy of five mills or more, that cannot maintain an eight months term of school, a sufficient amount will be paid, based on the salary of the teacher, or teachers, to extend the term to eight months.
> 3. If, in any of these districts, a levy of more than five mills is made, the levy will be increased by a premium of 5% for each additional mill levied. Minority schools will receive the same aid.
> 4. The balance remaining after the distribution has been made . . . . will be distributed to districts, outside incorporated towns, on a per capita basis in accordance with the state enumeration of all pupils of school age.

Within a few years all general Federal aid to county schools had disappeared. However, the practice of aiding schools with Indian children in attendance continued. Such funds were allocated by the Federal government pursuant to attendance reports filed by the superintendents until 1947. In that year the State of Oklahoma signed a contract with the Department of the Interior whereby the Government allocated $280,000 to the state to aid districts with Indian children in attendance. The State Department of Education, now, distributes the funds to about 1,200 districts on the basis of average daily attendance of Indian children. Most districts

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[24] *RCFCT*, 1908, p. 49; 1909, p. 77; 1910, p. 65; 1911, p. 85; *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior*, 1912, p. 513; *RCFCT*, 1913, p. 58; 1914, p. 57.

[25] RCFCT, 1910, p. 65. In granting general aid the number of Indian children in a school was never considered. In fact, many of the schools aided had no Indian children at all in attendance.

Since the Federal government paid salaries of fifty dollars per month, many teachers, after their schools were shifted to the Government program, would hire a substitute for thirty-five dollars per month and keep the difference. This led the Government to abandon its program of paying salaries to public school teachers.

[26] John B. Brown to the County Superintendents, Nov. 13, 1913, in *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1914, p. 141.

receiving such aid[27] are located on the Indian Territory side of the State.[28]

As already indicated the Federal officials stayed on the job and supervised Federal aid payments during the first three years of statehood. Since the Federal program continued unabated through 1908, the supervisors planned to hold their summer normals as usual. However, they soon found themselves in conflict with many of the county superintendents who also planned to hold normals, or training institutes, in order to certify teachers for the county schools. In order to alleviate the problem, Benedict suggested the supervisors and county superintendents hold joint normals and that the certificates issued be good in the national as well as the county schools.[29]

Originally, the response to Benedict's suggestion was good. Umholtz wrote:[30]

> We are going to hold a combined Chickasaw normal at Ardmore this year. I am confident the eleven county superintendents in the Chickasaw Nation will be fair and reasonable. . . . . All certificates granted by the normal will be recognized by the Federal authorities.

The other supervisors were likewise enthused. Ballard stated that he had taken up the question with the county superintendents in the Choctaw Nation and that they were all favorably disposed.[31] D. Frank Redd reported that he had invited all the county superintendents in the "Old Cherokee Nation" to join with him in conducting a normal for "all teachers in the area."[32] Falwell of the Creeks and Seminoles made a similar report.

Attempts at joint normals, however, did not prove to be successful. Many of the county superintendents refused to cooperate and held their own institutes—a situation that led to confusion and apprehension among the rank and file of the teachers. As to this situation, excerpts from the following letters are illustrative:

> The teachers are confused over the county examining boards. Will certificates issued by such boards be recognized by both the county superintendents and you [Benedict]?[33]

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[27] *The Daily Oklahoman*, Aug. 23, 1947.

[28] See *Appendix B* for statistics on counties in Eastern Oklahoma from *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1914, pp. 154-158. This represents the total amounts paid and not just Federal assistance.

[29] Benedict to the Supervisors, March 14, 1908, in *DCF*.

[30] Umholtz to Benedict, April 16, 1908, in *DCF*.

[31] Ballard to Benedict, Feb. 28, in *DCF*. He further stated that they would probably have 400 teachers in attendance and that two normals, one at Jones Academy and one at Durant, would be necessary.

[32] Redd to Hester, Feb. 24, 1908, in *DCF*.

[33] A. L. Coppedge to Benedict, June 1, 1908, in *DCF*. In compliance with agreement, Benedict appointed one member of each county examining board.

The county superintendents are causing a lot of trouble. . . . . A number of our teachers want to take their examinations. [It means missing school to do so] If they attend they will lose their salaries. . . . .[34]

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I don't see how we can [cooperate] with Nowata County. The County superintendent has sent us no information, not even a report of the teachers examinations at the close of the normals there. Accordingly we have issued no government certificates to teach in Nowata County . . . . .[35]

In spite of this lack of cooperation and in spite of the confusion caused by rival normals, the supervisors continued with their programs in 1908. Walter Falwell reported that three normals were held in the Creek Nation area during the year. The superintendents of Wagoner, Muskogee, and McIntosh Counties joined the Creek supervisor in conducting a joint normal at Eufaula, the supervisor aided the superintendents of Okfuskee and Okmulgee counties in conducting a normal at Weleetka, while a colored normal was held in Muskogee.[36]

In a like manner, both joint normals and county normals were held in the other nations in 1908. Ballard reported that the combined normals were not successful for "most county superintendents choose to hold their own institutes."[37]

J. T. Davis, the first county superintendent of Ottawa County, held a four weeks' normal at Miami, beginning June 15, 1908. He was assisted by T. T. Montgomery, superintendent of the Miami city schools and W. H. Kilgore, superintendent at Afton.[38] The teachers were "drilled in the common branches and instructed in free hand drawing and music." At the end of the course tests were given and certificates issued to those making passing grades.[39]

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[34] Ballard to Benedict, June 24, 1908, in *DCF*.

[35] Redd to Benedict, Oct. 31, 1908, in *DCF*.

[36] Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1908, in *Foreman Transcripts*, 38820A. These normals were all conducted in accordance with the laws of Oklahoma.

[37] Ballard to Benedict, Aug. 7, 1908, in *DCF*.

[38] See *Appendix C* for statistics from assortment of Letters, Notes and Reports, 1908-1914, in *DCF*. The same pattern was repeated in practically all the counties of eastern Oklahoma. It is well to note that city superintendents cooperated in holding the normals in their respective counties and that city teachers, except those holding degrees, were expected to attend.

A number of school men now active in Oklahoma helped conduct many of these county institutes. For instance, Mr. C. E. Fair was active in Latimer county while T. T. Montgomery who assisted in the Ottawa county normals is now president of Southeastern State College at Durant.

[39] Report of the Ottawa County Normal for 1908, in *DCF*. Davis called upon Benedict to appoint one member of the examining board for the institute. In this manner the certificates issued were valid in the national as well as the county schools. Davis to Benedict, June 8, 1908, in *DCF*. Certificates granted were 1st, 2d, and 3d class. A total of forty was issued. T. T. Montgomery is now president of Southeastern at Durant.

Because of the insistence of the superintendents on holding their own normals, the Federal authorities made no attempt to hold training programs in 1909. The Creek supervisor reported that: "Normals are being held in all counties [of the Creek Nation area] and our certificate requirements are the same as those for the state of Oklahoma. . . . . We accept the grades of the teachers made at the various county normals. . . . . This lessens our work but it means we have also lost contact with our teachers."[40]

In 1909, the Second Legislature founded three normal schools for eastern Oklahoma. These schools were East Central, at Ada, Southeastern, at Durant, and Northeastern, at Tahlequah.[41]

With their programs of teacher training, these schools met a vital educational need in eastern Oklahoma. They readily supplemented the work of the county normals and by 1914 had virtually replaced them.[42]

In every case the tendency was for the summer schools to be larger than the regular terms. This fact indicates the teachers in the area were eager to improve themselves and that adequate facilities to meet the need for professional training, heretofore, had not been available. In fact, W. C. Canterbury, President of Southeastern, reported in 1914:[43]

> Educationally, southeastern Oklahoma is virgin territory. Of the 1,750 teachers in the Southeastern Normal School district, less than 25 per cent have academic education equal to that offered by the four year high schools and even fewer have any special training for their work. . . . . The growing sentiment that teaching is a profession . . . . and the demands being made by many school boards . . . . are creating demands upon Southeastern that we will soon be unable to supply.

As soon as the normal schools were in operation, county superintendents, as well as city superintendents, began insisting that teachers with little academic and professional training attend the summer schools. Within a year or two certain county superintendents

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[40] Falwell to Benedict, June 30, 1909, in *DCF*. Occasionally, two or more counties would combine their facilities and conduct consolidated normals. The supervisors ordinarily aided in these enterprises. *RCFCT*, 1909, p. 82.

[41] Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.*, p. 323. A simple statement of fact doesn't tell the story of locating these institutions. Needless to say, much political maneuvering went on behind the scenes. For instance, A. S. Wiley, the Cherokee school representative, wrote to Benedict in 1908 and stated that many of the citizens desired that he go to Guthrie in behalf of locating one of the normal schools in Tahlequah. A. S. Wiley to Benedict, March 18, 1908, in *DCF*.

[42] As to early enrollment and growth of these institutions, facts found in *Appendix D* are interesting, taken from *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1914, pp. 57-63. In each of these institutions a model, or training, school was conducted. In fact, during the early days of the normal schools, most of their students were on the secondary level. College and professional training of the junior college variety was offered.

[43] *Ibid.*, p. 59. Needless to say, the same problems existed in the other two normal school districts.

began merging their institutes with the summer normal school programs. For instance in 1913, Adair, Cherokee, Craig, Delaware, Haskell, and Mayes Counties all held their normals in Tahlequah in connection with the regular summer school.[44]

That such programs had advantages over the isolated county normals is without question. At the normal schools, the regular faculty could be utilized, supplemented by the better superintendents and public school teachers in the region. However, it was exceedingly difficult to get some teachers to attend. As a consequence, it was some years before all county normals were entirely dispensed with.[45]

As previously indicated, the advent of statehood prompted a number of towns in eastern Oklahoma to seek state institutions. Along with the maneuvering to locate the normal schools, a move was launched early in 1907 to bring the State School for the Deaf to Sulphur. A number of influential citizens saw to it that a desirable site for the institution, along with a number of other inducements, were offered. T. F. Memminger of Atoka gave the move his support and in 1908 the school was temporarily located in the Murray County community.[46]

In a short time the Legislature made the location permanent, and by 1912 Sulphur and Murray County had donated the old court house site, as well as the building, to the institution.[47]

The school grew rapidly and by 1909 had 100 pupils in attendance. In his report for 1914, the State Superintendent stated the plant consisted of a school house, two dormitories and a power plant and that enrollment had reached two-hundred thirty-six.[48]

Paralleling the State School for the Deaf was the institution for the blind. This school was first suggested in 1890 when the Legislature gave the Territorial Governor of Oklahoma authority to contract for the care and education of sightless children in the area. However, the authorities never acted upon the matter and it was not until 1908 that steps were taken in this direction. In that year the

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[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 169-171. The same thing happened at Durant and Ada, with a number of the counties in the west central part of eastern Oklahoma holding their institutes at the Central Normal School at Edmond.

[45] C. E. Fair to Joe C. Jackson, Aug. 3, 1949. Facts seem to indicate that most county institutes had been abolished by 1915 and that the certification of teachers, in the main, was being transferred to the normal schools.

[46] *Oklahoma Red Book*, II (Oklahoma City, 1912), p. 196. A. A. Stewart was the first superintendent of the school. In 1910 the Legislature voted $100,000 for the construction of buildings.

The same year, Sulphur voted $30,000 in bonds for the construction of a high school.

[47] *Sulphur Times Democrat*, March 14, 1912. The State School for the Deaf was an outgrowth of a contract school opened in Guthrie in 1905 as a result of a directive issued by the Territorial Governor.

[48] *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1914, pp. 74-75. Today, the school is one of our most efficient and useful institutions.

State Legislature appropriated $5,000 for "the equipment, support and maintenance" of the Laura A. Lowrey School for the Blind, located at Fort Gibson, Muskogee County, Oklahoma.[49]

In 1908 the school was placed under the State Board of Education and in 1911 Reverend Oscar Stewart of the Methodist Church was appointed superintendent. Shortly thereafter Governor Charles N. Haskell personally donated twenty-five acres of land as a permanent site for the school near Muskogee. The institution was moved there in 1913 where it has continued to serve the state as one of its better institutions.[50]

Other State schools created by the first Legislatures were Eastern Oklahoma Preparatory School at Claremore,[51] the School of Mines and Metallurgy at Wilburton,[52] Murray State School of Agriculture at Tishomingo, Connors State Agricultural College at Warner,[53] and the Institute for the Deaf and Blind colored orphan children of the state at Taft. The state also made an appropriation of $30,000 for the "support and maintenance of the Whitaker Orphans' Home at Pryor Creek" and thus "made it into a state institution."[54]

These newly created State colleges, offering both preparatory and college work, were aided in their endeavors to lift the cultural level of eastern Oklahoma by a number of private schools and colleges in the area. Of these, Henry Kendall College, a Presbyterian institution, was moved from Muskogee to Tulsa in 1907 and became Tulsa University in 1920.[55] Another Presbyterian school is the Eastern Oklahoma College for Girls at Durant. Although its history is rich and opportunities for growth have been abundant, it is completely overshadowed by Southeastern State College and is not one of the major schools of the region.

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[49] *Superintendent's Biennial Report,* 1908, p. 57. This school was started in 1897 by Miss Laura Rowland and largely maintained by subscription. The Cherokees and other tribes, however, had provided some funds.

[50] *Superintendent's Biennial Report,* 1914, p. 72.

[51] It subsequently, by act of the Seventh Legislature, became Oklahoma Military Academy, and is today serving the state in that capacity, offering both secondary and junior college work.

[52] It is today, Eastern Oklahoma Agricultural College and is a junior college rank.

Haskell State School of Agriculture was located at Broken Bow, but was discontinued in 1917. Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.,* p. 488.

[53] These two schools are of junior college rank.

[54] *Superintendent's Biennial Report,* 1908, p. 52. The institution is today known as the State Home.

Facilities of the old Tullahassee Boarding School were utilized for the Taft institution.

The Seventh Legislature, in 1919, created the Northeastern Oklahoma School of Mines at Miami. In subsequent years it became Northeastern Oklahoma Junior College. Today, it is the Northeastern Oklahoma A&M College, a two-year institution.

[55] Dale and Wardell, *op. cit.,* p. 485. The school, a regular four-year institution with a graduate division, is no longer under the jurisdiction of the Presbyterian Church.

In 1907, the Baptist General Assembly authorized the opening of Oklahoma Baptist University at Shawnee. Owing to financial difficulties, however, the school was not opened for work until 1915. Since that time it has grown to be one of the leading schools of the state, maintaining "a liberal arts curriculum and [emphasizing] the training of young people for religious activities."[56]

These schools, coupled with Bacone Junior College for Indian youth at Muskogee, St. Gregory's College at Shawnee, Monte Cassino Junior College at Tulsa and a number of vocational schools in eastern Oklahoma parallel and supplement the state schools in completing the pattern of advanced education in the region.[57]

As pointed out in previous sections of this study, the first towns in Indian Territory were without legal status. Consequently, there was no way they could incorporate, levy taxes and establish schools. To meet this problem, local committees were formed and subscription schools were organized—units that formed the bases of city school systems in eastern Oklahoma.

The situation was partially alleviated by the passage of the Curtis Act in 1898. This legislation allowed populated centers of 200 or more to incorporate under the laws of Arkansas and towns so incorporated could establish and maintain free public schools, levying personal property taxes for such purposes. A number of towns, within limited scopes, immediately set up free public schools—building upon the subscription schools that had preceded them.

In 1902, Congress broadened the powers of the incorporated towns by providing that centers of 2,000 or more in population might issue bonds for public improvements, including school houses. Within a short time, most towns had taken advantage of the law and had substantial brick buildings under construction—buildings that many of them used until 1920 and after.

Town schools in Indian Territory were not supervised by the Federal government or any unifying agency. Each unit was an enterprise unto its own. Ordinarily, however, practices and procedures of the neighboring states were followed. Thus, the citizens of each community elected a local board who in turn chose a city superintendent. The superintendent was then charged with the responsibility of hiring the teachers and implementing the school program.

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[56] *Ibid.*, p. 486. Oklahoma Baptist University is a regular four-year institution.

[57] Institutions of higher learning in Eastern Oklahoma for 1945 are listed in *Appendix E*, from *Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board, Division of Industrial and State Planning* (Oklahoma City, 1945), pp. 3-7. Those marked with an (S) are state schools, those with a (P) are private and those with an (M) are municipally controlled. Most of the municipal junior colleges had enrollments of 100 or less. In addition to these schools, there were thirty-nine private schools, such as Draughon Business Institute at Muskogee and a number of trade schools such as the A&M branch at Okmulgee.

Thus, when statehood came, most of the towns in Indian Territory had school systems about as well organized as those in the neighboring states. It was only necessary that their programs be slightly modified in order to make their units part of the State system as supervised by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the State Board of Education.[58]

The State laws provided that each city of the first class and each incorporated town "maintaining a four year school fully accredited by the University of Oklahoma" should constitute an independent school district.[59] This provision meant that a number of the towns in Indian Territory entered the state system as independent districts with school systems fully organized and growing.[60] In most cases, it was only necessary to make a few minor adjustments in order to fit into the new program. In speaking of these schools, the State Superintendent reported: "Our independent districts compare favorably with those of older states. . . . . The buildings are excellent, being of recent construction. They are equipped with modern furniture, good blackboards, sanitary drinking fountains, modern heating systems and surrounded by ample playgrounds. . . . . The course of study has been adopted to the needs of the time."[61]

A large number of the towns in Indian Territory that incorporated under the Curtis Act were not cities of the first class at statehood and were not maintaining an accredited four year high school.[62] Consequently these towns were not permitted to maintain independent districts, but were required to enter the state system subject to the supervision of the county superintendents. As an example, T. D. D. Quaid, of Johnston County, supervised all the schools in the section, there being no independent districts in the county. Similar situations prevailed in Haskell, LeFlore, McCurtain and Pushmataha counties in spite of the fact many of the communities were larger than a number of the independent districts.[63] As an

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[58] Before statehood these schools were supported entirely by local taxation, tuition, subscription and funds from the Indian tribes paid in proportion to the number of Indian children attending from out of the incorporated limits. After statehood they were supported by local taxation, interest from the school fund and by Federal funds paid for Indian attendance.

[59] *Superintendent's Biennial Report,* 1914, p. 38.

[60] *Superintendent's Biennial Report,* pp. 179-189.

[61] *Ibid.* To some, this quotation is an exaggeration.

[62] To be a city of the first class, a town had to be plotted into blocks, have a population of 2,000 or more and be operating under a first class statutory government as provided in the state constitution and by the Legislature. Cortez Ewing, Royden Dangerfield, H. V. Thornton, et al, *An Introduction to the Government of Oklahoma* (Oklahoma City, 1939), p. 63.

[63] *Superintendent's Biennial Report,* 1914, pp. 179-189. In addition to the fifty-four independent districts, all of which maintained four year high schools, there were 170 other districts that employed four or more teachers.

T. D. D. Quaid is now a member of the faculty at Phillips University in Enid, Oklahoma.

example, Lindsay, in Garvin County, was listed as being an independent district while Tishomingo, in Johnston County, was listed as being a dependent unit. However, Tishomingo had a population of 2,000 while Lindsay had a population of only one thousand one hundred and two. The difference was in the fact Lindsay had a four year high school while Tishomingo did not.

However, as the years went by, districts such as Bristow, Drumright, Tishomingo, Stigler, Idabel, Antlers, and a number of others corrected their shortcomings and became independent districts. As an example of this growth, there were 193 independent districts in eastern Oklahoma in 1936 as compared with fifty-four in 1914.[64]

The Session Laws of 1901 provided that each county of Oklahoma Territory having a population of 6,000 or more could establish county high schools by resorting to the expedient of an election. With the coming of statehood the same opportunity prevailed for Indian Territory. In commenting upon this law, the State Superintendent reported: "We . . . . hope that . . . . every county in the state will take advantage of this law. . . . . We feel sure that as soon as the people learn of the value of these institutions, that there will be a county high school in every county."[65]

Although the idea was never popular, a few of the Indian Territory counties did consider establishing such institutions. For instance, in the Spring of 1908, a number of citizens of Creek County started talking in behalf of a central high school that "would enable rural boys and girls as well as those living in town to have educational advantages."[66] After a prolonged period of "log-rolling" in which Bristow, Mounds, and Sapulpa were active, the people voted to build such a school at Mounds. However, as city high schools were built and expanded in the county, the need for such a school diminished and the idea lost favor. As a result it was abandoned within a year or two after its opening.[67]

One of the pressing questions after statehood pertained to the policy the Federal government should adopt relative to the Indian boarding schools. The day schools, as we have seen, were continued until county schools were sufficient in number to meet the needs of the Indian children—a process of assimilation that proved to be relatively easy for, since 1904, most day schools had been serving

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[64] *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1938, p. 268. The number of dependent districts in the area was 1,907, making a total of 2,100 districts in the region. A number that has since been reduced by recent acts of the State Legislature.

[65] *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1908, p. 68. In 1908, only two counties had established such schools, Logan County and Alfalfa County, both on the Oklahoma Territory side of the State.

[66] Mrs. E. H. Black, et al, *A History of the Bristow Schools*, Manuscript in the Bristow High School Library, Bristow, Oklahoma.

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 14. Other county high schools in eastern Oklahoma met a similar fate.

both Indians and whites. However, such was not the case with the boarding schools, for they had served only the children of Indians and freedmen.[68]

At first it was suggested that all the boarding schools be closed as soon as public school facilities were available, retaining a few for Indians in isolated areas. Needless to say, this plan was bitterly protested by the Indians. They urgently demanded that most of the schools be kept open. As a result, the authorities agreed to retain the better equipped schools and gradually, throughout the years, to close the others.[69]

In carrying out this policy, it was decided that consideration should be given the areas which could be best served by the schools. It was pointed out that the greatest needs would be met in the full blood areas for such children were reluctant to patronize the public schools. Since their day school program was rapidly being absorbed by the county schools, many felt the Indians would not avail themselves of educational opportunities if their boarding schools were discontinued. Consequently, in 1908 contracts were let for the Indian boarding schools.[70]

All boarding schools of the Five Civilized Tribes had been under the contract system since 1906. At that time it was thought most such schools would be discontinued within a year or two and that "there was no point in placing them on the same basis as other schools in the Indian service."[71] The contracts, signed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the superintendents of the various schools differed only as to detail and provided that for a stipulated sum each quarter the superintendent would: "Supply the pupils of said . . . . school with wholesome and sufficient food, lodging,

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[68] The Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws maintained separate institutions for freedmen; the Seminoles permitted joint attendance while the Chickasaws made no provisions for them.

[69] *RCFCT*, 1910, p. 70. Oscar H. Lipps, who had replaced Benedict, issued the directive.

[70] *Copies of Contracts Between the Secretary of the Interior and the Superintendents of the Boarding Schools*, 1908, in *DCF*. Enrollment in these schools ranged from fifty-four in the colored boarding school of the Creeks to 194 in the Female Academy of the Cherokees. The following are the schools listed in 1908: (1) *Cherokee*: Male Seminary, Female Seminary, Orphan Home, Colored Boarding School. (2) *Creek*: Eufaula High School (Girls), Wetumka Boarding School, Euchee Boarding School, Wealaka Boarding School, Creek Orphan Home, Pecan Creek Boarding School (Negro), Tullahassee Boarding School, Nuyaka Boarding School (Boys), Colored Orphan Home. (3) *Seminole*: Emahaka Boarding School (Girls), Mekusukey Boarding School (Boys). (4) *Choctaw*: Jones Academy (Boys), Armstrong Academy (Orphan Boys), Tuskahoma Academy (Girls), Wheelock Academy (Orphan Girls). (5) Chickasaw: Bloomfield Seminary (Girls), Rock Academy (Boys), Harley Institute (Boys), Chickasaw Orphan Home, Collins Institute (Girls).

[71] *RCFCT*, 1910, p. 68. Other schools were directed by regular employees of the Indian service. The schools were placed under civil service in 1926.

instruction, medical attendance, fuel, lights, stationery, other articles necessary to personal comfort except clothing.''[72]

In addition to the boarding schools, the Chickasaws and Choctaws had a long standing policy of making contracts with private schools for the training of a specified number of children each year—a program continued after statehood. Contracts were made with twelve such schools in 1908, including the Murrow Indian Orphanage, Old Goodland, Chishoktak, Selvidge Business College, El Meta Bond College, St. Agnes Mission and a number of others. These contracts were much the same as those made with the boarding schools, except the number of pupils to be cared for was much smaller.[73]

After State institutions were founded in Eastern Oklahoma, they took it upon themselves to solicit Indian students and in a few cases contracted with the Federal government to instruct and care for a certain number of young people each year. In pursuance of this policy, the President of Murray State School of Agriculture wrote to Benedict in 1908:''I inclose form of contract to be submitted to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. . . . . In your last letter you suggested that we contemplate boarding the students. . . . . Our buildings are very appropriate for a boarding school. . . . . [we think] that this arrangement would be mutually beneficial to Harley Academy and our school. . . . .''[74]

A number of the Chickasaw and Choctaw leaders, however, did not take kindly to the idea that these schools share in the education of their youth. Frederick Umholtz, the Chickasaw supervisor, in his protest to Benedict, stated: ''I understand you have authorized the 'so called' Murray School of Agriculture to receive fifty Indian pupils now attending other schools. . . . . hope the number is not so great. . . . . I think Governor Guy at Sulphur can teach them as much agriculture as they can learn at Murray.''[75]

Nevertheless, in spite of protests and in spite of the fact the superintendent at Harley contended that Murray and other schools

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[72] *Copy of Contract Made With the Nuyaka Boarding School*, July 1, 1908, in *DCF*. Contracts for the orphans' homes required that clothing also be furnished. The Nuyaka contract stipulated that John M. Robe was to provide for eighty pupils for $26.50 each per quarter while the Armstrong contract provided that Gabe Parker was to provide for 110 pupils for forty dollars each per quarter.

[73] *RCFCT*, 1908, pp. 53-54. The number of pupils to be cared for at El Meta Bond College was fifteen, at Old Goodland, seventy, and at St. Agnes Mission, thirty-five.

A number of superintendents reported they realized the following amounts on their contracts in 1908: Jones, $1,565, Tuskahoma, $1,565, Armstrong, $1,434, Old Goodland, $469 and St Agnes, $234. Ballard to Benedict, Oct. 12, 1908, in *DCF*.

The tribes also continued sending a number of students to colleges outside the state each year.

[74] Jas. A. Wilson to John D. Benedict, Nov. 12, 1908, in *DCF*. Two Indian pupils were attending Tonkawa Preparatory School, under contract, in 1908.

[75] Umholtz to Benedict, Oct. 3, 1908, in *DCF*.

were out to enroll students wherever they could find them "regardless of the interest of the academies,"[76] the practice continued. In 1911 Murray had twenty-six Choctaws and forty-eight Chickasaws enrolled under contract that called for a payment of $5,193 for the year.[77]

In compliance with its announced program of eliminating the boarding schools in areas where educational needs could otherwise be met, the Federal government sold the Cherokee Female Seminary to the state of Oklahoma in 1909 where it subsequently became Northeastern State Normal School.[78] The Male Seminary was converted into a coeducational institution, but was destroyed by fire in 1910.[79]

Emahaka Academy was united with Mekusukey in 1911. Rock Academy, Harley Institute, the Chickasaw Orphans' Home, Wetumka Boarding School, Wealaka Boarding School, Coweta Boarding School, Pecan Creek Boarding School, the Creek Orphan Home and the Tullahassee Boarding School were all abolished by the fall of 1914, leaving Armstrong, Jones, Tuskahoma, Wheelock, Collins, Mekusukey, Euchee, Eufaula, Nuyaka, Bloomfield, and the Seneca Indian School in operation.[80] In discussing one of them, the Bokchito News reported:[81]

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[76] Umholtz to Benedict, Jan. 5, 1909, in *DCF*.

[77] *RCFCT*, 1911, p. 88.

[78] *RCFCT*, 1909, p. 70. With an impressive ceremony, the final graduation exercises of the institution were held May 27, 1909. Many graduates of former years were present, including two elderly Cherokee women who had graduated fifty-one years before.

[79] RCFCT, 1910, p. 65. The Colored High School was also closed in 1910.

In contrast with the other tribes, the Cherokees did not retain their invested funds after statehood. Thus, the Federal authorities felt there was no feasible way for them to retain their schools. Consequently, the Orphans' Home, the last of their institutions, was purchased by the Government in 1914 for $5,000 and converted into an orphanage for the benefit of citizens of all five tribes of the restricted class. It is now known as the Sequoyah Orphan Training Schools. *RCFCT*, 1914, p. 57.

[80] *RCFCT*, 1914, p. 57. In subsequent years others burned or were abolished until today there remain in old Indian Territory only Jones Academy with an enrollment of 190, Carter Seminary (old Bloomfield) with an enrollment of 161, Eufaula Boarding School with an enrollment of 133, Wheelock Academy with an enrollment of 116, Sequoyah Orphan Training School with an enrollment of 302, and the Seneca Indian School with an enrollment of 201. Carter Seminary, Wheelock, and the Seneca Institution are classified as reservation schools while the others are classified as non-reservation. Carter, Eufaula, and Wheelock, in addition to stressing the practical arts, teach grades from one to eight. Jones teaches grades from one to ten, Seneca from one to nine and Sequoyah from one to twelve. *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1948, p. 16.

Tullahassee was taken over by the government of Oklahoma as the institution for the deaf and blind colored orphans of the state.

[81] Bokchito News, Sept. 11, 1913, in *DCF*. As to the program offered, like statements concerning the other institutions could have been reliably made. However, reports indicate that all of the schools needed bedding, towels, chairs, cooking utensils, stoves, books, and industrial equipment. Lipps to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Jan. 19, 1910, in *DCF*.

Armstrong Academy opened Monday full of capable students and an efficient staff. . . . . Eight grades of academic work and a continuous industrial program is being offered. The pupils spend half of their time in industrial work and half in academic preparation. In addition to the common branches, the boys are taught carpentering, farming, gardening, dairying, laundering, and bookkeeping. . . . . Physical development is stressed along with character. . . . . Armstrong is turning out manley men, not drones.

The Government, in 1914, maintained a total of 569 Chickasaws and Choctaws in eight private schools including Murray State School of Agriculture at a cost of $47,557 for the year.[82] Carlisle, Chilocca, and Haskell Institutes, as nonreservation schools, had an enrollment of 516 pupils from the Five Civilized Tribes while the Seneca Indian School claimed forty-six more.[83]

Thus, from an overall point of view, the educational picture in Eastern Oklahoma in 1915 was composed of a variety of elements, including the following:[84]

Eleven government boarding schools with an enrollment of 1,228.

Eight private contract schools with an enrollment of 569.

Four nonreservation schools, three of them outside the state, with an enrollment of 562.

Two thousand four hundred twenty-eight public school districts, including both county and city schools, with an enrollment of 333,311.

Six state institutions of higher learning, plus the State School for the Blind, the School for the Deaf, and the Preparatory School at Claremore.

A number of private schools, including Henry Kendall College, Bacone, Oklahoma Presbyterian College, and Oklahoma Baptist University.

The Indian schools of the region were continuations of the work commenced by the early missionaries—a work that was taken over, supported and developed by the Indian Nations and the Federal government. As previously indicated, the public school system was a direct outgrowth of the Indian day schools, the independent schools

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[82] Indian boarding schools in operation at statehood are listed in *Appendix G*, data from *RCFCT*, 1908, pp. 49-52; 1909, p. 70; 1910, p. 65; 1914, p. 57. *Annual Report of the Department of the Interior* (Washington, 1917), p. 15. *Report of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes* (Washington, 1920), p. 45. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1923), p. 40; 1932, p. 7. *The Daily Oklahoman*, Sept. 4, 1947.

Occasionally a school would be closed for a time and then be reopened. However, in most cases, once the doors were closed it was permanent.

[83] *RCFCT*, 1915, p. 97. Of the small contract schools, Old Goodland, near Hugo, is the only one in operation today, St. Elizabeth's Mission at Purcell having closed in 1948. Old Goodland is maintained by the Presbyterian Church as an Indian Orphanage and is operated by contract with the Federal government in conjunction with the public schools.

[84] *Report of the Superintendent for the Five Civilized Tribes* (Washington, 1915), p. 97. *Superintendent's Biennial Report*, 1914, pp. 5-11. Congressional aid in the amount of $275,000 was given 2,219 districts in eastern Oklahoma during this year, including thirteen incorporated towns, as they were assisted in maintaining an eight months term of school. Schools such as Dwight Mission, Indianola, Elm Mission, and the Lutheran Mission were also in operation in 1915 and continued to render service in the area for a number of years.

in the incorporated towns, the subscription schools and the combined day school program of the Federal government.

By having this base on which to build, the school system in the forty eastern counties of Oklahoma developed rapidly and kept pace with the Oklahoma Territory side of the state. Opportunities for thousands who had not known educational advantages before were readily available.

In fact, by 1914, rural and town schools had replaced the Indian day schools, high schools were rapidly growing up in all towns and cities and a number of institutions of higher learning had been conveniently located. Facts show that whites and Indians attended the units in large numbers and that the separate schools for Negroes had large enrollments. The normal schools and teacher training institutes were hard pressed to supply the demands of those desiring academic and professional training. All of which indicates the rapid progress of the area and the soundness of the base on which the educational structure was built.

As the years have gone by, the educational program of eastern Oklahoma has continued to expand. Today, the area, as an integral part of the State educational system, represents a growth and contribution of which the citizens of the region can indeed be proud. Especially is this true when we consider that the schools of the region will compare favorably with schools in other states where opportunities for growth have extended over a greater number of years.

APPENDIX A

COUNTIES, RURAL DISTRICTS, TOTAL POPULATION AND SCHOO
POPULATION IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA, 1908

County	Number of Districts	Whole Population	School Population Male	Female
Adair	38	9,115	1,658	1,659
Atoka	43	12,113	2,217	2,153
Bryan	70	27,865	5,257	5,136
Carter	58	26,402	4,793	4,753
Cherokee	55	14,274	2,715	2,636
Choctaw	38	17,340	3,115	3,127
Coal	45	15,585	2,703	2,768
Craig	67	14,955	2,690	2,632
Creek	62	18,365	3,057	2,911
Delaware	61	9,876	1,937	1,753
Garvin	61	22,787	4,202	2,235
Grady	84	23,420	3,856	3,943
Haskell	81	16,865	3,148	2,985
Hughes	56	19,945	3,730	3,616
Jefferson	47	13,439	2,530	2,349
Johnston	57	18,672	3,499	3,493
Latimer	27	9,340	1,568	1,519
LeFlore	90	24,678	4,467	4,456
Love	31	11,134	2,156	2,077
Marshall	46	13,144	2,527	2,466
Mayes	52	11,064	1,938	1,996
Murray	28	11,948	2,086	2,158
Muskogee	83	37,467	6,048	6,313
McClain	40	12,888	2,317	2,272
McCurtain	83	13,198	2,492	2,356
McIntosh	60	17,975	3,338	3,328
Nowata	49	10,453	1,738	1,682
Okfuskee	39	15,595	2,858	2,727
Okmulgee	41	14,362	2,490	2,430
Ottawa	45	12,827	2,303	2,178
Pittsburg	87	37,677	6,270	6,120
Pontotoc	61	23,057	4,312	4,222
Pushmataha	36	8,295	1,455	1,448
Rogers	38	15,485	2,727	2,645
Seminole	43	14,687	2,788	2,626
Sequoyah	54	22,499	4,188	1,104
Stephens	68	20,148	3,769	2,724
Tulsa	29	21,693	3,472	3,272
Wagoner	70	19,529	3,640	3,517
Washington	19	12,813	1,889	1,900
Total (40 Counties)	2,142	692,974	123,943	120,685

APPENDIX B

COUNTIES, RURAL DISTRICTS, NUMBER OF PUPILS, AND TOTALS PAID FOR TEACHERS' SALARIES IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA, 1914

County	Number of Districts	Number of Pupils	Total Paid for Teachers' Salaries
Adair	40	3,907	$ 25,996
Atoka	65	6,834	36,752
Bryan	73	10,396	77,198
Carter	64	9,405	71,899
Cherokee	80	5,243	32,662
Choctaw	45	8,269	57,072
Coal	47	5,321	48,508
Craig	74	5,651	39,823
Creek	76	9,691	79,831
Delaware	72	3,736	23,721
Garvin	71	8,821	70,040
Grady	97	9,473	112,600
Haskell	56	5,985	40,476
Hughes	75	8,805	65,882
Jefferson	60	5,017	43,971
Johnston	58	6,068	59,510
Latimer	36	3,583	32,840
LeFlore	107	9,557	87,065
Love	34	4,147	31,537
Marshall	43	4,636	35,942
Mayes	64	4,977	35,310
Murray	30	4,221	33,249
Muskogee	85	14,815	167,060
McClain	48	5,163	33,190
McCurtain	88	7,798	37,619
McIntosh	61	6,395	55,409
Nowata	49	4,439	43,328
Okfuskee	49	5,879	49,096
Okmulgee	52	8,227	76,725
Ottawa	48	4,595	42,883
Pittsburg	106	14,839	123,676
Pontotoc	64	8,774	65,003
Pushmataha	60	3,701	24,783
Rogers	41	5,918	94,672
Seminole	54	6,255	48,087
Sequoyah	69	7,314	53,425
Stephens	75	7,525	69,616
Tulsa	40	11,010	141,160
Wagoner	66	6,884	51,893
Washington	26	5,625	43,306

APPENDIX C

TEACHERS' INSTITUTES IN OTTAWA COUNTY, 1908-1914

Year and Place	Enrollment	Director	Assistants
1908 Miami	41	J. T. Davis	T. T. Montgomery W. H. Kilgore
1909 Wyandotte	51	T. T. Montgomery	W. H. Kilgore M. R. Wright
1910 Afton	50	M. R. Floyd	W. M. Stewart C. W. Prier W. G. Masterson
1911 Fairland	47	M. R. Floyd	W. G. Masterson C. W. Prier Hazel Mason
1912 Miami	52	M. R. Floyd	W. H. Kilgore C. W. Prier Frances Carey
1913 Miami	75	M. R. Floyd	W. H. Kilgore Frances D. Carey
1914 Miami	73	M. R. Floyd	Ada Kennedy J. O. Crooks Mrs. J. W. Dyche

APPENDIX D

EAST CENTRAL, 1911-1914

Regular terms	1911	210
Summer term	1911	302
Total for year	1911	512
Regular terms	1912	344
Summer term	1912	406
Total for year	1912	750
Regular terms	1913	319
Summer term	1913	656
Total for year	1913	795
Regular terms	1914	362
Summer term	1914	706
Total for year	1914	1,068

SOUTHEASTERN, 1911-1913

Regular terms	1911	223
Summer term	1911	297
Total for year	1911	520
Regular terms	1912	318
Summer term	1912	223
Total for year	1912	541
Regular terms	1913	230
Summer term	1913	394
Total for year	1913	624

NORTHEASTERN, 1911-1913

Regular terms	1911	259
Summer term	1911	201
Total for year	1911	460
Regular terms	1912	245
Summer term	1912	713
Total for year	1912	958
Regular terms	1913	300
Summer term	1913	843
Total for year	1913	1,143

APPENDIX E

INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA, 1945

School	Location	Classification	Enrollment
East Central State College (S)	Ada	4 Years	1,300
Northeastern State College (S)	Tahlequah	4 Years	1,300
Southeastern State College (S)	Durant	4 Years	1,200
Connors State Agricultural College (S)	Warner	2 Years	400
Eastern Oklahoma A&M College (S)	Wilburton	2 Years	500
Murray State School of Agriculture (S)	Tishomingo	2 Years	500
Northeastern Oklahoma A&M College (S)	Miami	2 Years	350
Oklahoma Military Academy (Men) (S)	Claremore	2 Years	200
Oklahoma Presbyterian College (Girls) (P)	Durant	2 Years	.....
Oklahoma Baptist University (P)	Shawnee	4 Years	700
University of Tulsa (P)	Tulsa	4 Years (Graduate)	1,400
Bacone Junior College (P)	Bacone	2 Years	.....
Monte Cassino Junior College (Girls) (P)	Tulsa	2 Years	.....
Bristow Junior College (M)	Bristow	1 Year	.....
Muskogee Junior College (M)	Muskogee	2 Years	.....
Okmulgee Junior College (M)	Okmulgee	1 Year	.....
Poteau Junior College (M)	Poteau	2 Years	.....
Seminole Junior College (M)	Seminole	2 Years	.....

APPENDIX F

INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN EASTERN OKLAHOMA, 1914

County	Name of District	Population	Number of Teachers
Adair	Stilwell	1,800	11
Atoka	Atoka	1,850	13
Bryan	Durant	8,000	29
Carter	Ardmore	10,000	45
Cherokee	Tahlequah	2,891	15
Choctaw	Hugo	6,500	33
Coal	Coalgate	7,000	26
Coal	Lehigh	2,500	14
Craig	Vinita	5,000	27
Creek	Sapulpa	11,695	47
Delaware	.....	.....	.....
Garvin	Lindsay	1,102	13
Garvin	Pauls Valley	4,000	20
Garvin	Wynnewood	2,032	13
Grady	Chickasha	12,000	50
Haskell	.....	.....	.....
Hughes	Holdenville	3,000	17
Jefferson	Ryan	1,500	10
Jefferson	Waurika	3,000	13
Johnston	.....	.....	.....
Latimer	Wilburton	3,000	13
LeFlore	Poteau	3,000	18
Love	Marietta	2,250	15
Marshall	Madill	2,500	14
Mayes	Pryor	2,700	14
Murray	Sulphur	3,600	22
Muskogee	Muskogee	34,200	157
McClain	Purcell	3,000	18
McCurtain	.....	.....	.....
McIntosh	Checotah	2,500	17
McIntosh	Eufaula	2,250	15
Nowata	Nowata	5,000	27
Okfuskee	Okemah	1,600	19
Okfuskee	Weleetka	1,500	11
Okmulgee	Beggs	1,200	11
Okmulgee	Henryetta	4,000	30
Okmulgee	Okmulgee	10,000	53
Ottawa	Miami	3,500	22
Pittsburg	Haileyville	2,000	12
Pittsburg	Hartshorne	3,000	13
Pittsburg	Krebs	3,000	11
Pittsburg	McAlester	15,000	55
Pontotoc	Ada	6,500	34
Pushmataha	.....	.....	.....
Rogers	Chelsea	1,500	15
Rogers	Claremore	4,000	30
Rogers	Collinsville	4,000	30
Seminole	Seminole	1,200	7
Sequoyah	Muldrow	850	7
Sequoyah	Sallisaw	3,800	15
Stephens	Comanche	2,000	10

County	Name of District	Population	Number of Teachers
Stephens	Duncan	3,500	18
Stephens	Marlow	3,000	18
Tulsa	Broken Arrow	2,000	12
Tulsa	Tulsa	41,000	172
Wagoner	Wagoner	4,000	22
Washington	Bartlesville	14,000	55
Washington	Dewey	3,000	22

APPENDIX G

BOARDING SCHOOLS IN OPERATION AT STATEHOOD AND THEIR DATES OF ABANDONMENT

Tribe	School	Date of Abandonment
Cherokee	Male Seminary	1910
Cherokee	Female Seminary	1909
Cherokee	Orphan Asylum	.....
Cherokee	Colored Boarding School	1910
Choctaw	Jones Academy	.....
Choctaw	Armstrong Academy	1920
Choctaw	Tuskahoma Academy	1928
Choctaw	Wheelock Academy	.....
Chickasaw	Bloomfield Seminary (Carter Seminary)	.....
Chickasaw	Rock Academy	1910
Chickasaw	Harley Institute	1910
Chickasaw	Orphan Home	1910
Chickasaw	Collins Institute	1917
Seminole	Emahaka Academy	1911
Seminole	Mekusukey Academy	1932
Creek	Eufaula High School	.....
Creek	Wetumka Boarding School	1910
Creek	Euchee Boarding School	1947
Creek	Wealaka Boarding School	1909
Creek	Coweta Boarding School	1907
Creek	Pecan Creek Boarding School	1910
Creek	Tullahassee Boarding School	1914
Creek	Colored Orphan Home	1908
Creek	Nuyaka Boarding School	1923
Creek	Creek Orphan Home	1910
Minor Tribes	Seneca Boarding School	.....

STATE PROTECTION OF HISTORICAL CENTERS

By Berlin B. Chapman

At the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society at Tahlequah on May 7 there was a round-table discussion on the preservation of historical centers, one of the most urgent problems confronting persons interested in Oklahoma history. The following excerpts from the discussion give light on the problem.[1] An introduction was given by Dr. J. Stanley Clark, Director of Research of the Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board, who said:

Our agency is charged with the responsibility of maintaining certain state memorials and therefore works closely with the Oklahoma Historical Society. Outstanding is this society with its wonderful museums; also the Will Rogers Memorial at Claremore, and the reconstructed Fort Gibson Stockade. The Oklahoma Planning and Resources Board inherited the stockade from the Fort Gibson Commission and is charged with the maintenance and keeping of the property in repair. Our agency, too, maintains the Sequoyah Memorial but the land is still owned by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

There has just been completed the Panhandle Historical Museum at Goodwell, which was erected by matching funds obtained by state appropriation and private subscriptions. Through joint state-federal action the Robert M. Jones Cemetery in Choctaw County has been preserved for the society. A project in joint state-federal cooperation is the Museum of the Southern Plains Indians at Anadarko. There are certain federal institutions worthy of mention, such as the old museum at Fort Sill, the Church at Wheelock, and other Indian schools.

Not many, but some private or municipal centers have been developed and are maintained: the Philbrook Museum at Tulsa, the Gilcrease Foundation near by, Woolaroc at Bartlesville, St. Gregory near Shawnee, the Creek Museum in Okmulgee, the Osage Museum in Pawhuska, and museums or collections at institutions such as Bacone, the University of Oklahoma and Chilocco Indian School.

There are others such as Tobaksi Court House near north McAlester, presented by the Ohoyohoma Club; the Choctaw Capitol at Tuskahoma; the Chickasaw Capitol at Tishomingo; the Jefferson Davis Memorial of the United Daughters of the Confederacy at Fort Gibson; the Mason Hotel gun collection in Claremore; and places such as the Allen Wright home at Old Boggy Depot, the Quanah Parker home at Cache, and the governor John Brown home near Sasakwa that deserve preservation.

After Dr. Clark thus outlined procedure and attainment, Colonel George H. Shirk called attention to the perishable nature of

[1] This article is the report of a round-table discussion led by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman, Department of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College (Stillwater), during the morning session on May 7th, at the Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society held at Tahlequah this year. The following topics were considered during the discussion: (1) Protection of historical centers in the state, (2) Junior historical societies, (3) How can Oklahomans be made history conscious (See *Program*, 58th Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, May 7th and 8th, 1951, Tahlequah, Oklahoma).—Ed.

present opportunities to preserve unmarked historic sites, at nominal cost. Colonel Shirk said:

A program for the acquisition of historic spots is of vital importance. I urge this group to give it serious consideration. In the last several years I have visited a number of places where there was formerly located a mission, early school, or some other historic point. Invariably, I would talk with the landowner and feel out the possibility of the purchase of a small tract covering the exact site. Very often the owners would show interest and would indicate that the small piece needed could be purchased at a nominal figure.

I do not have in mind the purchase and development of large historic enterprises or projects that require upkeep, maintenance, custodian services and the like, such as the Will Rogers Memorial. These are wonderfully fine and are now one of the primary assets of our state, but as far as the group here is concerned, I feel that other agencies are available to give them primary consideration.

There are perhaps 75 or 100 locations throughout the state where once there was located something now of vital historic concern. The location of Union Mission in Mayes County is an example. Nothing whatever of the original buildings remain,—just a cemetery. Those interested in Oklahoma history would be remiss if the title to sites such as this were not secured and the exact location dedicated to and reserved for posterity.

Very often the exact site of an early day mission, school, or the like can be found today only by a well or cemetery. No other visible evidence remains. Often the cemetery is overgrown and is adjacent to or a part of a field or other agricultural tract. Naturally, there is a strong temptation to the owner to plow the spot and incorporate it into his other acreage. Once this is done the exact spot is lost forever. If title to that small area, perhaps not more than an acre, could be acquired and placed in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society, that tendency would of course be lessened. Moreover, the exact location is then and there pinpointed with its exact legal description. The question of maintenance is not involved.

There is not too much time left. Those of you who have visited any of these old pitifully overgrown cemeteries or crumbling masonry footings know that in another generation or two they will be gone and the last vestage of anything definite will have then disappeared. I urge that each in his own locality check on possible sites or acquisitions of this nature; and that an overall coordinated program be instituted to place these titles in the name of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

After the urgency of the situation and a practical course of action were set forth by Shirk, General W. S. Key called attention to the wide-spread responsibility of the work of preserving historic sites. He called on all members of the society to rededicate themselves in an effort to develop opportunities in their respective communities. He called attention to the great number of military sites, and also urged a more extensive marking of non-military locations.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour pointed out that although the Oklahoma Historical Society has purchased land, it now has no state funds for that purpose. She said the society needs the help of organizations and individuals.

Doctor Clark carried the idea further by showing the unfortunate tendency to rely mainly on state acquisition and protection of historical centers. He noted that the prime motivation must come from local groups. Clark said:

It is a false premise to place full responsibility on a State agency and all the expenses associated with the care, maintenance, and interest in such properties. As an illustration, we may note that in 1947 citizens in the Tahlequah vicinity came to Governor Turner and persuaded him to approve the legislative appropriation of $15,000 for the purchase, care, and maintenance of the George M. Murrell home at Park Hill, known as the "Hunters' Home."[2] This should be used as an "Historical Shrine and Indian Art Center." All kinds of fancy promises were made the Governor in regard to what the local citizens would do in cooperation with the state. The appropriation was made and "lo and behold" we found that the cost of the property amounted almost to the total sum of the appropriation. Our agency is meeting today with the local citizens to find out at this late date if it will be possible to revive some of the enthusiasm expressed by them so notably a few years ago when they had the State to take over.

As another illustration, I refer to a project of some years ago in which I had the fortunate association of General Key and Dr. Grant Foreman. Dr. Foreman and I visited many cemeteries in Indian Territory. I recall two trips made to the place where Alligator, Seminole leader, is buried between Okay and Gibson Station. Last summer I wanted to get a picture of the tombstone, but was unable to find the spot because of the snarl of weeds and sprouts.

I was present in the mid-thirties when Dr. Foreman dedicated the beautiful marker near the falls of the Verdigris at Okay. I hoped to get a picture of it last summer but the Johnson grass was higher than the monument. I mention these examples in earnest solicitation, for local pride and interest must be fostered and maintained in the preservation of historical centers.

In order to gain state support for the preservation of historical spots, it is necessary to appear before the legislative council and convince a legislative committee of their importance. Then if the local senator and representatives are interested, they can add their weight to the desires of the local groups and help steer a bill through the legislature providing for state maintenance.

Miss Muriel H. Wright observed that in a state-wide program to arouse public interest in the preservation of historic sites, there is much to be considered. She said:

We might lose ourselves in the mere discussion of all these angles and overreach our aims in this meeting because our Oklahoma program covers a wide region—450 miles from northwest to southeast with many places that should be preserved. While we should think about all the ways to arouse interest, and we should keep the state-wide program in mind, I think that we should here decide definitely on the preservation of a few points to get the program started.

We are all proud of what has been done by legislative appropriations, state and federal, in preservation of noted places in northeastern Oklahoma —Ft. Gibson, Sequoyah's cabin, the Murrell home—yet four places come to mind about which something should be done at once. I think of Ft. Towson, Ft. Washita, Ft. Arbuckle, in southeastern and southern Oklahoma; and old Ft. Nichols near the Oklahoma-New Mexico line in the Panhandle.

[2] *Okla. Session Laws*, 1947, pp. 673-674.

A limited acreage should be purchased at each of these places to preserve the remaining ruins there.

Among many old cemeteries or burial plots on privately owned property, that should be preserved, some should have attention immediately. Among these are the old Worcester cemetery at Park Hill, the old Spencer Academy burial plot, and the old Ft. Coffee graves. Some of these places doubtless would be donated to the State for historical purposes, or can be purchased at small cost. There need be no immediate expense for rebuilding or erecting monuments at these places. Such can be a part of our program in the future if necessary, but the sites mentioned should be acquired without delay or they will be lost to the state—the remaining stones carried away, perhaps the land plowed or the sites otherwise destroyed.

The matter of maintenance of these places should be a part of local, patriotic projects through aroused interest of local patriotic societies, of Boy Scouts, of service clubs and of civic clubs. Some of these organizations would undoubtedly take pride in supporting a move in their local communities to set aside and preserve the historic sites either by securing the donation of the sites by the owners, or by raising funds for their purchase. Such local activities mean the life of the program that we are discussing. But the first thing is to make a definite move and concentrate on a few very important sites to be preserved.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, of Pryor, stressed the matter of local interest in marking and maintaining historic sites, and reviewed the fine work that has been accomplished in Mayes County, in his remarks:

All of the things that have been said are good except I feel that we are not stressing local responsibility enough and I am sure if we undertake the question too much as a State project, it will have a tendency to lessen our local interest along all phases of the question we are discussing, to-wit: 1. State protection of historical centers; 2. Junior Historical Societies in the State; 3. How can Oklahomans be made historically conscious.

I feel that in a small way we have at least endeavored to take care of the condition in Mayes County locally. It is true that there are some centers and some projects that are state-wide in scope and need cooperation and assistance through our various state departments but even then the interest must be initiated locally and we can not state too strongly the question of local activity.

It is physically impossible for the state to undertake so many historical interests throughout the various counties of the state and, of course, funds are not available for such a vast program.

The State has very wisely placed markers in various parts of the state and I hope will continue to place more of them as they are rendering a real service and there will be an increased need and demand for more markers. There are other events and places that need and, I am sure, will receive state assistance through our organization, the State Planning Board and the Legislature. But the program proper, as I see it, must be local in scope.

In our county, Mayes County, we have endeavored for many years to create interest in our historical background and to some extent we have been successful. It was purely a local interest that placed a marker at the grave of Nathaniel Pryor, southeast of Pryor; it was local interest and local funds that purchased part of the site of the old Union Mission, southeast of Pryor, and by so doing the Historical Society actually owns

the burial site of the Reverend Epaphrus Chapman's grave and the location where was situated the first printing press and school that were connected with the Union Mission site. We do not own the land on which the Mission proper was located with the various cabins that once surrounded the ground.

We cooperate with the public school and at every opportunity we offer assistance to the boys and girls interested in historical essays and other historical matter. We constantly are on guard to suggest interest in American and local history as a patriotic undertaking. We do likewise through the Public Library of the City, both for boys and girls and adults.

We had the pleasure of aiding the Senior Class last year wherein they published their High School Annual around the historical places and historical characters of this county and this part of the state. And, to some extent, this idea will be carried into the annual of this year. We, at all times, endeavor to have some information in our office and in our public library to supply the historical needs of the public. Just the past week it was our pleasure to assist perhaps fifteen or twenty essay writers of our school system and we find in doing so, we very often became better acquainted with the history of our locality ourselves.

Again, I was Mayor of Pryor a number of years during the W.P.A. days in which towns and localities were carrying on projects in cooperation with the Federal Government. I found then that we would always fare much better if we showed more interest in such projects and had some funds of our own to put into them, and Pryor still has projects that will be with us for years to come. They are substantial and useful and speak for our local interests.

Whatever we may do, I would say create as much local interest as possible, encourage as much local expenditures as possible, calling on the State for cooperation in projects that are more of a state-wide nature both for State influence and State funds are needed in keeping with the importance of a State nature.

I fully believe that each county and each locality will be able to receive cooperation through the various State offices to the extent that we are interested and manifest a real enthusiasm for the project at hand.

The Twin Mounds Battlefield, the chief project of the Payne County Historical Society, was reviewed as follows by Dr. Berlin B. Chapman:

Two acres of the first Civil War battlefield in present Oklahoma were donated to the Payne County Historical Society on December 30, 1950, for the erection of an historical monument. The site is sixteen miles east of Stillwater on State Highway # 51. There on November 19, 1861, a force of 1400 Confederates under Colonel Douglas H. Cooper attacked about 2,000 loyal Creeks, who under Opoth-le-yoho-la's leadership were en route to Kansas.

The historical evidence concerning this site is given by Doctor Angie Debo in *The Chronicles*, summer, 1949; and a summary of the evidence is in *The Chronicles*, winter, 1950-51. Local interest is evidenced by the cooperation of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Professor Dwight E. Stevens of the architecture department of Oklahoma A. & M. College prepared a sketch of the monument, and the horticulture department will landscape the site. In June the third annual program will be held, dating from the letter of Doctor Grant

Foreman in 1948 stating he was satisfied that the battle site had been "correctly located."[3]

When the question arose as to various means by which local interest can be stimulated for the preservation of historical centers and for other purposes, Dr. Anna Lewis said:

The Oklahoma Historical Society should sponsor a junior historical society to encourage high school students and other young people to become interested in our state history. There is no better way to get young people interested in history than for them to see how it is made. They should visit historic spots, write articles concerning pioneers who live in their community, and there should be a Junior Magazine in which their articles could be published. I urge the Oklahoma Historical Society to appoint a committee to see what can be done in fostering and working with a junior group that will later be the feeder of the older group.

Dr. Charles Evans, who had chosen three topics for this program, and was most interested in the junior historical societies, said:

As early as 1946 your present Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society set up a very pointed and broad program for developing Junior Historical Societies through the State. As one who had met as many high school youths as any man within its confines, he knew that the last year of Junior High School and the succeeding years of the Senior High School held the best and the most genuine citizens of Oklahoma and America. High school students, wherever he met them, were addressed as Oklahoma citizens because they were not only faithful workers in civic affairs, but also the very substance of those regiments that on the battlefields defended America with their blood.

This junior historical society plan was based upon bringing the youth in the high schools close about the Oklahoma Historical Society in developing in such cities as Guthrie, El Reno, Kingfisher, Norman, and others, well-organized historical groups which would receive immediate and concrete assistance from the Society throughout the school year. A set of by-laws and regulations were given over into the hands of the organized junior historical society and they were examined and were accepted after discussion by each junior unit.

Of course, one of the very strongest centers of the program was the sponsorship to be selected by the City Superintendent of Schools. He could call one of the teachers of history, the principal, or any able citizen to act as leader. It was very true that the very life of a junior historical society in the public schools must rest upon the high and zealous interest displayed by the superintendent of city schools and the high school principal in these groups.

It may just as well be said here that in the effort that was carried on by the Society for a year, it was revealed that the city school systems were impregnated with the ancient slogan and crystallized view that the curriculum made out by those authorized to make such curricula in the State needed very little, if any, assistance from any outside forces or powers as to the substance of the curriculum and the manner of approach to it. This, of course, has been the bane of all historical development since the Middle Ages.

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[3] The site of the "Battle of Round Mountain" has not been definitely and officially determined under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society (June, 1951), since the exact location of this first battle of the Civil War, within the boundaries of Oklahoma, is still controversial among some leading historians and investigators. —Ed.

The Society went into the archives and developed new and vital history of each city, town and the whole county of many of the surrounding cities, towns, and counties of Oklahoma.

The project was given closest care and faithful effort by the Secretary, even to the point of several personal trips, but the project faded away because of the crystallized forms of education found now in the American public schools.

Dr. Angie Debo spoke of the pleasure and profit she had received on a visit to Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman, noted historians, with residence in Muskogee. Dr. Debo stated that the one thing that seemed to be a very important obsession of the mind of Dr. Foreman in his octogenarian years was to urge the Oklahoma Historical Society and all the leading centers of history in Oklahoma to recognize that their largest aim should be the gathering of important history resting now in the hidden places over the state.[4] These must be found and time is of the essence. Dr. Debo read before the round-table conference the following important paper written by Dr. Grant Foreman:

Mr. President and Members of the Oklahoma Historical Society:

I am very happy to participate in the round-table discussion assigned to this meeting. I am taking the liberty of casting my part of the discussion in the field in which I am best acquainted, that is, the discovery and preservation of historical material calculated to preserve records of Oklahoma history to be made available for research by persons interested in Oklahoma history.

Over a period of nearly fifty years, I have pursued a study of this field and I have some very definite ideas about it. Primarily, that there is a vast amount of historical material sequestered in many places where it is likely to be destroyed by fire if it is not secured and placed in a fire-proof repository such as this Society offers to the public. Time after time in my research I have quizzed people whom I have suspected of unconsciously harboring such material only to receive this reply, "Yes we had some old papers that grand-dad had saved but when the house burned they were destroyed." For a concrete illustration, I might mention that something like twenty years ago I located a daughter of Jesse Chisholm, named Mrs. Thomas, living a mile or two south of Prague, Oklahoma. I asked her if Jesse Chisholm left any old papers when he died. She said, "Yes there was a trunk full that we kept in the house for many years until the house burned and they were destroyed." There is almost no limit to the widely scattered places where historical material may be found to reward the searcher for Oklahoma history. Even in far off London I located items identified with the American History. In the British Museum, I found letters written by English emigrants describing their new surroundings in Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa, which the publishers of their Historical Magazines were grateful to me for preparing for publication.

I was reminded a few days ago of the destruction of valuable historical material, by the visit of Mr. Jim Porter, grandson of the late Creek Chief Pleasant Porter, recognized as one of the most scholarly men ever born in Oklahoma. I knew him well and knew that on his death he left much material connected with the history of the Creek Nation, the Indian Territory, and the State of Oklahoma. On his death all his papers came into possession of his son Will, from whom I had hoped to secure them.

[4] Notes by Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Will who gave me one reason to hope, lived at the old home near Leonard in a large mansion, which was destroyed by fire a few years ago together with all the contents including Chief Porter's papers.

I am now hoping to secure the papers left by Chief Checotah through his recently deceased grandson in Okmulgee. Our secretary can tell you of the state of negotiations with the present holders of those papers. I asked him to present the matter to Mr. Peterson, the member of our board who lives in Okmulgee where the papers are.

The most shocking destruction of historical data that I can recall is partly due to the delay of our Society. It was brought to my attention by Miss Wright soon after it occurred. She was engaged in the preparation of an article on an important phase of Oklahoma history when she needed to consult some official records that should have been in the archives of the Indian Superintendency in Muskogee. These documents were concerned with the negotiations between the Indians and the Government, looking to the allotment of tribal lands. At a certain stage of the efforts of the Dawes Commission in the early days the Commission found that it was not invested with necessary authority to complete its work and on June 28, 1898, Congress enacted what was known as the Curtis Act, under which the Commission was implemented with needed authority which resulted in the execution of treaties with all of the Five Civilized Tribes, that resulted in the allotment of tribal lands. These old records were deposited in a helter-skelter confusion in the attic in the Federal Building in Muskogee. Judge Williams and I and the late Congressman Hastings, were instrumental in the preparation of a bill and its passage by Congress authorizing the removal of these old records from Muskogee and other Agencies over the state to the Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Under my direction, Mrs. Looney, our Archivist, inventoried the material placed at our disposal by the Indian Superintendent and when we had something over 50,000 items inventoried so we could give a receipt to the Superintendent, Mrs. Looney took them to Oklahoma City and flat filed them in the steel cases where they now are.

It happened that the documents Miss Wright desired to see were in a separate part of the building at Muskogee and had not yet been delivered to Mrs. Looney when it was determined by someone in the office of the Superintendent to get rid of a lot of trash, having no historical value and to that end certain routine led to authority to destroy a large quantity of miscellaneous stubs and other junk said to be of no value for historical purposes. With this authority, employees assembled and hauled away from the building, several truck loads of such material but in doing so, carelessly included much valuable material pertaining to the negotiations between the Government and the Indians, pursuant to the terms of the Curtis Act, which was needed by Miss Wright in her writing. When she ran up against this situation she consulted the people in charge of the records and was told that the material she desired to see had been hauled off to the incinerator and burned. I reported the matter to Judge Williams, our President, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to the National Archivist, who had approved the requisition for the destruction of designated useless material but to no avail.

It seems to me that these unfortunate experiences ought to strengthen the resolution of all of us in the Society, to exert every effort to interest the public in availing itself of the facilities our Society offers for the preservation of every scrap of material that may enable the public of the future to read our History and record it for future generations.

Almost as tragic was the fate of a vast collection of material accumulated by Choctaw Chief Peter Pitchlynn. Nearly twenty years ago, my friend, Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of Ethnology, told me that Pitchlynn's daughter, a spinster, a rather eccentric old lady in Washing-

ton, had all her father's papers and library which he thought she would be glad to sell. With a letter of introduction from her friend, Senator Gore, I went to see her in her home in Washington. I was amazed at the amount of material she had, which occupied almost the whole floor in her front room. The library was in a separate room. I think I made several visits to her place and discussed the matter with her but I was not prepared to pay what she wanted for the material. In a little while a man who understood the money value of these papers and who had plenty to spend, made a deal with her and later when I saw some of these items advertised in the price list of Goodspeeds and other dealers in expensive collections, I realized that the purchaser of this material from Miss Pitchlyn was only interested in them for their money value and that there had been no hopes of my securing them for our Society.

On another occasion Dr. Swanton told me of a lot of material assembled by a distinguished Army Officer, General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, who as a Major, was detailed by the War Department, to visit the Indian Territory and investigate reports that the immigrant Indians had been badly treated by those having charge of the emigration from the east. Major Hitchcock arrived in the Indian Territory in November, 1841, and began his investigation. The result of his inquiries appears in a series of nine diaries which came into possession of his niece, Mrs. Bessie B. Croffut. It was in her declining years that Doctor Swanton told me of her possession of these diaries. When I went to see Mrs. Croffut in the Library of Congress where she kept the Hitchcock papers, she very graciously offered to copy the diaries for me when I told her I hoped to publish them in book form which I eventually did in a book I called *A Traveler in Indian Territory*, published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1930.

In conclusion may I refer to the action of the Board of Directors of January 26, 1933, requesting me to prepare an article for the succeeding issue of *The Chronicles* giving information about certain material of historical value appropriate for the Society to endeavor to secure for our Archives; and the reports were subsequently prepared and filed by me under the title a "Survey of Tribal Records in the Archives of the United States Government in Oklahoma." This report the Board elected to preserve in printed pamphlet form instead of including it in *The Chronicles* and has been part of the records of this Society since March, 1933.

For the first time in its fifty-eight annual meetings, the Oklahoma Historical Society at Tahlequah on May 7 broadcast part of its program. This was a fifteen minute round-table discussion concerning the services the society can render the people of Oklahoma, and how the National Archives and the Archives of Oklahoma University can best coordinate their work in this regard.

Participating in the discussion were Miss Kathryn M. Murphy, Assistant Archivist of the National Archives; Dr. Gaston Litton, Archivist of Oklahoma University; Dr. Charles Evans, Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society; and Dr. B. B. Chapman, coordinator. R. M. Mountcastle arranged for the program to be heard on the Muskogee stations, KBIX and KMUS. A tape recording of the program, preceded by an introduction by Dr. Evans, was placed in the Oklahoma Historical Society by the History Department of Oklahoma A. and M. College.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Pryor's Birthday Celebration for W. A. Graham, Oklahoma's Centenarian Banker.

Pryor had a big birthday celebration on May 18, 1951, for W. A. Graham, President of the First National Bank of Pryor, who was one hundred years old on that day. This event with photographs of Mr. Graham was given two full pages in *Life* magazine for June 4, 1951, under the heading of "The World's Oldest Millionaire Becomes a Centenarian."

A "Birthday Anniversary" pamphlet with illustrations, compiled and published for the occasion by Mr. Thomas H. Harrison, Member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, from Pryor, dedicates its pages to "W. A. Graham—a Man of Service," and presents a short story of this pioneer citizen whose generous gifts and co-operation have meant much in making Pryor a "clean, substantial and growing community."

William Alexander Graham, born May 18, 1851 near Adairsville, Georgia, came to the town of Adair, in the Cherokee Nation, on March 25, 1884. He soon went into the cattle business, in partnership with John C. Hogan, a citizen of the Cherokee Nation. In 1892, they purchased a store at Pryor, which grew into an extensive business as the W. A. Graham Company, and developed a grain company, elevators, lumber yards, banks and wide mercantile interests. Beginning in 1892, Mr. Graham organized banks in Vinita, Claremore, Miami, Eufaula, Muskogee, and in 1900, organized the First National Bank at Pryor, of which he has remained the President and principal stockholder. As a public benefactor, his generous gifts have made possible the completion of many city projects, including miles of sidewalks, streets and good roads. He built and presented as a gift to the City of Pryor, the Graham Community Building that houses the city offices, fire department, public library and auditorium. His most recent donation to the City was the sum of $280,000 for the construction of the new electrical distribution system. Mr. Graham at the age of one hundred years is a member of the Library Board, and is actively interested in his many properties in Pryor and in Mayes County.

Mr. Harrison's pamphlet is an interesting contribution as an illustration of Oklahoma's development and progress, for in addition to the biographical notes on W. A. Graham, the compiler gives a brief history of Pryor and information about Mayes County.

M.H.W.

History of Oklahoma City and Capitol Hill Post Offices

The *Capitol Hill Beacon* for April 22, 1951, published some interesting history on the early post offices in Oklahoma City, in a feature story written by Clyde Duckwell, Jr., largely from notes supplied by Mrs. Louise Cook who is in charge of the Newspaper Files in the Historical Society. However, the statement in the second paragraph of Mr. Duckwell's story that the first post office in Oklahoma City "was situated in the little old house called the Arbeka Hotel" needs some clarification to "keep the records straight." On authority of Mr. Claude Hensley, of Oklahoma City, who has first hand information on the subject, Samuel H. Radebaugh was appointed the first Postmaster at Oklahoma Station in 1887 when through mail service was established on the Santa Fe Railroad.[1] Mr. Radebaugh's residence was the post office for Oklahoma Station. The name was changed to "Oklahoma" on December 18, 1888, and soon afterward James McGranahan[2] became postmaster, his "Arbeka Hotel" serving as the post office distributing point for the small amount of mail arriving. At 10:00 a.m., Sunday, April 21, 1889, George A. Beidler became postmaster. McGranahan had wanted to be relieved of the position before this but Beidler would not take charge since he was afraid a rain would come up and soak the large amount of mail and government papers that had been recently coming in over the railroad. Besides he needed time to get the load sorted and ready for distribution. Sunday, the legal holiday, was set for this. Monday, April 22, 1889, the day of the Opening of the Unassigned Lands ("Old Oklahoma") in the Indian Territory, Beidler began distributing the mail in a small, makeshift stockade hut near the Santa Fe Railroad at "Oklahoma," now Oklahoma City. The photo of Beidler's stockade post office has often been printed as Oklahoma City's first post office, which it was if one counts from the time of the Opening of "Old Oklahoma" by the Run of 1889.

Clyde Duckwell's feature story from the *Capitol Hill Beacon* follows:

Oklahoma City and Capitol Hill's post offices have some very interesting background as to growth of both staff and serving ability to the public.

An office was first established in 1887 and was known as just plain Oklahoma instead of Oklahoma City as it is known now and as we of the younger generation have always known it. The first postmaster was S. H. Radenbaugh, who lived at Harrah. The office itself was situated in the little old house called the Arbeka hotel. It was west of what is now the

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[1] George H. Shirk, "First Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 242.

[2] A full page feature with a sketch of "Uncle Jim" McGanahan, by the late Alvin Rucker, under the caption, "Postmaster and Population before the Run," appeared in *The Daily Oklahoman* for Sunday, April 16, 1933.

Santa Fe station and north of California avenue, on a lot which, when the locality was platted, faced Santa Fe street and California avenue.

The only business of the office at that time was the forwarding of mail matter to military stations. As a whole the building consisted of two small houses, one constructed of wood, the other a plain "stake house," with the logs set up and down, and in which the forwarding agent. Benjamin Miller, lived. This station also was used to receive freight from the Santa Fe railway for Fort Reno.

The postmaster, Radenbaugh, maintained a business in connection with his official capacity by furnishing general supplies to people who came to visit the county with the intention of settling when it was opened. At the time there was a constant stream of such people flowing in and out of the country. They could not settle, however, for the law at that time forbade it, as the country had not formally been opened.

Now, comes the establishment of the first real postoffice. On April 22, 1889, George W. Biedler was appointed postmaster. He arranged a stockade building on land at the corner of Main and Santa Fe streets, and his first office force consisted of himself, his wife, daughter and small son. The place was a poor structure and afforded but little shelter from the cold of winter and the heat of summer.[1] A change soon was made, to a two-story frame house nearby. In those days it was considered a magnificent house, although it is doubtful now if it would be used for a barn.

With the rapid growth of population that followed soon the postmaster became overwhelmed with business and had soon to appoint assistants, so the new force comprised three men, John Flattery, James McAdams and the postmaster.

In this early period there was no delivery by carriers and the only way of distributing mail was to stand on a barrel, box or anything handy, calling out names to which waiting persons answered by stepping forward and receiving the letters. Fixtures such as windows, mail boxes and the like were unknown, and many disputes arose.

While officially in the fourth class this Oklahoma City postoffice was in reality doing the business of second class, the receipts, remarkable in those days, reached about $10,000 a year. Several attempts to rob the postoffice were made but were unsuccessful.

The office was moved about eight months after its establishment to a building located about 119 N. Broadway where the Egbert Hotel now stands. This building occupied a space of 40 by 65 feet. During the next 20 years, the office was moved to quarters on Robinson where the Liberty Theatre now stands; next to Harvey where the Midwest Theatre is; then to Southwest corner of Main and Hudson, and in 1912 to 3rd and Robinson, the present location.

While the amount of mail matter received had increased it was not until 1893 that a carrier service was established. This began with three men and one assistant. The latter, C. A. Richardson, was still a member of the staff in 1910.

February 5, 1892: "Because of the phenominal increase in business at the Oklahoma City postoffice there will be a free delivery system in Oklahoma City within the year. Under a recent law of congress the postmaster general is empowered to establish the free delivery system in all cities whose postoffices do an annual business of 10,000 and over, and Oklahoma

[1] *The '89ers* of Oklahoma City marked this site with a memorial plaque and inscription, in 1939 (See "Oklahoma City's Historical Markers" in this issue).—Ed.

City will come under that head and have several hundred dollars to spare, if the business done during February and March is even as good as it was last year. The year began April 1, 1891 and ends April 1, 1892, and the system will be established as soon thereafter as the department can arrange it."

April 7, 1895: "The business of the Oklahoma City Postoffice for the four quarters ending March 31 has reached $14,321.99, an increase of almost $2,000 over any previous year. There has been paid out in money orders, $88,920.06; 4,747 letters registered and dispatched; 3,928 registered letters received and 1,190 in transit."

May 11, 1899: "The Oklahoma City postoffice produced nearly one-sixth of all the revenue in Oklahoma Territory, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1898. Guthrie is second in point of revenue but first in cost of maintenance."

Elmer E. Brown was the postmaster when the present Federal building was contracted for. This building cost $250,000 and the site cost $30,000. The erection was completed in 1912 and was occupied by the Post Office in November of that year. Within two years, the building was too small for the greatly increased postal business and in 1918 the office was enlarged.

Secret passages and lookouts in the new postoffice building (1912) insured every protection for Oklahoma City's mail. This feature of the splendid new structure at the corner of Third street and Robinson avenue was given just as much attention as the working room or any other department of the federal building.

The new postoffice was started in March, 1910, by the M. J. Gill Construction company of Ardmore. This company carried it to about the second floor and then the government abrogated the contract. The sureties commenced work Sept. 15, 1911, and had everything ready for the concrete roof when the big freeze came and caused the work to stop.

By 1928, the postoffice had again outgrown its quarters and a second extension to the building was authorized by Congress. The extension was occupied in 1932. The building as it now stands is 400 feet long by 140 feet wide; a part of the building is nine stories high. The present building is again too crowded and Congress has authorized a new post office building at Oklahoma City, but due to the present emergency and defense program, plans have been postponed for the present.

The total cost of the present building was $1,500,000 and the site cost $159,000. In addition to the Main Postoffice, there are 10 classified stations and branches located in various sections of the city for the convenience of patrons and also 28 contract stations and branches located in various stores and business establishments.

From an original force of the postmaster and his family in 1889, the personnel necessary to conduct the business of the Oklahoma City postoffice at the present time consists of 845 employees. The receipts of $5,480.20 in 1889 have grown to $4,448,982.35 in 1950. There are approximately 300,000 letters mailed each day. About 1,000 letters are registered each day and 1,300 special delivery articles are delivered daily, the special delivery messengers traveling 700 miles.

Our city office serves 325,000 patrons over an area of 285 square miles through their city, mounted and rural carriers, the carriers traveling 3700 miles per day.

Postmasters who have served the Oklahoma City office include the following the order named: Radenbaugh; James McGranahan; George W.

Biedler; George Flattery; Biedler; Samuel Murphy; Brown; H. G. Eastman; Claude Weaver; Mrs. Elma Eylar; W. G. Johnston; F. L. Pierce; Joe S. Morris and Fred M. Shaw.

Pierce was Post Office Inspector in charge of the Post Office during the vacancy of the postmaster.

H. D. Alexander was the postmaster when the post office in Capitol Hill was called or known as Capitol Hill, Oklahoma. The office was located at the northwest corner of South Robinson and 25th street or "C" street. The building located there now is where the Capitol Hill Chamber of Commerce offices are located.

Capitol Hill, Oklahoma was an independent Post Office until November 1, 1911 when it became a classified station of the Oklahoma City Post Office. The first superintendent was John F. Kraemer. Three city carrier routes were established at that time. The receipts for the calendar year 1911 were approximately $1,700.00.

The office was moved to the south side of 25th Street between Robinson and Broadway and later moved to the west side of Robinson between 25th and 26th streets and then to 113 SW 25 where it has been located for ten years.

Edgar Cook was made superintendent in 1912; Grover Skaggs, now retired and residing at 50th and S. Santa Fe, was made superintendent in 1916; F. A. O'Brien was appointed in 1945 and is the present superintendent. He resides at 3128 Drexel Court. The assistant superintendent is H. C. Blakely, 1517 N. Kentucky.

There are employed at the Capitol Hill Station in addition to the superintendent and assistant superintendent, 34 carriers, 3 rural carriers and 10 clerks with additional auxiliary clerks and carriers to keep up service when the mails are heavy.

The receipts for 1950 amounted to $136,549.11. There are approximately 20,000 letters mailed daily at the Capitol Hill Station and some 27,500 letters are delivered daily to approximately 75,000 people in an area of 43 square miles.

Bids are now being taken for new quarters for the Capitol Hill Station where there will be more room for the fast growing station to take care of the vast expansion going on in the Capitol Hill district at the present time.

—Clyde Duckwell, Jr.

Data from the U. S. Post Office Records: Oklahoma City, Oklahoma County, Oklahoma

This office was established under the name "Oklahoma Station" December 30, 1887, with Samuel H. Radebaugh as postmaster. The name of the office was changed to "Oklahoma" and Mr. Radebaugh reappointed postmaster December 18, 1888.

POSTMASTERS	DATES APPOINTED
James McGranahan	February 4, 1889
George A. Beidler	March 18, 1889
John A. Flattery	March 25, 1894
Samuel Murphy	July 7, 1898
Elmer E. Brown	January 23, 1903

H. G. Eastman ..... December 18, 1911
Claude Weaver ..... February 22, 1915

THE NAME OF THE OFFICE KNOWN AS "OKLAHOMA" WAS CHANGED TO "OKLAHOMA CITY" JULY 1, 1923.

Elma Eylar (Acting) ..... September 1, 1923
William G. Johnston ..... January 16, 1924
Frank L. Pierce (Post Office Inspector—Acting) ..... March 28, 1936
Joseph S. Morris ..... March 10, 1937

The following statement was made by James McGranahan to Col. Wilbur S. Nye, author of *Carbine and Lance,* and Claude E. Hensley:

Postmaster James McGranahan turned his office over to his successor George A. Beidler at 10:00 o'clock Sunday morning April 21, 1889.

Mr. McGranahan also stated that mail destined for Silver City, Darlington, Fort Reno, Cantonment, Camp Supply, Anadarko, Fort Sill passed through this office (pouch mail to these points).

There was daily stage coach traffic between Oklahoma and Fort Reno and Darlington. A stage coach ran from Fort Reno to Cantonment on to Camp Supply. Another stage route was from Fort Reno south to the Wichita Agency (Anadarko) and Fort Sill.

—M. H. W.

REPORT ON CONDITIONS AMONG THE FULLBLOOD INDIAN GROUPS OF THE FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES IN OKLAHOMA

Many volumes have been written on the remarkable history and advancement of the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek and Seminole peoples, known in Oklahoma as the Five Civilized Tribes. Most of them were already well adjusted to the best in American civilization when Oklahoma became a State in 1907. The professions, business circles and official life in this State count many leading citizens who are descendants of these great Indian tribes. Yet the question is often asked, "What are the conditions in which some of the fullblood Indian groups of these tribes live today?"

Doctor Angie Debo, of Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, has made another contribution in her study of the Indians, in *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma,* "a Report on Social and Economic Conditions," published in pamphlet form in April, 1951, by The Indian Rights Association, 130 S. Juniper Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania (Price 25 cents per copy). Doctor Debo states in the Preface that her book *And Still the Waters Run* (Princeton, 1940) closed with a question, "Could the lost fullbloods of the Five Tribes be Saved?" This question had remained in her mind until she made her recent survey in Oklahoma (1948), and it was a great personal satisfaction to her to find the answer. The chapter headings in her pamphlet give the subjects covered in the survey, which include "Poor Indians on Poor Land," "The Farm Loan Policy in the Ozarks," "Farm Loans in Other Areas," "Land Purchases for

the Indians," "The Supervision of Indian Property," "Social and Educational Rehabilitation," "Making Textiles in the Hills," 'Weighing Imponderable Assets in Rehabilitation."

In Chapter X, the author gives a summary of her findings and recommendations for the backward Indian groups in Eastern Oklahoma, leading out with these statements: "The fullblood settlements present a picture of appalling social and economic degradation, relieved only in spots by the rehabilitation program. But it has been clearly demonstrated that the Indians do respond to agricultural opportunities, that they do benefit by educational training."

Her recommendations to fit the long-range objectives in any program adopted for underprivileged Indians, are "an adequate agriculture for those who stay on the farm" and "social and economic self sufficiency for those who enter other fields of employment." She points out the specific means to attain these ends: (1), stop, loss of land; (2), increase number of extension workers—farm management supervisors and home economists; (3), enlarge the extension service and increase the revolving loan fund; (4), extend spinning and weaving project; (5), authorize Indian Agency rather than county courts to supervise collections of individual Indian money; (6), promote and change Indian Agency services in protecting Indian property, to that of training Indians; (7), establish better health system; (8), formulate by special surveys adequate educational policies; (9), make the churches aware of the superficiality of their present efforts among Indians.

Press reports of Miss Debo's published survey have had many comments among the Indian people of Oklahoma. An interesting letter addressed to the Area Director, W. O. Roberts, of the U. S. Indian Office at Muskogee, by J. Brookes Wright of McAlester, analyzes Miss Debo's report from the viewpoint of a Choctaw citizen who has lived all his life in Eastern Oklahoma, and served in the U. S. Indian service in Oklahoma for a number of years. Mr. Wright is appreciative and friendly to Miss Debo's survey but does not always agree with her report on some of the findings. A copy of Mr. Wright's letter was received by the Editorial Department of the Historical Society, and is here presented for both its historical and contemporary value to the readers of *The Chronicles*:

1020 South 9th. Street
McAlester, Oklahoma
June 29, 1951

Mr. W. O. Roberts
Area Director
Muskogee Area Office
U. S. Indian Service
Muskogee, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Roberts:

Recently newspapers in Oklahoma carried a news item in which they quoted excerpts from the report of Miss Angie Debo made for the Indian

Rights Association and entitled "Social and Economic Conditions of the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma." The newspaper item was headed "Indians' Lot is Bemoaned" and carried the stamp of the Associated Press. The article also stated that this report was released recently by your office and "Paints a sordid picture of living conditions among tribesmen." The item further stated that "Most Oklahoma Indians live in appalling poverty amid disease, crime and general moral delinquency as a report to the Indian Rights Association discloses."

Being a member of the Choctaw Tribe, one of the Five Civilized Tribes under consideration, having served as U. S. Field Clerk (now called District Agent) under your office for 16 years and having spent over 70 years in association with these tribes, the writer believes it his duty to challenge these broad and misleading statements.

Knowing that some press reporters, quite frequently, like to play up the sordid side of an event thinking that it makes for popular reading, it was decided to write you for more information before making comment. Too, having known something of the Indian Rights Association and having a deep regard for the work they are undertaking for the betterment of the Indians it was thought best to get their report.

In reply to my letter to you with regard to the matter, you gave me the address of the Indian Rights Association and advised me to write for a copy of the report. This was done and a copy of the report received.

In general the report is fair, barring some discrepancies. Conditions are not as discouraging as one is lead to believe from reading the newspaper excerpts, but it is already apparent that more people have read the newspaper article than have read the full report.

It seems that Miss Debo is unfortunate in her use of English words and expressions and thus conveys the wrong impressions, in many cases, to the casual reader and these are in the majority. She is also inclined to generalities. A reader might be led to believe that all Indians are placed in the same category.

In speaking of Indians the writer refers to the Five Civilized Tribes. He is a Choctaw and has spent his life among the Choctaws and Chickasaws. He worked among the Creeks and Seminoles for a short period. As for the Cherokees, the writer has never had too much contact with them as a tribe, but most writers of fact and fiction have given them more publicity than the other tribes. This, no doubt, is due to the fact that the Cherokees inhabited the country near the Eastern seaboard and came in contact with the whites and began amalgamation probably 50 or 100 years before the other tribes. However, the writer did visit and spend several days during the depression in one of the Government camps located in the timbered hills in the Cherokee Nation and he learned first hand the condition of some of those people. It was much worse than he had experienced elsewhere.

We have Indians who have no more than 1/8th Indian blood who are as proud of their Indian blood as a fullblood. Therefore, in writing of the Indians of the Five Tribes, Miss Debo should take note of those ranging in position from Justice of the Peace to U. S. Congressmen, the eminent lawyers, doctors, surgeons, ministers of the Gospel, artists, merchants, men of wealth, etc., and classify them.

It is my experience that tribes, nations and peoples have their quota of ne'er-do-wells and improvidents, as witness relief, not only in the United States but over most of the world. Then among the fullbloods there are some who prefer to hold on to tribal customs and traditions rather than to progress with the times. During the depression the word—under privi-

leged—was coined probably, at least used, to protect the sensibilities of recipients of aid.

The writer was a young man when the Dawes Commission began to treat with the Choctaws in regard to allotment. He sat in on one of the first meetings held on the matter in Atoka. It seemed that the fullbloods and those of predominant Indian blood were satisfied with their form of government and did not favor allotment. One of the U. S. Commissioners made a speech and told the Choctaws that they would have to deal with the government or else. The Choctaws were told that they must give up their way of life and follow the white man's way. Later on some of them did and to their sorrow for they followed the wrong way. One fine old Chickasaw, whom I knew, an honorable man and a leader among his people had a cattle and horse ranch. He was provident and had saved his money to where he did lend another fullblood, a ranchman, $5,000.00 in gold without so much as a note or mortgage. In those days, before allotment, it was common parlance that an Indian's word was as good as his bond. In later years and since allotment the grandson of this man, no doubt, thought it easy to get money by forgery. He paid the penalty by going to the penitentiary. Many instances of Indians learning the white man's way—the wrong way—could be cited. In the days of Choctaw courts a man would be sentenced to be shot—the legal method of execution—then he would be allowed to go home and arrange his affairs. He would voluntarily return to be shot on the day appointed. Things have changed and now the government keeps the doomed under lock and key until the day of execution.

The writer attended day subscription school in the elementary grades, also took a turn at an Indian Academy. Afterwards he attended school in Texas and Tennessee preparing for college. He then attended a University within easy reach of Philadelphia and New York City. The object of this diversity of locations was to get a cross-section of the social and economic life as it existed in the East and South as well as the West. Therefore, in taking exceptions to certain statements in Miss Debo's report, the writer feels that he is a competent witness by reason of education, observation and experience. His experience and observation lead him to believe that no particular race of people is in the position where the "Pot can call the kettle black" so far as social and moral conditions exist.

The writer believes Miss Debo made a fairly good report with some generalities excluded and some statements, which are misleading. She should have classified the Indians about whom she is writing.

The Indian is a human being and subject to the frailities of all mankind. He is no super-race. He is not endowed from on high with super talents. However, one thing must be taken into consideration which is, the fullblood Indian is comparatively a new-comer into the white man's civilization and, to many, this is more or less confusing.

There are Indians, more especially fullbloods, living in the backwoods and hill country who are honest, upright and moral who do not want to adopt the white man's way in its entirety.

We have ne'er-do-wells and the improvidents and no doubt some living in houses that leak when it rains but to those of us who have lived in the pioneer days of this country, that is not surprising. This condition was not confined to Indians but was common among whites as well. Yet out of such conditions have arisen some who have been leaders of men.

It seems that the word "slum" is hardly appropriate in describing the poor conditions existing in the country. No doubt where poverty and squalor exist moral conditions are more than apt to be bad. But all full-

bloods or others of less degree who live in the backwoods or hill country are not poverty stricken nor live in squalor.

When the writer entered the U. S. Indian Service many years ago he thought he noted the deterioration of the morale of the restricted Indian, due to the paternalism of the U. S. government since allotment, and his ambition was to restore, as much as he could, that individualism and independence as he knew it among the Choctaws prior to allotment. He thought he was making some progress when along came the depression of the 1930's and with it came representatives from the Indian Office in Washington and Red Cross Workers from St. Louis bent on saving the "Poor Indian" from starvation. If any of the Indians in my district which comprised most of the North half of the Old Choctaw Nation, starved to death I never learned of it and I spent most of my time in the field. Relief did play havoc with what little progress that had been made to inculcate independence. My allottees received the relief offered them by the government but were no different from their white neighbors except that they were probably not as aggressive in their demands. My allottees who received any land rentals through your office kept, as a general thing, a small balance in your office for emergencies during that time.

Miss Debo gave some examples of what your office was doing in the way of rehabilitation and it was gratifying to note that others, having similar ideas to those the writer outlined in his annual reports to your office several years ago, were able to put their ideas into practice. In this matter highly paid personnel is not so much needed as good, substantial personnel who will take an interest in their work.

The writer can't quite agree with Miss Debo in the abolition of the Probate Attorney division.

Indians are not naturally farmers, nor has their background been conducive to agriculture as a vocation. They (speaking of the 5 Tribes) have always raised enough food for sustenance but not for barter nor sale. They are more inclined to be stockmen and the more provident among the Choctaws and Chickasaws always had cattle, horses and hogs. There were some mixed bloods who had plantations and slaves prior to the Civil War but outside of these a 40 acre farm was quite large in the 80's and early 90's when the writer, as a cowboy, rode the range after cattle. At about that time there was one Choctaw, untutored in the "white man's book-learning" who had accumulated a ranch and estate, through his own efforts, estimated to be worth a half a million dollars.

The writer takes exception to the statement of Miss Debo in Chapter 7, page 24, where she states "Disease, drunkenness, crime and general moral delinquency exist to an appalling extent in the fullblood settlements." This is a reckless statement and general in extent, applying to all Five Tribes. During my time in office this was not applicable to my district and I do not believe it applicable to other districts. I refute this statement.

In paragraph 4 pages 25 and 26, Miss Debo draws a conclusion on the illegitimacy of child-birth among the Tribes which can't be substantiated. Illegitimacy is not any more a matter of concern in one race of people than in another.

The writer can't agree with Miss Debo that church grounds have became the home of moral laxity and places of ill-repute. There might be some isolated cases where this is true and if such be the case, then those who know it should bring it to the attention of the church authorities who should clear up the situation and no doubt will.

Miss Debo states that she was assisted in her work by employees in the Indian Service, and these are under your jurisdiction, but I feel quite

sure, any conclusions reached by her in her report, that might be derogatory to the Indians under your jurisdiction, were not authorized by them.

Respectfully,
J. B. Wright.

cc Miss Angie Debo
cc Indian Rights Association

—M.H.W.

New Association to Encourage the Study of American Civilization

The following notice has been received from Carl Bode, of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Maryland, College Park, who is the Chairman of the Steering Committee for a new organization to encourage study of American civilization:

AMERICAN STUDIES ASSOCIATION

Washington

To make plans for encouraging the study of American civilization, the sponsoring committee of the new American Studies Association held its first meeting on March 22 in the Woodrow Wilson Room of the Library of Congress. The committee adopted a constitution stating the most important ways in which the Association hopes to achieve its general aim. They are by "the improvement of communication across those disciplines which deal with phases of American civilization" and by "the fostering of inter-disciplinary research and of courses and programs in American Civilization."

The committee, which represented half a dozen institutions, also outlined the kinds of meetings and publications in prospect. The meetings will be mainly in conjunction with regional and professional societies. Plans for the publication of a newsletter by the Rutgers University Press were discussed. In addition, Professor Robert E. Spiller of the English Department of the University of Pennsylvania, who is chairman of the editorial board of the *American Quarterly*, spoke about the future of the recently founded American Civilization journal; and the committee agreed on the substantial advantages which would be gained both by the Association and by the *Quarterly* through an official connection. This would mean, if arrangements work out, that the Association could have the benefit of a learned journal as well as a news-letter.

Members of the inter-disciplinary sponsoring committee who attended the all-day session were: Professor Charles Barker of the History Department of Johns Hopkins; Professor Charles Baylis of the Philosophy Department at the University of Maryland; Professor Walter Bezanson of the American Civilization program at Rutgers; Professor Merle Curti of the History Department at the University of Wisconsin; Professor N. B. Fagin of the English and Drama Departments at Johns Hopkins; Professor Montgomery Gambrill of the History Department at Johns Hopkins; Professor Wesley Gewehi of the History Department at the University of Maryland; Dr. David Mearns, Assistant Librarian of the Library of Congress, in his capacity as an American historian; Professor H. S. Merrill of the History Department at the University of Maryland; Mr. Harold N. Munger, Jr., director of the Rutgers University Press; Professor Spiller, Mr. Edward Waters, Assistant Chief of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, fessor Carl Bode of the English Department and American Civilization program at the University of Maryland, who chaired the meeting and was and editor of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society;* and Pro-

also elected head of the five-man steering committee which will operate during the next year until the society is fully established.

The enlarged sponsoring committee elected three additional members who were unable to be present at the Washington meeting. They are: Professor Dorothy Thomas of the Sociology Department at the University of Pennsylvania; Professor Oliver Larkin of the Art Department at Smith College; and Professor Robert L. Shurter of the Humanistic-Social Division of Case Institute. The current committee is taking over the direction of the American Civilization Conference, which was initiated at the Modern Language Association convention in New York last December, and includes the original members of the Conference's sponsoring committee.

According to the constitution now adopted, membership in the American Studies Association will be open to individuals, organizations, and institutions. Professor Bode said that he would be interested in hearing from anyone who wished to be put on the Association's mailing list and who might want to help in the establishing of the society.

Dedication of Historical Marker "Camp Leavenworth," at Kingston

In the two-year development of the placing of markers at historical spots found wholly acceptable and worthy, was one erected near Kingston, Marshall County, Oklahoma.

The location of this "Camp Leavenworth" marker is on U.S. Highway #70 at Kingston. The following is the inscription on the marker:

"*Camp Leavenworth* (about 2 mi. South) Named for Gen. Henry Leavenworth who died near here July 21, 1834 while enroute from Ft. Gibson to Wichita Village in western Oklahoma for a peace conference with the Plains Indians. The expedition continued under Col. Henry Dodge, assisted by many notable officers and civilians including Lt. Jefferson Davis and George Catlin, the artist of Indian life."

Upon a very pleasant and profitable visit to the Society by Superintendent George S. Henry of the Kingston Public Schools, he invited Secretary Dr. Charles Evans to come to Kingston on May 25th and address his Senior class in Commencement. Arrangements were made at the same time for Secretary Evans to present to the citizens of Kingston and of Marshall County the Camp Leavenworth marker.

Superintendent Henry planned and took the leadership of assembling the citizens and students of Kingston in the high school auditorium on Thursday, May 24th at 2:00 P.M. for the dedication ceremonies of the marker. The auditorium was crowded and the Kingston High School band delighted all with good music.

Superintendent Henry introduced Dr. Evans and stated the lofty purpose of the occasion. He promised that the public school

system of Kingston would faithfully guard this marker at the edge of Kingston, although the immediate site of Camp Leavenworth was two miles south of the city and he said that the parkway around the marker would be well developed through the years.

Dr. Evans then presented to the schools and the city the plaque and told of the action of General Henry Leavenworth that ultimately brought peace between the Osage Indians in the Northeast and the Southwest Plains Indians of the Oklahoma region. He brought home the practical phase of placing such markers because history has no divisions save that set up by man. General Leavenworth and his men were just as much benefactors of Kingston, of Marshall County, and of all Oklahoma as the first and last Governors of Oklahoma. Without the Leavenworth's, the Dodge's, Jefferson Davis and George Catlin, there would have been no Kingston—no Commonwealth of Oklahoma. "So let us be careful", said he, "and let us guard with precious care such reminders as these markers set up over the State of Oklahoma by the Oklahoma Historical Society, costing this State more than $10,000 and a long and faithful service of the Society and the Highway Commission."

The High School Principal in a few very pointed words accepted the plaque and the ceremonies closed with the music of the National Anthem given by the Kingston High School band.

—C.E.

Dedication of Historical Marker "Black Beaver," at Anadarko

The City of Anadarko, when notified that the Oklahoma Historical Society had honored it by placing within its confines a historical marker dedicated to "Black Beaver," the remarkable Indian scout and faithful friend of the United States Army and early pioneers in their entrance into Southwestern Oklahoma, began to develop a splendid dedication program.

For many years, Judge C. Ross Hume of Anadarko has been the outstanding historian of not only Caddo County, but of all the Southwest region of Oklahoma. He has contributed through many years exhaustive articles to state papers and *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* So, Anadarko turned to him to develop a proper program which was held on April 10, 1951.

The nature and dignity of the ceremony can be given no better than to quote from *The Anadarko News,* as follows:

"The memory of Black Beaver, famed Delaware Indian scout whose grave is near here, was honored Tuesday afternoon in a ceremony at the Methvin Memorial church and unveiling of an historical marker at the eastern US 62 entrance into Anadarko.

"The marker, one of four in Caddo County and one of 100 in Oklahoma authorized by the Oklahoma legislature, was formally dedicated by Dr.

Charles Evans, director-manager of the Oklahoma historical society. Unveiling of the marker was done by Linda McLane, a great-great-great granddaughter of the Indian scout.

"Participating in the ceremony at the Methvin church were Boy Scouts from the Black Beaver council; members of the Black Beaver chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Norman; and members of the Anadarko Philomathic club and chamber of commerce. Arrangements for the dedication were made by a joint committee from the Philomathic club and chamber of commerce.

"A history of the Black Beaver Scout council, which now embraces eleven western Oklahoma counties and has a membership of 4,445 Scouts in 150 units, was given by Joe Clements, Chickasha, council executive. A troop of Scouts from Carnegie formed the honor guard at the unveiling and taps was sounded by Billy Beebe, Anadarko Scout.

"Dr. Evans, introduced by C. Ross Hume, Anadarko historian, described Black Beaver as "one of the finest of men" and urged Anadarkoans to understand and appreciate the history of this area which he said "is worth more than all your banks." Acceptance by the highway department was made by J. T. Wingo.

"Hume introduced descendants of Black Beaver attending the ceremony and Mrs. M. H. DeFord, president of the Philomathic club introduced members of the Black Beaver chapter of the DAR.

"R. L. Lawrence, member of the joint committee in charge of the program presided at the ceremony which included musical selections by the girls' chorus from Riverside Indian school.

"Clements, accompanied to the meeting by James Culwell, Chickasha, field executive of the council, said that the Scout council first was named Black Beaver in 1930 when Scouts and citizens of the area were asked to suggest a name for the expanded Scout area.

"Those from out of town attending the ceremony, in addition to Dr. Evans, included Mrs. Elmer Capshaw, Mrs. A. K. Christian, Mrs. E. G. Johnson, Mrs. O. B. Holland, Miss Merry Miller and Mrs. E. L. Massey, all of Norman, and Mrs. Phil Heisler, Chickasha, all members of the DAR chapter.

"Members of the planning committee for the event were Mr. and Mrs. Hume, Ray Hollar, R. L. Lawrence, Mrs. S. M. Singer, Mrs. William McFadyen, Mrs. Grover Wamsley and Mrs. Susie Peters.

"Members of the Philomathic club attended in a group."

The location of the "Black Beaver" marker is on U.S. Highway #62, on Indian Museum grounds east side of Anadarko. The following is the inscription on the marker:

"*Black Beaver* (Grave near Anadarko) Famous Delaware Indian. Interpreter for U.S. Dragoon Expedition to Plains Indians, S.W. Okla., 1834. Capt., Indian scouts, U.S. Army in Mexican War. Guide to Far West for many expeditions including Capt. Marcy's escort to emigrants in Gold Rush to California, 1849; and for troops evacuted from U.S. posts in Ind. Ter., to Kans., 1861."

—C.E.

Dedication of Historical Marker for Hillside Mission in Tulsa County, North of Skiatook

Card invitations were sent out by Beta Chapter, Delta Kappa Gamma, for attendance at the dedication of the Historical Marker erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State Highway Commission, for the Friends Hillside Mission. A large crowd was in attendance at the Hillside Community Church, near Skiatook, at 3:00 p.m., May 13, 1951, Mrs. T. W. Coover, President of Beta Chapter and Program Chairman presiding, when the following dedication program was given under the sponsorship of Delta Kappa Gamma, with the co-operation of Tulsa Historical Society (Central High School), Hillside Community Church, Mrs. W. A. Daugherty, Mrs. Louise Morse Whitham, Mrs. Eliza Richcreek and Dr. Fred S. Clinton:

Invocation ..... The Rev. W. G. Clark
Music ..... Skiatook High School
Introduction of Honored Guests ..... Mrs. Coover
History of Hillside Mission ..... Mr. Robert Davis
Remarks ..... Mrs. Eliza Richcreek
Remarks ..... Mr. Elton B. Hunt
Presentation of Marker ..... Judge Redmond S. Cole
In behalf of the Oklahoma Historical Society
Acceptance ..... Mr. Joe Terry, Engineer
Tulsa District, State Highway Commission
Music ..... Skiatook High School

This Historical Marker is located in Tulsa County, on east side of State Highway #11, near the corner with the Osage County line, about four miles north of Skiatook. The inscription on the plaque is as follows: "*Hillside Mission* (Near here East) Established by Rev. Murdock, under auspices of Friends Society, 1882. This noted school was attended by both Indian and white children. In this vicinity, was home of Wm. C. Rogers, last elected Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, 1903 to 1917. His grave and that of George Tyner, Cherokee, are in mission cemetery."

—M.H.W.

BOOK REVIEW

Indian Forest and Range. A History of the Administration and Conservation of the Redman's Heritage. By J. P. Kinney. (Washington, D.C. Forestry Enterprises, 1950. ix plus 357 pp. Illustrations, notes, map, roll of honor and index. $4.50)

Written by the author of *A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won,* this book aims to present, in brief compass, the entire history of the use of forest and range on Indian lands. And this Mr. Kinney has succeeded in doing admirably in a penetrating yet unbiased, well-documented record, the first of its type ever to be compiled.

Since the author has served in the Indian forestry unit since 1910, for a number of years as its director, one expects to find an intimate recital of occurrences with which the writer has been identified. This lends color and authenticity to the narrative, which the closing statement of the Preface fittingly underscores: "Important as forest conservation is, there are other values to be considered, especially human values, and the author believes that in the chapters of this compilation, devoted largely to a discussion of sales of timber from Indian lands, will be found ample evidence that human values were conserved by the beneficial use of the forest resources on Indian reservations."

That Mr. Kinney's book is a monumental piece of work anyone closely identified with Indian affairs will readily admit. *Indian Forest and Range* is a record of the trial and error, the successes and failures, of an enterprise which few if any precedents established for its guidance, stressing as it does the ultimate development of sound conservation practices and, on the whole, judicious administration of the resources on Indian lands in the United States.

Moreover, it is worthy of note that Mr. Kinney's probing analysis spares no agency or group. Similarly he has given full credit to individuals who helped shape policies and procedures, including those indicated in the dedication (p. iii.) as well as the Roll of Honor (p. 336), the latter representing a partial list of those who have rendered "sincere and effective assistance . . . . in the accomplishment of the purposes directed toward the conservation of Indian forest and range."

Before launching on a discussion of forest conditions on Indian lands prior to 1880, the author devotes Chapter I to a realistic account of economic pressures which brought marked changes in "the wilderness." To the would-be remanticists, Mr. Kinney aptly says: "Many persons entertain a romantic view as to the ideal conditions under which the American Indians lived before the advent of the

white man and his alleged seizure of the means through which the aborigines had previously enjoyed a delightfully happy life. The fact is that the life of the native American before the arrival of the Europeans was, on the whole, a hard and unsatisfying existence'' (p. 4). Moreover, ''most of the early treaties . . . . reflect the desire of the natives for goods and articles that they observed were essential to the comfort of the Caucasians; as soon as the means were available to them, the Indians adopted many of the customs of the whites as to food, clothing and habitation.'' (p. 5). In fact, Mr. Kinney points out again and again in his exposition of the development of timber sales that the principle purpose of such sales was to meet the needs of the Indians for subsistence.

The story of forest administration in the latter part of the 19th Century as well as the first half of the 20th Century, is replete with significant details of relationships between the various forestry units of the federal government, the field agents of the Indian Bureau as well as those most immediately concerned,—the Indians themselves. The phenomenal growth of timber sales from 1910-1933, including the results obtained by commercial logging and sawmilling, are high-lighted in special chapters which should furnish a reference work for students of forestry and government policies *par excellence.*

Of special interest to this reviewer is the discussion in Chapter XII on the ''Conservation of the Indian Range'' which emphasizes that *soil erosion and the results of over-grazing,* so vociferously voiced in recent years, were pointed out by Mr. Kinney's research projects long before the nineteen thirties. In fact, no study of this sort, as far as Indian lands are concerned, had been instituted prior to the author's report during the fiscal year of 1931. ''It is my firm belief'', he says, ''that this survey constituted the most far-reaching study of the Indian problem and one of the most fruitful economic surveys undertaken by the Indian Service during the century of its existence. It was a pioneer work and it developed the facts out of which could be formulated plans of great significance to the Indians.'' (p. 265). One of the most immediate results was ''a new emphasis on conservation'' which during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration blossomed out in the Emergency Conservation Act of 1933. It was largely through the painstaking efforts of Mr. Kinney that the provisions of this Act were extended to cover Indian reservations (p. 275). Nevertheless, when Mr. John Collier entered upon duty as Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 21, 1933, one of his first official acts apparently was to depose Mr. Kinney from the position of Director of Forestry (p. 277).

Nonetheless, ''through the use of the large allocations of funds that were made available for the Civilian Conservation Corps during

the eight years following April, 1922," observes the author, "the physical improvements for the conservation of forest, grass, soil, and water for Indian lands, for which I and my associates in the Forestry Branch of the Indian Service had hoped and planned through so many lean years were at last accomplished."

Mr. Kinney is a Fellow of the American Foresters, and a member of the Washington Academy of Sciences. He has written several books which are considered pioneers in the field of forest law and management. He is now with the United States Department of Justice.

—G. E. E. Lindquist

Lawrence, Kansas

NECROLOGIES

LOLA CLARK PEARSON

1871—1951

Mrs. Lola Clark Pearson died at the age of 79 at her home at 2645 N.W. 24th street, Oklahoma City. She had been associate editor of the Farmer-Stockman magazine for 20 years.

Born near Elwood, Clinton County, Iowa on November 29th, 1871, she was the oldest of nine children of Lydia Burgin and Thomas Jefferson Clark. Her mother was of German parentage and her father's people came to Iowa from Pennsylvania. She attended Cornell College at Mt. Vernon, and went to Pierson, Iowa, as the principal of the High School. There she met John Cannon Pearson, whom she married on September 6, 1899. Children of this marriage were Lola Agnes Pearson, died in infancy; Marion Pearson, married Dewey H. Neal; John C. Pearson Jr., married Ila Florence; Clark William Pearson, married Gladys Moore.

John Cannon Pearson was born near Kendal, England, on July 19, 1862. He came to America in 1884, and settled near Kingsley, Iowa, later moving to Pierson, Iowa, where he carried on successful ventures in farming, in the lumber and meat business, building a telephone exchange, and building and operating grain elevators. He was a charter member of the Modern Woodmen of America, a member of Eastern Star and a Mason, becoming a 32nd degree Mason and a member of Scottish Rite. He became a citizen of the United States, and was elected City Recorder, School Treasurer, and Mayor of Pierson.

In 1902 John Cannon Pearson took his wife to visit his relatives in England. Three years later the sale of his grain elevator to a local Farmer's Elevator company caused him to look for a new location. After much consideration he selected Marshall, Oklahoma, loaded an emigrant car with their household goods, driving team and wagon and buggy, and rode in the caboose to Marshall.

His wife came five days later. They bought a house and a grain elevator, which he immediately enlarged. With a brother, he bought an elevator at Douglas, nine miles north of Marshall, and built two cotton gins and a house to store seed cotton. They also had elevators at Billings and Red Rock.

John Cannon Pearson served Marshall as mayor and president of the Chamber of Commerce and was active in Masonic as well as many phases of civic work. Mrs. Pearson organized the first Marshall Woman's Club, and was a member of the school board. She was elected District President of the Women's Federated Clubs, and served as State President from 1919 to 1921.

Mrs. Pearson's direction of the work of the federation with the foreign-born attracted attention from several national organizations, and more than 160,000 copies were published of pamphlets which she wrote on the subject. She was Chairman of Americanization, General Federation of Women's Clubs, from 1920 to 1928; Chairman of American Citizenship 1928 to 1932; was parliamentarian from 1935 to 1938.

When the Pearsons came to Marshall in 1905, the town had wide main streets, no sidewalks, ankle deep mud. It had two banks, several saloons, stores, a flour mill and three elevators. The Pearsons helped build the town, and had deep roots there all their lives. But their interests extended

to several parts of the state. Elevator owners built the Capitol Grain and Elevator company in Oklahoma City in 1907, and Mr. Pearson was president of this company until the building burned in 1921.

In that year Mrs. Pearson became associate editor of the Oklahoma Farmer, doing her work chiefly in Marshall, with frequent trips to Oklahoma City. The following year she became Home Editor, a position which she held until its merger with the Oklahoma Stockman. She then served as associate editor of the "Good Cheer" section, and on February 15, 1927, her name appeared alone on the masthead, where it stayed for eighteen years. From 1926 until 1928 she also edited the department "Women and the World's Work" for Household Magazine, published in Topeka, Kansas, in addition to work as vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee, 1921-1928.

As an editor, Lola Clark Pearson kept her page living up to its title of the "Good Cheer" page. She traveled widely, both within and without the state. In addition to other material she brought back to offer her readers, she usually returned with comments and feature stories of what people were doing to make their own bit of the world a better place in which to live.

She offered her readers not only the whole gamut of home-making and bits of cheer and inspiration, but summaries of political issues in language they could understand. She never missed an opportunity to write in support of needed legislation, and on behalf of organizations in which she believed. She had served as vice-chairman of the Red Cross in Logan County during the first World War and was awarded the Red Cross medal for outstanding service. As an editor, she continued to urge support of the Red Cross, as well as the Tuberculosis Association, the Bureau of Maternity and Infancy, the Oklahoma Library Commission, and other needed activities.

Long before Oklahoma had thought of a summer round-up of children for physical examination before school entry, she was advocating this community practice. Vigorously she wrote of the need for legislation and public support of venereal disease control. When bills were before the legislature she told her readers in simple, uncompromising terms what was good and what was bad. She told her readers of important national affairs, what they meant, and where they could learn more about them. Always she had faith in their intelligence.

Her editorial duties included much work with the 4-H clubs. She attended meetings of the county federations, and wrote of 4-H girls and their individual projects in making better homes. Contests burdened her desk; the paper offered large prizes for the best gardens and canning budgets, and a prize for every letter helpful enough to be published on the "Good Cheer" page. When the five Oklahoma Master Farm Home Makers were chosen each year, she wrote a little story recognizing the services of each one. She reported the changes that the churches, clubs, the Indian agents, the missionaries and the home demonstration agents had accomplished in the Indian way of life over a long period of years.

In 1942 she was made an honorary member of the Oklahoma 4-H clubs, in recognition of her services to them.

Mr. Pearson retired from active business in 1931, and six years later they moved to Oklahoma City where two of their children, John and Marion, lived. Mrs. Pearson then had her office in the Farmer-Stockman section of the Oklahoman Building. All through the second World War, she kept at her desk and her page challenged the thinking of her large reader audience. With its end, she wrote an editorial which embodied that viewpoint which had always been hers:

"We want our men home but some of them must remain on duty. . . . . And if we don't finish the job, God help us. Either the spiritual side of

JOHN CANNON PEARSON

LOLA CLARK PEARSON

human endeavor must catch up with the material or we shall perish by our own inventions. The joy of it is that from here on out our job can be one of construction rather than destruction. We can have a share in building a better home, a better nation, a better world. But only if we keep the faith. In God and in ourselves as his instruments for good. And as we determine not to fail Him in this time of reconstruction."

The last editorial appeared in December, 1945. Freed from her desk, Mrs. Pearson continued to give her time and inspiration to her many friends and organizations. She was a member of the League of Women Voters, Daughters of the American Revolution, Indiana Academy of Science, League of American Pen Women, Order of Eastern Star and the Cosmopolitan Club. Her church affiliation was with the Wesley Methodist church.

In 1949, the Pearsons celebrated their Golden Wedding Anniversary. A partnership of unusual devotion was broken by his death the following year.

One of Lola Clark Pearsons' last public appearances was made in November, 1950, when she spoke at the Creative Arts Forum sponsored by the Oklahoma City Branch of the National League of American Pen Women. Her warm clear voice, with no trace of weakness or faltering, held her listeners breathless as she told them of women's work and all that it implies.

Early in December she became ill with heart disease, and died on January 31, 1951. Burial was in Memorial Park Cemetery, Oklahoma City.

The warmth of her personality, her kindness and generosity, her gentle dignity and broad tolerance, her sympathetic understanding, and her great common sense, are all recorded on the printed page. The editorials she wrote, the timeless quality of much of what she said, the spirit with which she defended her principles, make a monument to one of the finest of Oklahoma pioneer women.

By Edith Copeland

Norman, Oklahoma

JAMES MONROE BYRUM, M.D.

1871—1950

When a man has lived for nearly fifty years in one community and has spent that time in public service, and has made no enemies, surely it speaks well for him. When a man dies and the whole county grieves about his passing, when men and women and children feel that they have lost a kind personal friend, this tells a story of faithfulness, trust, and devotion to duty. Such a man was Dr. James M. Byrum, who died in Shawnee, Oklahoma, December 11, 1950.

Doctor Byrum was born in Monroe county, Tennessee, July 19, 1871, son of Peter and Mary (Cavette) Byrum. The family is of Scotch-Irish origin, descendants of early settlers of East Tennessee, and the Carolinas. Peter and Mary Byrum with their three sons and two daughters moved to Charlotte, Arkansas, in 1881. There the children received a common school education. Doctor Byrum attended high school at Sulphur Rock, Arkansas, and later the University of Arkansas, where he prepared himself to teach school. But after a few years teaching school, he decided to study medicine, and studied with well known physicians and surgeons, Doctors Kennerly, and Dorr, of Batesville, Arkansas. Later he attended the Tennesee Medical college, and graduated with the class of 1900. After spending a year in the City Hospital at Memphis as interne, he returned to his home town,

Sulphur Rock, and started practice there. But he felt the irresistable call of the West: "Go West and grow up with the country."

Oklahoma Territory was frontier country then, and the little town of Asher, in Pottawatomie County gave promise of growing into a city. Doctor Byrum located there, and helped materially with building the community. After living in Asher a year he returned to his home town, Sulphur Rock, and was married on January 29, 1903 to Miss Leah Knox, daughter of Captain and Mrs. T. C. Knox, of Mississippi, and a relative of President James Knox Polk.

Doctor Byrum brought his bride to the home he had prepared for her in the little town of Asher, and immediately they became identified with the social and religious life of the community. Already a Past Master of the Masonic Fraternity he organized a Masonic Lodge in Asher, and became its first Master. Their only child, Judge J. Knox Byrum was born at Asher. In 1908 Doctor Byrum moved his family to Shawnee where he established his career as physician, and surgeon. From that time until his death, he and his family were prominent in all the better development of the City, and Community.

Doctor Byrum was a consistent member of the Central Presbyterian church, and on its board of Deacons: a 32nd degree Mason, member of Lodge 107, A. F. and A. M. Shawnee chapter 32, RAM. Shawnee council 26, R and SM., and Shawnee commandery No. 36 Knights Templar, a member of the Shrine (India Temple). He was also a member of the Lions club and the Elks Lodge.

Before his death Doctor Byrum was the oldest living past president of the Oklahoma Medical society, Past President of the Pottawatomie county Medical Society, and for twenty years was secretary of the Oklahoma State Board of Medical Examiners. He was also a member of the Southern Medical Association, and of the American Medical Association. During the past year Doctor Byrum had received two fifty year recognition pins: One was from the University of Tennesee for fifty years of medical practice, and one from Masonic bodies in recognition of fifty years of service and membership.

Doctor Byrum and his beloved wife brought to this community the gracious spirit and culture that has helped establish the social standing and refinement of the community. Their home always embodied the highest type of charm and hospitality, the chivalric spirit of the "Old South." Lovers of books their library was usually large and interesting. He was a devoted husband, father and friend.

Doctor Byrum brought to his profession a sympathetic understanding of human frailties, as well as a skill born of keen interest and profound, continual study. His patience and kindness was never failing.

—Florence Drake.

Shawnee, Oklahoma

JAMES MONROE BYRUM, M. D.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY TAHLEQUAH, MAY 7TH AND 8TH

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in the Library Building of the Northeastern State College, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, at 9:30 A.M., May 7th and 8th, by General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Gen. William S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Judge Baxter Taylor, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. George L. Bowman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Judge N. B. Johnson and Col. George H. Shirk.

The Secretary reported that Dr. E. E. Dale of Norman had sent a telegram telling of a serious business which would not permit him to attend. Judge Edgar S. Vaught had reported that a heavy docket prevented him from coming. The Board of Directors heard with deep distress of the continued illness of Mr. H. L. Muldrow, a veteran Director of the Society. Mrs. Anna B. Korn, a distinguished director for many years was also reported ill. The Board expressed its profound sorrow and regret and sent to each of these, the highest tribute and the earnest hope that they may be restored to health in the days to come.

Judge Cole made a motion that absentee members who had notified the Secretary, be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which was passed unanimously.

President Key at this point expressed his great pleasure to welcome Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman and he wished her to stand while the audience also welcomed her, which they did by standing and giving hearty cheers. Mrs. Foreman said that she was very happy to be present and regretted very much that "Grant", as she called her celebrated husband, Dr. Grant Foreman, could not attend. The Board expressed to her the profound regrets that its Director of Historical Research could not be present and sent him warm favor and the sincere hopes that his health would improve.

General Key laid before the Board, the general tenor of the program of the two days of the Society meeting in Tahlequah. He expressed satisfaction and great pleasure on the part of the Society in holding the Annual or birthday meeting in the City of Tahlequah, which is perhaps, the acknowledged center of Oklahoma's beginning of history. Of course all knew that May 26th is the regular birthday of the Society, but out of a warm invitation on the part of Tahlequah and Northeastern State College, the meeting had been moved to May 7th and 8th because on this day the Northeastern State College was honoring the one-hundredth anniversary of the opening of the Cherokee National Seminaries. On the morning of May 7th, 1851, the Cherokee Nation had opened the doors of the Female Seminary.

The President called attention to the program which consisted of several distinct parts: First, the Business session lasting until 11:00 A.M.; second, the Round Table Discussion beginning at 11:00 A.M. under the leadership of Dr. B. B. Chapman, Department of History, Oklahoma A. and M. College; then, the afternoon was to be given over to the pageant offered by Northeastern State College pupils and teachers on the beautiful college campus; at 7:00 P.M. Monday, there was to be extended to the Board of Directors and members of the Society, a banquet given by the

citizens of Tahlequah and Northeastern State College. On Tuesday, May 8th, Dr. T. L. Ballenger would meet with all who wished to go on a historical tour in the region near the city.

The President called upon the Secretary to place before the Board some of the actions of the present Legislature of Oklahoma in dealing with the budget of the Society for the next biennium. The Secretary stated that the budget as made out by the Executive Committee had been placed as early as October 1950 in the hands of the Budget Office and was duly printed in the book containing the budget of all departments of state. The Secretary stated that he had followed closely the movements of the Legislature and at the present time, very few of the departmental bills have been passed by both houses and signed by the Governor.

The Secretary presented to the Board the beautiful tribute that had been paid to the Oklahoma Historical Society by the House of Representatives which had been published in the News Letter of March 1951. Such a tribute had never before been paid by any part of the Legislature in the history of the Society. The motion was made by Hon. Baxter Taylor that a letter be sent to the Speaker of the House of Representatives telling of the appreciation of the Board of Directors. The Secretary was authorized to draw the letter up and send it to the Speaker. The motion of Hon. Baxter Taylor was seconded by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour and it was passed unanimously.

General Key made the observation that the Executive Committee acting for the Board of Directors had asked for little increase in appropriations for the Society at this time. It was believed that the Legislature bore the Society in such high esteem that they might have secured more money for a large marker program or for other purposes, but due to high taxation and other confusion coming with the present time, both state and national, the Committee was willing to rest its case upon a ten percent raise in salaries and an extension of a few more dollars for certain other light expenses.

A call was made at this time for a report on the Life Membership drive which the Secretary had inaugurated on or about November 1st, 1950 and extended to this date, May 7th, 1951—a period of six months.

The Secretary stated that the highlights of this drive were as follows:

(1) Through the chief agent of contact with Life Members, the "News Letter," invitations were sent to all present Life Members to get another Life Member.

(2) Invitations to join in the campaign were extended to certain eminent citizens.

(3) The following rendered distinguished service: H. B. Bass of Enid; Col. George H. Shirk, a member of the Board of Directors; D. O. C. Newman, Shattuck; President Eugene S. Briggs of Phillips University of Enid. Through these, some thirty Life Members were secured in this drive of six months. There were a few scattered Life Members secured by the Secretary through the influence of the News Letter or personally.

(4) The campaign proved that Life Members could be secured best by *personal invitation and contact.*

(5) The number of Life Memberships secured in this drive was some seventy-five. They are continuing to come in.

The Secretary at this point said that he was sending to each member of the Board a rather broad report on this membership drive because it is so important.

Hon. Baxter Taylor, at the conclusion of this report by Dr. Evans, arose to say that he had been a member of the Board for more than a quarter of a century, and no such growth as this had ever been recalled

in the expansion of Life Memberships. He made a motion that the Secretary be highly commended for this service. The motion was seconded by Dr. Harbour and passed unanimously.

General Key pointed out that the report of the Chief Clerk revealed that there was sufficient money in the Special Fund due to the expansion of the Life Membership growth that a bond of $5,000.00 could be bought and a sufficient surplus be left for proper business, depending on this fund, to be carried on. A motion was then made by Mr. George L. Bowman that the Secretary be authorized to purchase a $5,000.00 bond for the Oklahoma Historical Society and this was seconded by Judge N. B. Johnson and passed unanimously.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison presented to the Board the substance of the bill that had recently passed both the House and Senate, received the signature of the Governor and had now become law, relating to the celebration annually at Salina, Oklahoma. the birthday of Jean Pierre Chouteau. The Bill was read as follows:

"An act relating to Oklahoma Historical Day, creating a committee for its observance and providing for its membership, terms of members, powers and duties; making an appropriation, and regulating its expenditure.
Be it enacted by the People of the State of Oklahoma:

Section 1. There is hereby established under the jurisdiction of the Oklahoma Historical Society the Oklahoma Historical Day Committee. Said Committee shall consist of five (5) members. The Superintendent of Salina Public Schools shall be one member, and the other four members shall be appointed by the Oklahoma Historical Society for a term of four (4) years. The members of the Committee shall serve without compensation or reimbursement for their personal expenses.

Section 2. The said Committee shall have full power and the duty to arrange for, supervise and conduct, or to aid and assist others in conducting an annual celebration at Salina on Oklahoma Historical Day, commemorating the Birthday Anniversary of Major Jean Pierre Chouteau, who established the first white settlement in what is now the State of Oklahoma at the present site of Salina, in Mayes County.

Section 3. The Oklahoma Historical Society is hereby authorized and directed to give the Oklahoma Historical Day Committee all possible aid and assistance in the performance of its duties.

Section 4. There is hereby appropriated to the Oklahoma Historical Society out of any moneys in the General Revenue Fund in the State Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the following sums: One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) for the fiscal year ending 1952 and One Thousand Dollars ($1,000.00) for the fiscal year ending June 1953. Said money, or so much thereof as shall be required, shall be paid out by the Oklahoma Historical Day Committee, for the purposes for which said Committee was created, but the foregoing appropriations shall not prevent the expenditure of other and additional funds which may be available for such purposes.

Passed the House of Representatives the 28th day of February, 1951."

After the Bill was read, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison presented the names of the five citizens of Mayes County who had been recommended by Mayes County to joint with the Oklahoma Historical Society in carrying out certain details of the Bill. These citizens were as follows: Clifford R. Thornton, Superintendent of Schools, Salina; William E. Reynolds and Alfred Jansen, Salina; Merle Caldwell, Pryor and S. E. Chouteau, Muskogee. Motion was made by Judge N. B. Johnson and seconded by Hon. George Bowman that the Board of Directors appoint these five men. The motion carried unanimously.

General Key appointed a committee composed of Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Pryor, Judge N. B. Johnson and Judge Baxter Taylor of Oklahoma

City to work with the above named committee, as representatives of the Society.

General Key called attention to the fact that the Bill did not state the date upon which the trading post was established, and though the Society had previously disagreed with the Chouteau heirs as to the date of the founding of the trading post, he saw no reason why we could not concur in this plan. It commemorates only the birthday of Jean Pierre Chouteau and does not designate the date of the establishment of the trading post. Gen. Key said, "I want the records to show clearly the position of the Historical Society is that it has approved and is now reapproving the report of the historical research on this matter as conducted by Dr. Grant Foreman and the late Judge Robert L. Williams.

The Secretary requested the Board to permit him to go forward in developing such historical brochures, postal cards and leaflets, to be purchased out of the Revolving Fund. A motion was made by Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour that this plan be carried out as Dr. Evans recommended. The motion was seconded by Mr. Thomas G. Cook and was passed unanimously.

The Secretary stated that there was a need for $100.00 to be added to the Petty Cash Fund. A motion was made by R. M. Mountcastle, seconded by Judge Redmond S. Cole and carried unanimously that this money be allotted.

The Secretary reported that the following list of gifts and pictures had been received:

Sioux purse, Sioux tobacco pouch, Sioux headdress, Sioux bag, Sioux dirk scabbard, Cheyenne purse, Cheyenne bridle rosettes, Sioux Scabbard, Sioux knife scabbard, stirrups, Three pairs of spurs, riding crop, buckle, vase, eight loving cups, two ropes, two polo sticks, Texas steer horns, two canes, pair of boots, Annie Oakley saddle, miniature stagecoach, steer and Mexican cart, bridle and breats strap, prize ribbons and badges, Navajo saddle blanket, surcingle, Stetson hat, presented by Charles Tompkins; calling horn, engraved by captured Union soldier during the War Between the States, presented by Mrs. J. D. Beaucamp, Wynnewood; compact used before 1865, presented by Mrs. Dorothea Harlow Ivy, Oklahoma City; handmade table, box and violin of inlaid wood, made and presented by Mr. J. A. Buol, Olustee, now deceased; silk scarf, souvenir of Oklahoma, presented by Mrs. V. V. Grant, Oklahoma City; souvenir plate of the University of Oklahoma, presented by Mrs. Howard McClain, Oklahoma City. A picture of Minne Quisenberry Rose, presented by Beulah Blake, Riverton, Kansas; seven pictures of Mabel Tompkins—all framed, four framed pictures of Charles Tompkins, Cowboy and his Horse, a colored print, photograph of a newspaper article, large framed print of Rosenben, famous race horse, two sheets advertising Tompkins Wild West Shows, large framed print of race horse, Colin, membership certificate in Texas Trail Drivers, brideless horse ridden by the neice of Ozzie Johnson, Christmas in Lambersville, N. J., 1914, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in 1902, skin painting by Chief Charking Hawk, Sioux, copy of newspaper clipping, Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in 1886, presented by Charles Tompkins, El Reno; picture of Mrs. R. C. Stanley; a drawing by Moritz Grossman of Leon Phillips; Students at Pawnee Indian School, Pawnee, Oklahoma, presented by Mrs. Agnes Trousdale, Pawnee; picture of H. G. Trosper and Sunnylane Church, oldest church in Oklahoma City, presented by Mr. Frank Trosper.

Mr. George L. Bowman moved that the gifts and pictures be accepted and that a vote of thanks be extended to the donors. The motion was seconded by Col. George H. Shirk and was passed unanimously.

The Secretary presented the following list of applicants for membership: LIFE: Robert Alexander, Tulsa; R. S. Baker, Enid; Clarence E. Burlingame, Bartlesville; Paul B. Champlin, M. D., Enid; Albert Vesta

Chestnut, Arnett; Mary Cromwell, Enid; Judge F. Hiner Dale, Guymon; Tom C. Dillingham, Enid; Stephen E. Dunham, Tulsa; Ancel Earp, Oklahoma City; John F. Everitt, Enid; Leslie G. Everitt, Kansas City, Mo.; Price Frequay, Enid; Mrs. Carl S. Ford, Enid; Milton B. Garber, Enid; Mrs. Nelly M. Gilmore, Paris, Texas; Mrs. John Will Gragg, Cherokee; Mrs. V. V. Grant, Oklahoma City; John Will Gragg, III, Cherokee; Jerry Jean Gragg, Cherokee; Gerry Grant East, Oklahoma City; Joe Hamilton, Oklahoma City; John J. Hamre, Arnett; Donald F. Karns, Watonga; Emmett A. Klem, Shattuck; Miss Eva Lewers, Eufaula; Dr. Gaston Litton, Norman; Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Durant; Mrs. Howard McClain, Oklahoma City; Georgia Lee McLain, Oklahoma City; Howard Milton McLain, Oklahoma City; Leo Meir, Follett, Texas; Dr. Maurice Merrill, Norman; Jerry B. Newby, Oklahoma City; Edgar Oppenheim, Oklahoma City; Herbert Miner Pierce, Wilburton; F. B. H. Spellman, Alva; George H. Stiers, Oklahoma City; C. R. Strong, Stillwater; F. E. Tucker, Dallas, Texas; Paul A. Walker, Washington, D. C.; Marion Norris Wheeler, Enid; L. E. Wheeler, St. Louis; H. B. Watts, Tulsa.

ANNUAL: Mrs. W. J. Armstrong, Oklahoma City; E. R. Caywood, Hot Springs, Ark.; John C. Feagins, Vinita; Nathalie Fowler, River Ford, Illinois; Charles B. Grant, Tulsa; Dr. W. H. Goldsbury, Pauls Valley; F. C. Hamilton, Topeka, Kansas; Dorothy A. Holcomb, Oklahoma City; Glen Ham, Pauls Valley; Ralph Hyde, Enid; Dean Mathis, Muskogee; James Logan McDonald, Muskogee; Mr. W. S. Mellor, Jr., Muskogee; Phillip Pierce, Oklahoma City; G. Pettigrew, Oklahoma City; Bertha Effie Preuitt, Lawton; Wayne Wuinlan, Oklahoma City; F. P. Rose, Rogers, Ark.; James H. Reeve, Dewey; Milo T. Reed, Wewoka; Florence Smith, Webbers Falls; Joe P. Spaulding, Bartlesville; Hugh A. Stanberry, Claremore; Miss Sara Thomason, Pauls Valley; Calvin L. Turnbow, Tahlequah; John O. Taylor, Medford; James A. Veazey, Tulsa; C. C. Victory, Tulsa; Lawrence Webster, Medford; Dr. Maxwell O. White, Tahlequah; Tom Wilkes, Oklahoma City; Anthony Willard, Leavenworth, Kansas; Mrs. Neatha Richard, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Wilma Richard, Oklahoma City.

The time had approached for the Round Table Discussion and the motion for adjournment of the business session was made by Dr. I. N. McCash, seconded by Mr. Thomas G. Cook and passed unanimously.

The Board, members of the Society and visitors moved into the Reception Room of the Library and Dr. B. B. Chapman, leader of the Round Table, immediately took up the business before them which consisted of three topics: (1) State protection of historical centers, (2) Junior Historical Societies in the State, (3) How can Oklahomans be made historically conscious. This discussion which was engaged in by many members of the Board, Society members and visitors was hearty and very helpful. The high points could perhaps be stated as follows:

Dr. J. Stanley Clark of the Planning and Resources Board made it clear that the Planning and Resources Board had done much to preserve and develop the historical sites that had been placed under its care, but while much has been done, a great deal more should be done. He developed splendidly the idea that if the Society wished to purchase certain historical sites in the State, it would be well to discuss it very little beforehand because the price goes up after the discussion is made. He brought out too, that all historical sites developed should receive closer attention on the part of the local citizens. Mr. Morton Harrison, Chairman of the Planning and Resources Board, joined in the discussion and made a splendid contribution to this idea and pledged the full cooperation of his agency. Colonel George H. Shirk said that none of the money now in the treasury of the Society could be very practically used in buying certain historical sites that could be inexpensively secured. Some $50.00 had been asked for a certain historical site which he had discovered a few days before, and he said that if he had had the money he would have purchased it

himself and given it to the Society. This statement brought cheers. Dr. Anna Lewis took up the next topic and said that she had come from the Oklahoma College for Women to stress the necessity of Junior Historical Societies in the State. Dr. Evans joined with her in saying that several years ago, he had made a very strong campaign in the central cities of Oklahoma, and in their schools, to develop junior historical societies. High school students and some teachers were highly enthusiastic and hungry for such a program and some five or six were organized. They failed because the school leaders in the realm of education and history departments demanded that the curriculum as related to history courses was enough and that all time should be given to such courses. For that reason, the splendid beginning for the Junior Historical Societies died on the vine.

Dr. I. N. McCash was called upon by Dr. Chapman to discuss how Oklahomans can be made historically conscious. He presented his views with his usual fervor and accuracy which always mark the statements of the veteran educator and minister.

At the end of this discussion, President Key called upon Mrs. Carolyn Thomas Foreman to add something to the discussion and she said that while she did not wish to enter into the discussion, she wished to say that her husband, Dr. Grant Foreman, had paid this Board a tribute for the program of the Fifty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society, believing that it was the best and most meaty program that he had ever known the Society to put forth.

Dr. Angie Debo reported to the Round Table that she had made a visit to the home of Doctor and Mrs. Foreman and that Doctor Foreman had placed in her hands a statement setting forth his continued interest in the largest domain of the Society and that was the gathering of important historical material from over the State. Dr. Angie Debo read the paper that Dr. Foreman had asked her to read before the Society and the Round Table members heard it with great interest. A motion was made by Mr. Thomas J. Harrison that this paper be placed in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in some future issue. This was seconded by Dr. McCash and passed unanimously.

The appointed time had come for the basket lunch on the campus for the Board Members, Society members, and visitors, so the meeting was adjourned until the banquet at 7:00 P.M.

Promptly at 7:00 P.M., the chosen citizens delegated to extend a warm welcome to the Society in the form of a banquet assembled, and the banquet was called to order by Dr. W. D. Johnson. A splendid musical number was given by Northeastern State College and Mayor Roy C. Hinds was introduced for the Address of Welcome. His address was full of wit and good humor. General William S. Key was called upon to respond in the name of the Society. As President of the Board of Directors, General Key made it clear that in honoring Tahlequah as a chosen place by the Society on its fifty-eighth birthday meeting, it had honored itself.

General Key was called upon by Dr. Johnson to introduce the eminent men and women of the gathering. This part of the program was highly enjoyable because in happy humor, Judge Baxter Taylor, a long-time member of the Board of Directors when introduced, said that in the request made to state his name, he would say that he had come here from Tennessee some forty-five years ago and took the name of Baxter Taylor which is still used today. Others took the cue, and this part of the program which is frequently dry and severe, became a period of merriment.

Dr. Johnson called upon Dr. B. B. Chapman to introduce the first speaker. Dr. Chapman introduced Miss Kathryn M. Murphy and told of the important and close connection between her work as Archivist in Washington, D. C. and that of the archives of Oklahoma.

Miss Murphy thoroughly impressed her audience with the tremendous range of the service of the United States Archives in Washington, D. C. She revealed that the National Archives in Washington had received such Oklahomans as Dr. Grant Foreman, Dr. Litton and Dr. Chapman, and how they had found practical assistance for their research there. Her remarks were practical in every detail and her ideas were so pointed and well developed that she held the audience in close attention. She stated her intention to visit the Oklahoma Historical Society on Wednesday and Thursday May 9th and 10th.

Dr. Gaston Litton delivered a splendid address on "Guide Book on Resources of Oklahoma History". Dr. Litton, as archivist of the University of Oklahoma, has been developing "the hidden link" between the vast archivist resources of the National Archives at Washington and the rich history in the archives of Oklahoma's institutions. He is issuing the book, "Guide Book on Resources of Oklahoma History" within the next few months.

After music from Northeastern State College, the program highly enjoyed by all was completed.

On Tuesday morning at 9:30, May 8th, a historical tour was conducted by Dr. T. L. Ballenger, starting from the east entrance of the Administration Building, and many cars of directors, members and citizens passed through the region surrounding Tahlequah visiting such important spots in the former Cherokee Nation, as the following:

Old Cherokee Capitol
The Cherokee National Prison
The Baptist Mission
The Old Methodist Church
The Cherokee Female Seminary
The Male Seminary
Supreme Court Building
Bacone College
The Presbyterian Mission
Riley's Chapel
The Murrell House (Hunters' Home)
The Worcester Mission (Park Hill)

W. S. KEY, President.

CHARLES EVANS, Secretary

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

Date_____ 19_____

To the Oklahoma Historical Society:

In accordance with an invitation received, I hereby request that the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society elect me to Annual, Life, membership in the Society. In order to expedite the transaction, I herewith send the required fee $_____.

(Signed) _____

P. O. Address_____

_____

_____

The historical quarterly magazine is sent free to all members.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP due (no entrance fee), two dollars in advance.

LIFE MEMBERSHIP fee (free from all dues thereafter), $25.00. Annual members may become life members at any time upon the payment of the fee of twenty-five dollars. This form of membership is recommended to those who are about to join the Society. It is more economical in the long run and it obviates all trouble incident to the paying of annual dues.

All checks or drafts for membership fees or dues should be made payable to the order of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Nominated by

PERSONAL DATA FOR PRESERVATION

In The

RECORDS OF THE SOCIETY

THE APPLICANT WILL PLEASE FILL OUT THE FOLLOWING:

Full name (including middle name or names, spelled out)

.....

Scholastic degrees, if any: .....

Religious, Fraternal and Club affiliations: .....

.....

.....

.....

Military service: .....

.....

.....

Present business, occupation, profession or official position:—

.....

.....

Native state: .....

Date of settlement and place of location in Oklahoma: .....

.....

THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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Autumn, 1951

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GRIDIRON PIONEERS AT HENRY KENDALL COLLEGE

By Robert Rutland

Between 1903 and 1911 Henry Kendall College, now the University of Tulsa, failed to field a football team for intercollegiate competion. However, those were momentous years for the college. In 1906 an expansion program was launched on the Kendall campus which ended in the transfer of the college to Tulsa from Muskogee. The offer from Tulsa's city fathers for a free grant of land was accepted, and in the year of Oklahoma's statehood the college began its fourteenth year in a one-story, two-room building then located at the corner of Fourth and Boston streets in Tulsa.

The college was located on its present site in 1908 when both Kendall and Robertson halls were completed.

Kendall's reappearance on the collegiate football scene in 1912 came at a time when the game itself was becoming modernized. New rules had altered the game. Offensive teams were allowed an extra down, or four downs, to make ten yards. The length of the playing field was reduced from 110 yards to 100, with a 10-yard "end zone" behind each goal line for receiving forward passes. Kickoffs, formerly made from the 55-yard line, were placed on the 40. Touchdowns were revalued at six points. And perhaps most important, the 20-yard limit on forward passes was removed.

Other changes occurred, including elimination of the on-side kick. But to southwestern fans and players the liberation of the forward pass was by far the most important.

Between the 1903 and 1912 seasons Kendall had played only one game. In 1910 a strictly "informal" Kendall team lost to Broken Arrow high school's state champions, 11-5. It was not until October, 1912, that Kendall decided to field a team for that season. Sam McBirney, a young banker, was coaching at Tulsa High School.[1] Who could coach the Kendall eleven? H. L. Allen, a student at Kendall who had played football before coming to Tulsa, offered his services in exchange for part of his tuition. The offer was accepted and Allen began forming a team.

The 1912 squad met four opponents and won from but one, the Euchee Indian school at Sapulpa (57-0). In what might be called a post-season affair, Allen agreed to meet McBirney's high school eleven and the results were humiliating for the college team. Paced by a crushing young back later destined to wear Kendall's colors,

[1] A brief biographical sketch of Sam P. McBirney and a tribute to his deep interest and life's avocation, coaching the Kendall football team, are given in *Appendix A* at the end of this article.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

SAM P. McBIRNEY

John Young, the prep team rolled over Kendall, 32-6. Young was the individual standout, but the high school line gathered glory when it held Kendall for three downs on the one-yard line. Incidentally, one of the largest football crowds ever assembled in northeastern Oklahoma watched the game—over a thousand fans!

George "Red" Evans took over the coaching task in 1913. Although the schedule was not impressive his team won five games and lost only to the Pittsburg (Kansas) Teachers, 32-25. At the start of the season, Evans relied on 13 candidates, but injuries soon whittled the squad down to the basic 11 players. For the game against Haskell A. & M. Evans borrowed several wagons and drove the squad to Broken Arrow, where, despite the tiresome ride, Kendall won, 58-0.[2]

Confident that this was Kendall's year to turn the tables, Evans accepted a challenge from McBirney's Tulsa High School team which had just won the state championship. During that season the prep squad had set a new national scholastic scoring record by completely smothering Okmulgee, 155-7. Young was again McBirney's star performer, while Evans relied on Joe Hause for his break-away man.

The game was played on Thanksgiving Day, 1913, and began after a long delay over the choice of officials. Once the contest started, Tulsa's prep stars scored quickly. Four minutes after the kickoff the high school team scored and Young converted. Hause kept Kendall in the game by scoring on a long run. A few minutes later, with "Swede" Peterson clearing the way, "Injun Joe" broke away again. Hause's second score seemed certain until a desperate high school tackler hauled him down short of the goal line. From that point on, the prep team went on a scoring rampage, tallied three more touchdowns and won going away, 25-6. The victory might have been even more lopsided if it had not rained throughout the final quarter.

Evans' team was decidedly handicapped because star Quarterback Tom Ray had been seriously injured in an earlier game. Nevertheless, the defeat was decisive. After the game, several of McBirney's friends urged him to offer his services to Henry Kendall's 1914 team. It was his love of the game which brought about his acceptance—a short time later—of the Kendall coaching post.

Coach McBirney scheduled eight contests for the 1914 season. He persuaded the all-state back, John Young, to enroll at Kendall. Young had been sought by Michigan, Oklahoma, and other more prominent colleges, but the prize pupil chose to stay with his teacher.

[2] Not to be confused with Haskell Institute of Lawrence, Kansas. This was officially known as the Haskell State School of Agriculture, founded at Broken Arrow in 1908. It closed in 1917. See Oscar William Davison, "Education at Statehood," *The Chronicles*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950), p. 80.

The team started the year full of confidence. McBirney left his bank early in the afternoon, rode out to the practice field near the campus and held sessions with a squad that never numbered over twenty players. Although they won their opening game easily, McBirney was not satisfied with the showing. With Oklahoma and Oklahoma A. and M. on the schedule, the tendency was to "look ahead." Even he was doing it.

Paddle in hand, McBirney stressed fast starts, rugged blocking and teeth-chattering tackles. He drove the squad on, pointed to the games with the Sooners and the Farmers (as the A. and M. Cowboys were then called), and stressed the fundamentals of good football.

"Buck fever" gripped the Kendall team when the first opportunity arrived. A. and M. had a long list of names on its roster, and that fact alone gave the Farmers a tremendous psychological advantage. The game was hardly under way when the Aggies pushed through Kendall's defenses and scored. But the shock of that touchdown brought order out of chaos. The nervous and bewildered Kendall team was transformed into a smooth-functioning machine. It began playing the type of football that McBirney had emphasized—wide open—like the vast stretches of the Stillwater campus. Ivan Grove, the Kendall quarterback, was injured early in the game and replaced by Vergil Jones. Grove's passing and punting duties fell to Young, who brought Kendall back in the game with a touchdown heave. Jones missed the conversion and Kendall trailed, 7-6.

The second half was fought on even terms until three seconds before the final gun when A. and M. uncorked a pass play which produced a score. The final count favored the Farmers, 13-6. Between the two schools this hectic series was destined to continue as one of the section's leading football attractions.

In a warmup game for the Oklahoma contest, McBirney took his team to Claremore for a game with the Eastern University Preparatory school.[3] The orange-and-black Kendall team (the colors undoubtedly borrowed from Princeton) won easily, 54-0, but the game was not a "tea and crumpet" affair. A reporter's account of the game disclosed that "near the close of the game, encouraged by a mean crowd on the sidelines, the Prep team became rough to the most extreme degree." As a testimonial for the journalist's remarks, Vergil Jones, the diminutive and speedy end, came out of the game with a fractured jaw.

The long-awaited day arrived when McBirney's friend, Bennie Owen, brought his red-shirted Sooners to Tulsa. The Oklahoma team had trimmed a great Haskell Institute squad in Kansas City. The Kendall game was a stopover for the university squad which was

[3] *Ibid.* Now known as Oklahoma Military Academy.

headed for Norman. Proceeds of the contest, which was played on Monday, November 30, were to be used in providing an Oklahoma State exhibit at the Pan-Pacific exposition in San Francisco. The Sooners arrived in Tulsa early on the game day, dressed and went to the playing field which was near the railroad station.

When the Sooner squad, twice the size of Kendall's 16-man crew, pranced onto the field wrapped in their huge "O" blankets, the game was practically theirs by default. The poise of the Kendallites gave way to a "scare" which all football players sometimes experience; not necessarily a fear, but a pit-of-the-stomach feeling of uncertainty.

Playing without the services of their ace fullback, "Spot" Geyer, the OU eleven kicked off and immediately recovered a Kendall fumble on their host's 25-yard line.[4] On the first offensive play of the game, Elmer Capshaw, the Sooner pass artist, tossed a long aerial to Neil Johnson for a touchdown. Another Capshaw pass came a few minutes later and placed the ball on the Kendall six, where Boyd carried it over for the second Oklahoma touchdown. Before the half ended, Boyd threw a pass to Montgomery, who had scored the second marker for the Sooners, and the OU end again tallied.

Despite the efforts of Blevens, Handley and other Kendall linemen, the contest appeared to be a rout as the second half began. However, Owen, possibly moved by his friendship for Kendall's coach, started his second-string backfield. Kendall punted after failing to gain, but the Sooner back who received the kick fumbled the ball on his own 15 and an alert Kendall man recovered. In five plays freshman Grove and Young punched the pigskin across the Oklahoma goal, the scoring honor going to Grove. Grove then converted and Tulsa's partisan crowd began to hope again.

That one break was the lone flaw in the Sooner game that afternoon, and as the clock ran out it appeared that the final score would be 20-7. In the fading minutes another Sooner touchdown came after a 30-yard pass and a scoring plunge by the OU tackle, Billie Clark. The final count was 26-7. Kendall's failure to stop the Oklahoma overhead attack had accounted for the difference.

Clad in a starched collar, high-topped shoes and a derby hat, McBirney tried to console the gloomy Kendall squad as the fans filed out of Tulsa's old Western Association ball park. Paul Handley, "Spud" Austin, Cliff Allen, "Puny" Blevens and the other linemen were ready to drop with fatigue—most of them had played the full 60 minutes.

Several weeks later a banquet honoring the team was held in a Tulsa hotel. The highlight of the affair came when the college

[4] For a more detailed account of the game, see Harold Keith's *Oklahoma Kick-off* (Norman, 1948), p. 292.

presented a silver loving cup to McBirney. The cup bore this inscription: "Presented to Mr. and Mrs. Sam McBirney and Susan for the distinguished services of our coach, Sam—Football, 1914, Henry Kendall College."[5]

APPENDIX A

Sam P. McBirney was well known as one of Tulsa's leading citizens who had long served as Vice President of the National Bank of Commerce at the time of his death in Tulsa, on January 20, 1936. He is survived by his wife and their four children: Susan (Mrs. W. F. Bush), Williams, Samuel and Mary Megan (Mrs. R. D. Bryan). Mrs. McBirney (née Nettie Williams), at the time of her marriage to Sam P. McBirney in 1913, was Supervisor of Home Economics in the Muskogee public school system, and to-day is an outstanding business woman of Tulsa.

The following tribute to Mr. McBirney appeared in *The Collegian*, Vol. VII, No. 5 (December 1, 1917), quarterly magazine of Henry Kendal College, p. 20:

"Sam McBirney, Coach

"No man in the Southwest is more frequently spoken of and admired during the football season than Sam McBirney. He has been a friend and football coach of Kendall College for a number of years. Before coming to Kendal and during his early football experience he played half-back on some small teams, and the year 1900 he began coaching New Mexico University and led to championship in two years. He is famous for being responsible for southwestern championship of two college teams also; during 1913, he coached Tulsa High to state championship. During the year of 1913, a number of his best athletes of Tulsa High School graduated and the following autumn began their college career at Kendall. McBirney seeing a great future for these men was easily influenced to take charge of the college team. The team did good work during the year 1914, and the entire squad returned to college the following fall and were led farther into the science of football, tying the score with Oklahoma A. & M. College, and being beaten only one point by Oklahoma University. The year 1916 opened and McBirney was one of the first men to appear on the Kendall gridiron. It has been said by good authority that there is no man in the west that can plan a better offensive course for a football team than McBirney. This was proved during the autumn of 1916 when his team were southwestern champions and all-victorious. Most people thought that he would not attempt to coach any more, but this year even though his duties as a banker are extremely numerous, he appears at the college every evening and can be heard from a great distance giving his commands for hard hitting and speed. The College is certainly fortunate in having such a friend at its doors, and the boys who make up the football squad are free to express their respect and admiration for such a noble character."

Acknowledgments are due Dr. Fred S. Clinton, of Tulsa, for his interest and assistance in securing the above biographical notes, the photograph of Sam P. McBirney accompanying this article, and photographs of the Kendall Team and Field House for the following article.—Ed.

[5] The author is indebted to Mrs. Sam McBirney for her corrections of this article, as well as her permission to use the correspondence files and scrapbooks of her late husband.—R. R.

KENDALL FOOTBALL TEAM—1916 CHAMPIONS OF THE SOUTHWEST—
HOLDERS OF WORLD'S RECORD, 566 POINTS

Left to right:

Francis Schmidt, Coach
Virgil Jones, Right End
Carl Ammons, End
Joe Hause, Right Half
Clifford Allen, Center
Freeman Winslow, Half Back
Rube Leekley, Right Tackle
Arthur Wallace, Left Guard
"Susie" Foy, Lineman
George Shorney, Lineman
(Earle Coffey, Left Guard not in photo)
Madison ("Puny") Blevins, Left Tackle
William Edwards, Right Guard
Ivan H. Grove, Quarter Back
Everett Fiest, Half Back
Ralph Handley, Left End
"Bill" Creekmore, Right Guard
John Young (Captain), Full Back
Harry Miller, Left Half
W. G. Johnson (Manager), End
Fulton Austin, Right Guard
Sam P. McBirney, Coach

FOOTBALL—LOOKING BACKWARD

By Charles Evans

"Why has a moral deterioration set in among us that brings corruption, loose behavior, dulled principals, subverted morals, easy expediencies, sharp practices? . . . . . What has taken away the capacity for indignation that used to rise like a mighty wave and engulf corruptors—corruptors of public office, of business, of youth, of sports?"[1]

Engaging in a bit of reminiscence, I told a story to the Associate Editor of *The Chronicles,* Miss Muriel H. Wright, of my experiences as an educator in the Oklahoma country, on football as I found it through a period of forty-five years. As all story tellers do, I wound up with a boast that I was the only man living who as president of a college in Oklahoma saw his football team in 1916 defeat the University of Oklahoma team and also that of Oklahoma A. and M. College within ten days.

Miss Wright said to me, "Would it not be well for you to tell something of football and the sports in the schools of Oklahoma in connection with the article 'Gridiron Pioneers at Henry Kendall College' by Robert Rutland?" Taking the suggestion, I offer a few paragraphs here that may turn out either a song or a sermon.

Football in America in the month of August, 1951, pushed even the Korean War and the Investigating Committee off the front pages of American newspapers as ninety young Americans were sent out of West Point for cribbing on examinations. It seemed that millions of Americans were not so concerned about the 2400 or more West Point cadets that held fast to the age-old code of honor, as that the number of ninety expelled included the Captain and many members of the 1951 football team.

As a student of Kentucky University in 1888, I was one of a very small group observing a football game between the Roughnecks of Lexington and the Kentucky State team. Football was not well received in that day in institutions of learning in the South. It was looked upon as a sport where muscle was substituted for mind. As Superintendent of Schools in the "Gay 90's" in Kentucky, I found football did not appear in the city schools in that state to any large degree.

Upon my coming to Ardmore in 1905 as Superintendent of Schools I found a ragged team with no uniforms and no guidance or coaching except from the fellow who could shout the loudest and had seen a game or two in his life. All played for fun. It was a game that attracted small crowds and was either scouted or ignored

[1] Louis B. Seltzer, Editor of the *Cleveland Press,* in *Time* magazine for August 27, 1951.

by the steady worth-while. This condition obtained in the public schools over the territories, and a few years after statehood.

My observation of this group of boys engaged in this sport developed into this line of reasoning: All life is a contest, therefore, the worth of football or any other sport valuable to youth must be refined, clean and noble. Football can be ennobled by making it an integral part of the schools. *This can only be done when all sports shall be incorporated in the curriculum and the whole student body and faculty embrace them as a very part of the school system. Then it follows as the night the day that the head of the institution must recognize it and protect it as he would any other part of the curriculum. No scholastic contest must grow too important. All sports must live in, by and for the spirit and honor of the school.*

Football grew in Ardmore. In 1907 the Board reluctantly allotted enough money for placing a coach for football in the schools and the salary was something like $1,200 annually. (Basketball was unknown in Oklahoma at this time). The credentials of an applicant from Michigan pleased the Superintendent most. His name name was Harry Meade. Harry was as handsome a young man as could be found and he was as genuine, honest and capable as he was good looking. Ardmore did not know it, but it was a new and a larger day for its schools when Harry Meade arrived as its athletic coach. Harry taught me many lessons. He believed that the football world should not be too much over-rated, but he felt that the power and influence of a coach could contribute greatly to the development of youth. The men under Jackson and Sheridan were never more willing and finer followers of their leaders than the young men of the football team at Ardmore as they followed Harry Meade on the athletic field. In 1909 he took four boys, Buddy Neilson, Phillip Neilson, George Anderson and Walter Pittman to the Annual Meet at the University of Oklahoma and they brought back first honors and a trophy cup from a large field. He did the same thing in 1910 and the momentum of the sterling character of Harry Meade was prolonged through 1911 when Ardmore won the cup for the third time, and it now rests in the trophy hall in Ardmore High School.

But football was subordinate to the course of study and the general good of the city school system. One morning the report came out that there were several on the high school football team that were in arrears both in credits and in examinations. A great game, a contest between Ardmore and Norman high schools, was just around the corner. After deliberation, the incompetents in the departments of Ardmore High School were thrown out and the football team was severely crippled, and in the eyes of many destroyed. Perhaps bitterness and near rebellion can not be better experienced than to be part of a movement wherein members of a football team are removed at the top of a victorious season. My

popularity sank to almost zero when I authorized Meade to drop the several delinquent members of the team. The whole High School at the next assembly sat morose, rebellious, glowering and almost mob-like. Strange to say, girlhood displayed this spirit to a higher degree than boyhood. Ardmore citizenship had grown in interest and pride over their achievements on the athletic fields, and they joined with the student body in sending messages of advice and abuse to the Superintendent. The only way to meet this sort of thing is for the superintendent or the chief executive of a system—not the coach to take over and meet the situation head-on. He may delegate to the coach or the Athletic Committee certain lines of action, but it must be known that they are speaking for him, and that he speaks for something larger than the coach and larger than himself—the honest spirit of a system of education. When properly used, this kind of action always wins. The Superintendent presented the case as one of honor, not of mere victory. And as American youth has ever done, the majority saw it was not a matter of football but that the honor of the High School came first.

There was no evidence of centralized, deified football in Oklahoma until the middle teens of the second decade (1915). Everyone played every game for fun and they played home talent as far as the schools were concerned. Athletics received a new accent along about 1906 and 1907 when the University established its Annual Meet. This big athletic awakening was not so forceful or compelling as a certain character in athletic leadership which it introduced to all the Oklahoma Territory. President Boyd of the University, a magnetic leader of men and a discerning educator brought down from Kansas a young man by the name of Benjamin Owen and made him Football Coach and Director of Athletics at the University. From that time until even this day there has been an athletic development and honor which held to the highest standards, and these all fashioned into an incentive that made the University of Oklahoma feared, respected and above criticism. It might be called the Owen influence.

In 1911, in taking the presidency of Central College at Edmond, I found our athletics had entered the circle of university and collegiate sports. The management of the football team at that time in Central consisted of strange parts. The coach seemed to consider each contest as a sort of "lark". These loose ways were enlivened and enriched by eating, drinking and making merry. This reduced the state of athletics to almost zero, and of course the honor and name of Central to a point not very much higher. I asked Benny Owen to send me three young men from whom I could select a leader in athletics. I did not send to him because he was a coach at the University of Oklahoma, but because his name had become a by-word for honor and dignity in the sports world. Three came, and realizing that I was going to select a member of the faculty that would

exercise more influence on the student body than, perhaps, any two other members of the faculty combined, I carefully chose, after looking into his family life, his married life, his church life, and finally his athletic record, Charles W. Wantland, who remained at Central for twenty years and exercised the same influence on the character of the young men who entered that institution that Owen had at the University. Wantland, later said to me with his taciturn smile, "You almost knocked me off my feet as I came here as Athletic Director when you said, 'Wantland, I expect from you as good leadership in the church and the Y.M.C.A. as on the athletic field.' " It must be said that he met this demand in the highest measure.

In 1912, the leading coaches of the State felt the time had come to set up an athletic code and cleanse the athletic field of some dishonorable practices often used. Roughing, clipping, fighting, frequent use of football "ringers" (players imported from outside the school), interference by observers, and many other such practices were too common.

So, a State Athletic Association, after thorough discussion by the leading coaches of the State, was organized, and an athletic code was adopted. The first serious test of this association and its code of honor and tactics was presented by the Central State College at Edmond in 1913. It was noised abroad that one of the teachers' colleges had been using "ringers" for several seasons. As the Central football team was about to start for its contest with this team, the president called Coach Wantland and the team before him and said, "Wantland, the one big thing before you is to ascertain whether 'ringers' are played. Get names, grades, qualifications of the whole team. If outside and irregular players are used, notify the president of the college to either take them out or that you will present the case before the State Athletic Association."

The game was played, Mr. Wantland performed his duties, the "ringers" were used on the opposing team and the case was presented to the State Athletic Association. It decided that this state teachers' college using the "ringers" could not compete in football within the State for two years. This decision and strict adherence to it, began a new era of athletic honor in the State.

There was a need in the year of 1914 for a change in the chairmanship in the Advanced Standing Committee of Central. The position called for a man of probity, warm sympathy and reputation throughout the college, known over the whole field of higher educational institutions in the State for such values. As president, I called Charles Wantland to this position. *As far as my observations and experiences have run over fifty years, it was the first time that a football coach or athletic director had been put in charge of this type of committee in a collegiate institution.* This was done to prove that football and basketball and other sports should be led by a man

who has as high a standing and as broad a field of action as any member of the faculty. This had a tremendous influence on all athletic life at Central and it penetrated the scholastic and athletic life of the whole State.

In October 1950, there was celebrated a "Wantland Day" and four-hundred men from all parts of the United States came to gather around the banquet board in Edmond to pay tribute to their coach of former days, Charles W. Wantland, for his twenty years of service. Many of them paid tribute and analyzed their association with their beloved football leader; everyone of them made it clear that he won their respect and their fighting spirit by his stern devotion to Christian character. It was always a fight of honor, not a mere matter of lose or win.

In a little while, the Board of Trustees of Kendall College of Tulsa, asked me to take its presidency. In 1916 Tulsa was attracting the attention of entire America for it was fast becoming the oil center of the world. It was perhaps richer per capita in wealth from oil than any city of similar size on earth. Believing that a Vanderbilt or a Tulane could grow out of the old, ancient and honorable rootage of Kendall College located in such a city, the call was accepted. Although a small college, Kendall had achieved more than an average position and power in the football field of the State because its team had conquered on many hard-fought football fields and in 1915, had lacked only two points of defeating the University.

Then, there appeared another leader of athletics, a football coach whose superior I have never seen—Francis Schmidt. He had been called from a school in Kansas to take charge of the Kendall team. Handsome, magnetic and refined, he radiated in every action a poise and dignity that could not be challenged.

In talking this day with Coach Ray ("Bear") Wolf of Tulane University, he said to me, "It was the privilege of my life to be assistant coach with Francis Schmidt at Texas Christian University. For some twenty years I have been in the coaching field of football, but I have never approached the strength and power of Francis Schmidt." Schmidt went on to Ohio State and led the "Big Ten" for many years with his football genius.

The year of 1916 found the Kendall team with a challenging schedule of football contests. It included Haskell, Emporia State, Oklahoma A. and M. College and the University of Oklahoma, as well as several others of real power. Schmidt told me at the beginning of the season that he had a team that he believed would defeat any team on his schedule. Of course the compelling apex was the burning desire to defeat the University. Up to that time, the football team of the University, coached by Benny Owen, had not been defeated except in its very earliest days when it was a struggling and un-

developed team. Benny Owen was now at the heighth of his power and his team had been victorious over the State and throughout the states round-about. On November 16, 1916, the football team of Kendall, along with some 200 citizens of Tulsa, entrained to Norman to witness the battle between Kendall College and the University. The result was a victory for Kendall with a score of 16 to 0. I asked President Brooks and Benny Owen how they could explain it. Owen replied, "That is an easy thing to do. Kendall had the better team." On the Saturday following, Kendall met the second greatest power in the State and defeated Oklahoma A. and M. College, at Stillwater, 14 to 11. The season closed with 566 winning points for Schmidt's team and some 15 for his adversaries. *The New York Times* paid Kendall great tribute calling its team the equal of any in America. There was talk, of course, that Kendall found its victory in devious ways. That is always said by those who do not take to defeat readily and especially from smaller and supposedly weaker adversaries. No man who knew Francis Schmidt dared to make such a comment.[1]

The result of his leadership paid off. On the day before the football banquet in Tulsa after the last game in November, 1916, Mr. E. P. Harwell, one of the trustees of the College Board and a wealthy stockholder of McMann Oil Company asked me to enter his car and drive over to the college. He remarked on the way that Kendall had enjoyed a very large year. I replied, "Yes, the enrollment has doubled, the graduating class has been greatly increased, a $500,000 endowment has been raised and the record is very good indeed." He said, "The best thing that has been done is that Kendall defeated the University in football." I agreed that that was not bad. He said, "You have no athletic field house, have you?" I replied, "No, the boys are compelled to do their dressing, bathing, etc., in some corner of the buildings or grounds." He said, "Tonight when you offer the footballs and trophies to the team you may announce that you have $100,000 for a field house." That shook me, and with set jaws I asked him who would give it. He replied that it mattered not, it would be forthcoming. I explained that I should know because the *Tulsa World* would be asking questions and the people would also want to know. He paused a while and then said, "Then announce that I shall give it." So, that evening at the banquet I announced that Mr. E. P. Harwell was giving $100,000 to Kendall for a field house and for equipment and that the school would hold a merry holiday the next day.

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[1] An article appearing in *The Tulsa World* as *The Chronicles* goes to press reveals the spirit of the football team in 1916. Ivan H. Grove, a member of this football team, won renown throughout the United States as quarter-back. For the story in *The Tulsa World* and his place as a football coach today, see *Appendix B* at the end of this article.

E. P. Harrwell Gymnasium, University of Tulsa Completed 1920, replacing a wooden gym in use for the preceding five years.

I tell this story in honor of Francis Schmidt who as a coach put his college first, his membership in the college faculty second, his team third and his Christian fidelity above all.

In the beginning of this article I stated that it might turn out a song or it might turn out a sermon. Whether it be either, the genuine excuse for these views growing out of my experiences of some fifty years with athletics in the educational world can be stated that such sports as football and basketball in the year 1951 made history by dropping to such a low ebb of honor and integrity as to shock the whole nation. On this very day, the 27th day in the month of August 1951, a committee of leading figures of the American Congress for the first time in American history is taking up and giving closest investigation of the conditions now existing in American athletics.

Senator Fulbright of Arkansas is quoted in *The Daily Oklahoman* of August 4, 1951, as saying: "I guess that this violation of the honor code at West Point was first instigated by those who were primarily interested in playing football and were not there for any other purpose." It would be well for any self-centered or victory-at-any-price-coach or educator in authority to listen to that statement.

In an editorial in *The Daily Oklahoman* of August 6, 1951, under the heading of "What Shall It Profit Us?" this paragraph is found:

"The sorest need of the country just now is not better football teams or a greater degree of immunity for football offenders. The paramount need is a complete reassessment of moral values. There seems to have been a moral let-down in every stratum of American society—from the highest plane to the very lowest. Charges of cheating and graft and peculation are heard in every corridor of our national life. Now that charge is heard on the campus at West Point where the future leaders of our national defense are receiving their training."

APPENDIX B

From *Tulsa Daily World,* Sunday, September 23, 1951, p. 6, Cols. 1-4, Sports section:

"Many Grid Mentors Get Big Yak About Character Building But Ivan Grove is Coach Who Made it Pay

"(Editor's Note: Colleges contemplating de-emphasizing football and yet wanting to keep the sport, may get some pointers from the following story about Ivan H. Grove, coach and athletic director of Hendrix College of Arkansas. Grove was one of the great Tulsa University football players under the late Sam McBirney and Francis Schmidt and has many Tulsa friends.—B.A.B.)

"By Carl Bell

"Conway, Ark., Sept. 22 (AP)—Ivan H. Grove practices what he preaches about character building through athletics.

"He has made it pay in a profession that has virtually no job security. Grove has held a coaching job at one college through 28 years and his future tenure doesn't depend on his won-lost record.

"At little Hendrix, where he coaches football, directs athletics and teaches sociology, developing character comes ahead of victory on the field.

"On the eve of another campaign, the bald scholarly dean of Arkansas coaches was asked what his goal had been throughout his career.

" 'It is NOT hard to state my philosophy as a coach,' he replied. 'Everyone wants a four-square life—intellectual, moral, physical and spiritual. Athletics, physical education and recreation are a means of implementing the aims in life.

" 'I think the average boy or girl will find an avenue for a release of energy which could be dissipated in wrong channels. Therefore, I coach to try to teach every boy and girl, individually and collectively, to master themselves.' "

"And Grove thinks he can accomplish these aims through competitive sports because they provide a better appreciation of the total pattern of life and the educational scheme; a desire for clean living with a respect for wise discipline and authority; a bulwark against situations which might throw a person later in life and are a "great laboratory method of developing good citizenship and an appreciation of the ideals of sportsmanship, qualities of cooperation, courage, unselfishness and self-control."

"He regards his long tenure at Hendrix, a Methodist school, as his greatest achievement. He has no thoughts of retiring, even though football has been further de-emphasized. No longer do the Warriors compete for the gridiron championship in their state conference. They play a few old foes and round out the schedule with out-of-state schools in their class.

"Hendrix discontinued the practice of giving financial aid to athletes several years ago and since then the Methodists, while giving a good account of themselves, haven't been able to annex any major conference championships.

"Before de-emphasis, Grove turned out champions in football, basketball and track.

"The support Grove receives is unique. Hendrix officials and alumni stick with him in defeat as well as in victory. In 1948, when his team lost seven games and won only two, they staged an 'Ivan Grove Day' and gave him an automobile.

"That same year he was named 'Arkansan of the Year' in the Arkansas Democrat's annual poll.

"Grove says the late Francis A. Schmidt was the greatest coach he ever knew and 'gave me the great chance in this (coaching) field.'

"Grove first played under Schmidt at Arkansas City, Kan., high school and followed him to Henry Kendall college (now Tulsa University).

"He was a four-sports athlete at Kendall in 1914-15-16-19. He earned national recognition as a football back in 1916 when he set a collegiate record by kicking 61 points after touchdown. Grove scored 126 points that season.

"When the U. S. entered the first world war, Grove interrupted his college education to enlist in the Rainbow Division and serve overseas. He returned to finish his work and in 1920 launched his coaching career at Oklahoma Baptist University."

"Grove rejoined Schmidt when the latter became head coach at the University of Arkansas in 1922. Grove was freshman coach at the

university and recalls that one of the greatest athletes he taught there is U. S. Sen. J. W. (Bill) Fulbright.

"As for the best athlete he ever coached he says 'all my boys rate a spot in my little black book.'

"In 1923, he parted company with Schmidt to take the Hendrix job he's had ever since. Schmidt later was head coach at Texas Christian University and Ohio State.

"In addition to coaching and teaching at Hendrix, Grove has been a leader in all amateur athletics of the state, serving for years as president of the Arkansas Association of the Amateur Athletic Union. He also has been active in civic and Methodist church affairs and dabbles a little in politics—on the Democrat side.

"Once 'Grovie'—as most of his athletes affectionately call him—said: 'I have NO favorite sport. I love 'em all.'

"But, in 1947, when he decided to reduce his work load, he turned the basketball coaching over to one of his former athletes, Morton Hutto. He continued to direct football and track.

"Grove was born in Denver Aug. 18, 1894, the son of a railway conductor. Early in his youth, he and his family moved to Kansas. Now Grove calls himself a 'full-blooded Arkansan.'

"He married the former Miss Zepha Freeze of Jonesboro in 1927, a year after she graduated from Hendrix. They have a daughter Martha Lou."

A ROMANCE OF PIONEERING

*By Lucy Gage**

The vast stretches of prairie lands sweeping from the Mississippi basin to the foothills of the Rockies have held many dramatic moments. The Indians did not yield their play ground to the white man's civilization without protest. The history of the great West might be said to be a record of a series of these protests announced in the form of Indian uprisings. From the earlier, more vehement outbreaks to the later arbitrative councils, there had gradually been a shrinkage of tribal holdings. Determined to overcome the insecurity of life on the frontier, the white man had unceasingly pushed and extended his domain into the wilderness of the untamed.

The last stand taken by the red man against white encroachment was in Oklahoma Territory. The Plains Indian tribes—the Kiowas, Apaches, Comanches—held out against the white man's invasion of their extensive reservation until the turn of the present century—1901. Lone Wolf, the famous Kiowa Chief, never did yield willingly to the agreement made by his own and neighboring tribes with the United States Government to open their reservation to settlement.

"THE PROMISED LAND"

The friendly light burned late on the living room table. The usual retiring hour was long since past, yet father and mother were sitting there in deep conversation, forgetful of the hour.

The night was cold, the intense cold of early February in the Lake Superior country. Snow, five feet on the level, crunched under foot; one's breath frosted on the air as the full force of northern winter announced its frigidity in no uncertain manner. The home looked warm and inviting behind its double-paned windows and storm-doors. Entering the cheery living room I felt a new quality of expectancy.

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* Lucy Gage, noted leader and teacher in the field of elementary education at Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, for over thirty years, came with her parents to Anadarko at the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation in 1901. After her retirement from active service at Peabody in 1942, Miss Gage responded to the urging of her friends to record her experiences at the last great land opening in Oklahoma. A copy of her manuscript of 130 typed pages was placed in the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society after her passing in 1946, by her nephew, Jack Stephens, that her contribution to Oklahoma history might receive consideration for publication in *The Chronicles*. Miss Gage's story as it appears here represents six chapters of her manuscript that have been adapted for publication, with editorial footnotes, in this number of the quarterly magazine. A brief sketch of Lucy Gage as "Founder of Oklahoma's Kindergartens," by Ethel McMillan, appears as *Appendix A* at the end of this story.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

(Photo 1941)

LUCY GAGE

"What does this mean?" I inquired as I looked into their eager faces.

"We are going to Oklahoma," announced my mother.

"To Oklahoma! When?" I asked in an amused tone.

"Next summer. Your father has been reading to me this wonderful story of the "New Commonwealth—Oklahoma."

"What is it all about, father?"

"You must read it, Lucy. This man, Charles Moreau Harger, writes as though he knew what he is talking about."

I picked up the magazine, sat down and immediately swung into the fascinating tale of the opening of new lands to white settlement the following summer:[1]

"Romance in pioneering is fast disappearing from the West. 'Settler' and 'claim' in a few years will be marked obsolete. As ranch succeeded ranch so farm and field are taking the place of the prairie. . . . .

"Even in the newest of pioneer communities—the 'Promised Land' of Oklahoma—such signs of permanent settlement are manifst as to disappoint the seeker after sensational newness . . . . . Here as nowhere else in the world are whole counties with a family on every quarter section and only one. . . . . Few more beautiful pictures can be seen on the plains than an Eastern Oklahoma landscape. The gently rolling rich loamy soil or even the reddish tinge of clay with myriads of hay or straw stacks—the green of growing wheat, the thrifty farm houses and the promising orchards unite to tell of agricultural success. . . . . Father south comes the cotton country. A fertile soil that can produce the staples of the North and South ought to be sufficient for the most exacting.

"Two openings have made Oklahoma what it is—the original one in 1889 and that of the Cherokee Strip in 1893.[2] Another that will probably be more interesting than either will occur next year—that of the Kiowa Apache Comanche reservations lying to the south of the land first given to settlers, ... comprising approximately three million acres.

"By an act of Congress it is to be opened to settlement as soon as the allotments ordered for the Indians of the tribes named shall be made. . . . . The prospect that the opening would come next Spring seems doomed to disappointment. The progress of the allotment and survey is so slow that it is probable that the date will not be earlier than August or September, 1901. When it comes it will be a sight worth seeing as it will be the last of the openings on so extensive a scale. . . . . Not often may a land little more than a decade from bare prairie present so marvelous a showing as does Oklahoma."

I caught the infection of a virgin land with fertile potentialities. I caught the romance and poetry of fruits and flowers, a long growing

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[1] Charles Morean Harger, "The Next Commonwealth—Oklahoma," in *The Outlook* for February 2, 1901.

[2] The opening of the Kiowa-Apache-Comanche Reservation, together with the opening of the adjoining Wichita-Caddo Reservation on the same day—August 6, 1901—was the eighth land opening in Oklahoma beginning with the "run" on April 22, 1889, into the Unassigned Lands.

season and the chance to participate in a great national drama. Eleven thousand farms to be given away by our Government to those interested enough to come and participate. It gripped me unmistakably.

"What do you think of it?" eagerly asked my mother.

"I think it is great. Wouldn't it be a rare experience to go down there if only to see how new lands are opened to settlement? But of course there is a chance of drawing a farm."

"We have made one big move, we can make another," boldly asserted my mother.

"Why I believe you are really serious about this, mother."

"Of course we are. As I said to your father before you came in, we have everything to gain and nothing to lose."

We counselled together into the wee hours, taking no account of time. Thirty-one years have not dimmed the vivid details of that family conference in the frozen north. That night proved the initial push-off into our imaginary adventure into a "Promised Land" that to us literally "flowed with milk and honey."

In the cold light of the next day it sounded wild and unheard of to disturb our stablized security. Yet each day of the prolonged deep snows, each day of the continued icy weather of the far north country, each day that failed to bring spring, made the picture of the southwest with its early warmth, its lush grass lands, its brilliant-hued wild flowers, grow more alluring and compelling.

It was this article that caught the imagination of a family in the far north, and changed its destiny. The opening sentence threw out a challenge. Something significant was happening in this new America. If one did not hurry and answer the call, one would miss out on something very real and very momentous. It was Mr. Harger's enthusiasm for the adventure of developing a new state from virgin lands. It was his integrity in the telling—giving one an inside look. The whole picture conveyed confidence sufficient to stir one family to the point of exploring. . . . .

To have gone from Ohio, our native state, to frontier life in the West would have been unthinkable. Ten years before a business venture had taken our family to Northern Wisconsin. This sharp change of climate, people, conditions of living proved to be the forerunner and paved the way for the bigger adventure in the Southwest. Wisconsin taught us not to be afraid of newness.

Mother suggested that we write to Mr. Harger, asking what a tenderfoot family might do should it fail in the drawing. We addressed him in care of the *Outlook,* New York City.

How we anticipated his answer! It came and was delightfully reassuring and humorous, dated at Abilene, Kansas. The letterhead told us Harger was editor of the local newspaper. He wrote in detail of a trip he had made down into the "Next Commonwealth" driving over most of the new country. He told us of the new towns to be built, and the large school land acreage that would be leased by the Territorial government.

We used every possible avenue to inform ourselves. The United States Department of the Interior sent a shower of government documents that confirmed all Mr. Harger had said and gave us added facts that increased our confidence.

The Territorial government literature made clear what settlers had accomplished in the runs of 1889 and 1893, carving out of free lands established homes, communities and thriving towns. It informed us that Dennis Flynn, the Territorial delegate to Washington, had introduced a bill in Congress doing away with runs,[3] substituting a plan of drawing numbers in order to make a more orderly and less barbaric opening of the Kiowa-Comanche and Wichita country in 1901. Many objected to this plan but it did eliminate the "Sooner."

We found, too, that the railroads were pushing their lines into the new country in advance of the settler. One could come to the nearest point of registration, El Reno, in a Pullman car.

We now began to prepare in a much more direct and purposeful manner to put our affairs in shape for the big undertaking. Father had struggled for eight years to avoid entire collapse of a business crippled by the panic of 1893. He did salvage the remnants, but the results were meager and discouraging. Mother recognized more clearly than father how much it had taken out of both of them. She knew, too, that father could face failure no longer and keep his self-respect. Always far-seeing and alert to every possible improvement for the welfare of her little family, she caught the significance of this change, perhaps not so much for themselves as for their child.

A courageous, optimistic soul, she had that added insight of thrift that managed two years of college for me in Chicago in the face of business disaster. I followed a course to become a teacher of young children. I remained five additional years as a demonstrating teacher in the College. In this way I attained independence, economic and mental, during these difficult years at home.

Seven strenuous years in the city told my parents it would be wise to leave off teaching for a year. "Come home and get acquainted with your father, mother and home conditions," they wrote me.

It was not difficult for me to recognize that I needed them and they needed me. I was at this time, then, enjoying home and the

[3] This was the Land Lottery Act sponsored in Congress by Delegate Dennis Flynn, of Oklahoma Territory.

leisurely hours spent in assisting mother, sharing ideas and ideals. Daily our home ties were more closely knit in the sharing of problems, in sharing our home with friends and in projecting the future.

Our affairs as a family were in a nebulous state, seemingly ready to crystallize in some new form when the call of this new land came directly to each of us. Mother and I, in our bursts of enthusiasm, would grow hilarious over the coming adventure. Father, wisely conservative, would call us down to earth with the cold facts of the hardships of pioneering.

"We shall not burn our bridges behind us. We own our home. We have rental property here. We shall make the trip in temporary fashion with only our essential baggage. If our experience does not measure up to Mr. Harger's glowing description, we can return home."

Yet this upheaval, we knew, was something more than temporary. This leaving something secure for something not yet experienced was not easy. I had not realized how deeply rooted my parents' lives were in this social community. In my goings and coming I had not realized how much of a place they had made for themselves in ten years' residence, nor how fully they were valued by their friends. They were wholly unprepared for the wrench that came at departure.

My mother waved goodbye through her tears to the tested and true at the station who called out to us as the train moved out: "If you don't like it, come back to us. Write and tell us about that country. We may follow you!"

And we were off!

In a Pullman car we arrived one hot July day at El Reno, located on the Rock Island Railroad. From the cool breezes of Lake Superior to the hot winds of the Southwest was a difficult adjustment. We found 50,000 other people had read Mr. Harger's article or in some other manner had learned of Uncle Sam's celebration in the Southwest.

El Reno normally at this time was a small town of five or six thousand souls with United States' Fort Reno and the Darlington Indian Agency not far away. United States soldiers were in evidence to try to help handle this unusual occasion and assist in keeping order.

Even with military assistance, El Reno was unprepared to cope with the vast crowds pouring in from every direction. Every train arriving at this time had as many passengers on the roof and clinging to the entrances as were on the inside. These growing numbers daily added to the complexity of living. There came to be not food enough—not water enough.

The United States authorities threatened to move the drawing to a larger center unless the local situation could be improved. This

challenged the business men of the community who were reaping a harvest. Immediately measures were taken to increase the comfort of the crowds. Barrels filled with ice water were placed at the street corners with cups attached by chains. The advantage of this was seized upon by one enterprising newcomer who took charge of one of the barrels, announcing loudly, "Come this way! Come this way! All the water you want to drink for five cents." It was sometime before it was recognized that he had captured one of the public drinking fountains for his own profit.

Streets were lined with every type of fakir known to man. Every gambling device from the roulette wheel and faro down to the simplest shooting gallery felt completely justified to run in open competition with the government conducting a game of chance on a national scale.

Everything was colorful. Everything was gay. The little pioneer town near the border of the new country had been pushed back and had given place to a complex, cosmopolitan company. The checked suit and red tie of the professional sporting world, the artificial blonde street woman selling herself, the silent Indian in colorful attire, the frontier cowboy with his broad-brimmed hat, the pioneer woman with her clean dress and sunbonnet were all participating in the adventure of subduing another frontier.

Into this medley of humanity tenderfeet, like ourselves, were arriving from the north and east. We found ourselves searching for a spot to lay our heads. While mother rested in a small wooden structure known as the depot, father and I scouted for a possible bed for the night. Into the main thoroughfare with its booths in the middle of the street and motley crowds surging back and forth, we looked for signs of hotels and rooming houses. We soon found this was futile as they were filled to overflowing. Front lawns in the residence district were renting space to tent owners. Even the shade of a tree became valuable to place a cot or to lie flat on the grass.

With 18,000 people camping in or near El Reno, it goes without saying that they carried money and valuables. Those who rested in the open besought home owners and house wives to care for their watches and their wallets for a small rental. Many an El Reno housewife started a neat bank account out of this "safety deposit" business. When space in the open was exhausted, people began to turn back to near-by towns for sleeping accommodations. We had no tent. We had no cot nor could one be purchased. We did not want to turn back.

The broiling hot sun, the reflected heat of the buildings, the surging crowds, all made it wearying to the point of exhaustion. We were about discouraged and ready to return to mother to report our failure to secure a foothold in the first step of our adventure when I stopped before a hardware store owned by a canny Scotchman—

Hollister by name. He stepped inside as I approached. I can see his ruddy, kindly face now with his piercing blue eyes behind silver-rimmed spectacles, framed by the whitest hair and soft white whiskers cut close to the shape of his oval face. I asked if he knew any clues to possible residents who would take outlanders. He eyed me sharply.

"Where do you come from, young woman?"

I answered, "Wisconsin."

"That is all I want to know. It is my home state. You can go up to my home. We have a big house of twelve rooms up on the hill."

He proceeded to scribble a note, call the negro porter and dispatched the message to his wife to prepare for us. I called father who had just entered the door from the street and introduced him to Mr. Hollister.

"So this is your father. I like the looks of both of you."

I quickly added that my mother was waiting at the station.

"You go and get your mother and take this. It is my home address with directions to get there."

After a hot walk we were soon on a spacious veranda of a large house overlooking the town. Imagine our consternation when Mrs. Hollister, by no means as friendly a person as her husband, announced that she had rented all their rooms. Then she added, Mr. Hollister just sent me this note to take you in for the night. All I can offer you are three pallets on the floor of the upper hallway." We gladly and gratefully accepted the floor of this comfortable house, airy and cool, because we had confidence in the gentleman who owned this house.

Without food we tumbled on to our three pallets and with the sun not yet set, began our long first night's rest on the border of the new country. The next day our host arranged most comfortable quarters by dismissing what he termed "most objectionable people" and here we remained during our stay in El Reno.

Next day father and I made our way to the registration booth and qualified under oath that we were eligible: he, as the head of a family, and I, as an unmarried female over twenty-one years of age.

On the morning of July 29, 1901, two rectangular boxes, one representing the El Reno district registrations, the other the Lawton district registrations were mounted on a platform thirty-two feet square. The boxes were built ten feet long, two and one-half feet deep and made to revolve in such a manner as to effect the proper shuffling of the envelopes with the registered names.

Mr. Harger's article had said 11,000 farms would be offered. At the drawing it was officially announced that 13,000 quarter sections of 160 acres were available.

Fully 50,000 of the 160,000 who had registered were present in this open area in El Reno to see and hear the announcement of the first lucky names.

Can you picture the breathless eagerness of that vast crowd? The excitement was tense of those waiting patiently for the great event. Just before the first turning of the El Reno box, Colonel Dyer stepped to the edge of the platform, "I never saw a better crowd assembled together. You are all here with equal rights as American citizens. We have selected young men not having chances in this lottery to draw out the names. We have selected them, knowing the families they represent are the foremost in the Territory. This is to be absolutely fair and every person interested is to have an equal chance. We rely upon every citizen assembled here to see fair play and justice done to every man."

All was ready. The El Reno box revolved. A young man placed his hand in the great container. He drew out the first envelope. He handed it to Colonel Dyer. It was passed to the chief clerk and stamped, No. 1. The Commissioner raised his hand for silence. Then he fairly thundered, "Stephen Holcomb of Pauls Valley, Indian Territory, draws the first number." We shouted and yelled with all the others for fully three minutes while Stephen was lifted to the shoulders of his friends and near friends, and paraded through the crowd. He had the first choice of all the farms in the El Reno district, including those adjacent to county seat centers.

Juggling with the law, the real estate booster and the land prospector were there to offer a price for relinquishments and many sold out their drawings for a sum, a sum that sounded fabulous to those who were successful winners but insincere pioneers.

Day after day the numbers continued to be drawn and published daily. The extra thousands believed their numbers would surely be called next day. Finally the big lottery had exhausted the 13,000 lucky numbers. We were among the unlucky majority of over 100,000 souls, half of whom were there to respond in person. Yet we experienced no great disappointment. Life was too colorful, too compelling to feel defeat.

Those who had come for a lark departed to their several states. Those who remained either thru necessity or circumstances set about to take advantage of the existing situation. Those who stayed from choice found their way to the making of new towns in the newly opened territory. It was agreed in our own family that father should precede us into the new country, that mother and I would follow in a few days. We bade the Hollister family a farewell at El Reno as we would friends of long standing.

It was to the nearest county seat town-site that we travelled in a railroad train. The rush toward this train which filled from the

open windows long before those entering the door could possibly secure a seat, forced many to use suit-cases as perches in the aisles. A happy-go-lucky crowd it was! Singing, with interludes of light bantering conversation, buying everything to eat in sight, but no vulgarity, no obscenity. The fine consideration which mother and I, en route to meet father, received from strangers on this trip heartened us.

The introduction to our big adventure did not wholly square with Mr. Harger's "Next Commonwealth" but we had not yet reached the new land. None of us wished to return to our far north home. Such alluring prospects were pictured just over the border in the Kiowa-Comanche country. Here we would find a land with favoring climate and fertile soil. Here staples of the North, wheat and corn, grow side by side with cotton of the South. To those grown weary battling against twenty below zero weather, this "Promised Land" of Oklahoma beckoned us on to further adventure.

BUILDING A TOWN OUT OF A CORNFIELD

As evening dropped into dusk, our train slipped into the Kiowa country along newly laid rails and came to a halt at Anadarko, the nearest proposed county seat town-site over the border and our destination. A few lanterns swayed in and out of that seething mass of humanity as mother and I stepped from the train. Otherwise blackness, strangeness and the mystery and suspense of the big adventure was upon us.

Father, who had gone ahead to scout out the situation, was somewhere in that jostling crowd of cowboys, prospectors, vagabonds and adventurers—all hailing the newcomers in true pioneer fashion, welcoming us to the new land. Mother and I stood quite still, knowing there was nothing else we could do until father found us. Finally he bumped into us and how we did cling to him in that weird setting. He immediately announced that we were the only two women who had arrived from the outside world without one's own tent for shelter. It was something of a question how and where we might be cared for for the night. Nothing was available but the large tents with cots for men only. Father piloted us to what he termed the most decent location in "Rag Town" as the hundreds of tents were called adjoining the proposed town-site.[4]

This was under the direction of the Methodist Church with Reverend Kellar in charge. The cloth as well as trade, the law and medicine seemed to have caught the opportunity for business as well as service to humanity. When father introduced his wife and daughter to Mr. Kellar, he, twisting his hands in and out, responded

[4] For the history of Anadarko, see Sara Brown Mitchell, "The Early Days of Anadarko," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51), pp. 390-98.

in his booming, big voice, "Well now, sisters, we must find a way to care for you! Here is my personal tent with my own belongings. I will turn it over to you for tonight. We hadn't expected any ladies." It was only ten by twelve but seemed generous space for two women who had so suddenly entered the world of men. However, one woman after another came seeking this small canvas shelter and by midnight it held eight women and a lonely little bride who sat fully dressed at the tent flap all night, weeping and peering eagerly into the men's dormitory where her mate slept blissfully, unaware of his wife's distress.

What humanness that little ten by twelve space held that first night in the new country! So dark it was that each had no idea of the other's identity, yet trusting and confident that all were running the same risk. Gradually the night prairie wind rose from the south and cooled the atmosphere so that rest was possible. In the deadly quiet of the early morning hours it had grown quite chilly. One heard in a stage whisper, "Min, I'm cold." "Cold?" "Yes, cold." "Well last night you were hot. Never seed the like of you, Mag! What can I do? Be glad you have a shelter and a bed in this wild country."

I proffered my dress skirt as some protection, handing it to a hand in the dark. It was in those days that we wore silk-lined dresses and mine happened to be wool against silk and it rustled. "There now," said Min, "you never had anything half so fine as that to cover you in your whole life, silk and wool, Mag. Now be quiet and go to sleep."

Putting my hand out toward mother, I found her cot shaking violently, so convulsed with quiet laughter was she at this dialogue. As the dawn awakened us, imagine our surprise to find "Min" and "Mag" two elderly sisters, quite ready to confide all their difficulties of arriving in the new country to any willing listener. The desire to have a degree of privacy led mother and me to dress very early before the others awakened. We were eager to get the lay of the land. Father joined us. Along "Tent Town's" main street we looked up the prospects of breakfast. Even at that early hour one enterprising tent after another was offering food. Coming to a sign "Cakes and Coffee" we walked up to the pine board counter which appeared cleaner and more appetizing than some others. We ordered "Cakes and Coffee." What we received was literally cakes and coffee, cakes without either butter or syrup, coffee without either milk (real or artificial) or cream or sugar. In the clear, bracing atmosphere of that early August dawn, we enjoyed the leathery cakes and the almost impossible colored water called coffee. The romance of the frontier was upon us and we did not feel critical.

Off to the south the soft green rolling prairies met the low lying hills and in the distance could be seen the haze of the Wichita Moun-

tains. To the north flowed the lovely Washita River, near which was located the Indian Agency with its government office buildings, the Indian trader stores, the residences of government officials. This was known as the Anadarko Indian Agency, the name Anadarko being taken from Nah-dah-ko, a band of Caddo Indians. This Agency was first established in 1859 as the Wichita Agency under Confederate control.[5] Later it became the Anadarko Agency. Here our government has continuously dealt with the Indians of this reservation and their problems.

Endeavoring to survey our surroundings intelligently, we walked toward the proposed new town-site of Anadarko. We soon found ourselves in a great cornfield of ripening grain as high as our heads, planted by Indians who could not quite believe that the white man was to enter his lands. Here the government was to hold its auction of town lots that day, August 6, 1901.

With a plat of the town-site in our hands we walked between the rows of corn, trying to locate a possible lot not too far from the public square. At this moment the public square was simply a cleared piece of the cornfield with the auctioneer's stand in the center, waiting for the bidding to open at ten o'clock. With our plat as a guide, we favored a south by west location within a short distance of the opening in the cornfield and not far from the Methodist Mission. As the sun rose with its intense heat, we checked a specific lot facing the north and moved back to the center of interest, where crowds were converging to see the first lot knocked down to the highest bidder.

Here we caught the first glimpse of the reservation Indian on his native heath. The men wore broad-rimmed felt hats, their long black hair was braided and tied with bright red, yellow and green wollen yarns. Their winding sheets of unbleached muslin twisted around their bodies over their trousers seemed to me then simply an outworn left-over of the loin cloth of savage days, but later I learned differently. The women, with bare heads and sleeveless sack-like dresses of bright calico, sat on the high seats of wagons, skilfully driving teams of ponies, while their small children, riding in the back of the wagon, stared at a new world of strange creatures who had so suddenly entered their dominion.

Here, too, one saw the long caravan of covered wagons moving silently and slowly toward the new lands so recently won at the drawing. With their human freight, their animals and their implements, they continued to move westward for days and nights without ceasing.

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[5] The Wichita Agency was established in 1859, by the U. S. Government, and was taken over by Indian agents of the Confederate States late in the summer of 1861, after the Confederate Commissioner, Albert Pike, had secured treaties of alliance with eleven different tribes at this agency.

It was a veritable pageant staged on magnificent lines. The canvas was one far too large to be very much aware of individuals. Yet the crowd did focus upon one individual, a picturesque figure—the auctioneer, himself arrayed in cowboy attire, chaps, spurs, whip. He stood with his broad sombrero tilted at the proper angle so we could surely know his ear was missing. The story of this missing ear was passed around that day in the crowd. He had fought another auctioneer in the streets of Perry, Oklahoma, during the opening of the "Strip" and in the conflict had his ear bitten off. His shirt open at the throat, his red kerchief around his neck, he caught the highly dramatic mood of the occasion and capitalized it to the full. Colonel John Green in all his trappings of the big West was staging a veritable show, the making of a town out of a cornfield.

There we stood with hundreds of others, waiting the call of our particular lot. It was knocked down to my father by Colonel Green at shortly after noon the first day at a little more or less than two hundred dollars. Our United States government would accept only cold cash. Each person there was fully aware that every other person present, like himself, was armed with currency yet there were no hold-ups.

Every person respected his neighbor for all were partners in a common concern. The community had no laws and no officers to enforce laws. There may have been United States marshals in the crowd as plain clothes men, but these opening days saw no violation of human rights. There seemed to be unwritten laws peculiar to man's dependence upon man and no one wished to take advantage of his equal.

By late afternoon father discovered our tent outfit had come through and was at the station. Soon the corn stalks were felled, a wooden floor was laid, our tent stretched over it, and that night we moved our baggage into our own tent home on our own land in the new country. Primitive living, indeed, so primitive that to tenderfeet used to the comforts of a settled home, it was appalling. It didn't seem possible that human beings could exist under such conditions. The most urgent need was water. Father ordered a well to be dug at once on our newly acquired lot, but in digging wells, as in other things, one took his turn. Drinking water was selling at ten cents a cup. Water for general use was hauled from the river and sold from barrels. It was parcelled out discreetly to the settlers at such high prices that in one emergency father, mother and I bathed in the same water for one day and were grateful we had it to share.

Hunger in its urgency cannot compare to thirst. The hot dust of the trampled down, plowed cornfield, with no shade of any kind, added to one's natural need of water, yet there was only a limited quantity available. That had to suffice. Of all the hardships endured, this was the most intense, yet short-lived.

Soon Gage's well was known for its good water and at all hours of the day and night it was pumped. The supply never gave out. Tents sprang up by magic. The landscape became dotted with human habitation, while the corn stalks went down. That first night in our tent-house I shall ever hear the wind as it sighed through the blades of corn and I felt that the cornfield knew its doom. Hammers and saws rang out through the twenty-four hours without ceasing. Avenues and streets formed themselves as stores, offices, homes took shape and defined the town's highways.

Adventure ran high these early days. One felt it couldn't be quite real, that it was something of a play and next day the setting would move off. But as days succeeded days, grim reality pinned down our enthusiasms to the serious business of creating homes, and out of these homes, a town. Mother purchased a residence lot at auction. Here we eventually built a home. Toward the end of the lot sale, I bid upon a lot near the junction of two railroads. Colonel Green was kind to the ladies and a very small sum secured it. I had visions of grain elevators and wholesale houses clamoring for my location. Some ten years later it was sold for little more than the original price, while father and mother turned their lots to great advantage. Our deeds came as grants directly from Washington, signed by the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. President McKinley was shot in September and was succeeded by Theodore Roosevelt. The town was in its early rawness when a courier ran up and down shouting, "President McKinley has been shot! President McKinley has been shot!" The tragic news rang out on the evening quietness about supper time. Away off in that remote spot the message had come through before day had turned to night.

Three weeks of unceasing activity and the transformation of a cornfield into a county seat town was complete. That is, court house and banks were set up in tents. Businesses were under canvas covering, and the United States Post Office was doing business at a new spot on the map. Homes were established. Those who had come with fresh hopes and new plans met the challenge of a new land. Out of this raw cornfield was carved a town and that town was called Anadarko.

INDIAN SCHOOLS AND MISSIONS

After the excitement of creating a town out of a cornfield had subsided and the town itself could be taken for granted, one began to make excursions into the near-by country. The most striking cases in this desert of human habitation were the Indian schools and missions.

The Riverside Indian School, supported by our United States Government, was one of the first and most frequently visited.[6] It

[6] Riverside Indian School was established in 1892, and is still one of the leading Government Indian schools in Western Oklahoma.

was located near the Washita river only a few miles north of the newly created town of Anadarko. It was a boarding school for the Wichitas, Caddoes and affiliated tribes, offering elementary and secondary education. The elementary school unit was fashioned along lines laid down for white children, learning to read, to write, and to figure. The secondary school unit, endeavoring to prepare the Indian youth for intelligent care of his lands and herds, was largely agricultural and vocational with the emphasis upon farming, animal husbandry and fruit culture.

At this school one gained great insight into human values. Little children as young as five and six years entered here and remained throughout their elementary school life, and sometimes went on into higher education that carried them through the United States Indian institutions for advanced learning at Haskell and Carlisle. One could but wonder at the indifference shown by Indians toward the soil. Yet our government, as many parents try to do, had decreed what pattern the Indian should follow. His aptitudes and abilities were often ignored in these early days. His native keeness for the arts, his skill in craftsmanship, his sensitiveness to detail, as shown in all his handiwork, were almost entirely overlooked by the government's plan of education. Consequently Indian children were constantly running away from school. Some of them were looking upon it as enforced imprisonment.

The teachers, as I found them at this period, were for the most part refined and well-prepared. As their appointments came through civil service, politics was eliminated and one found men and women of some scholastic attainment in this far away outpost. The most telling characteristic among these appointees was some physical defect caused by birth, accident or circumstance. Evidently they were using this isolation to cover their morbid sensitiveness. Out here in the Indian country they seemed to have been able to shake off their shackles and to gain both freedom and self-respect.

There were among these teachers those who valued the local Indian handicraft as well as that sometimes sent from as far away as the Navajoes. Here it was that I bought my first Navajo rug under the guidance of those who knew values. But all this seemed to be a thing apart from Indian education. White man's fashions in houses, in dress, in morals and education were set up as desirable goals for the Indian.

Here, too, one caught glimpses of the Indian parent's devotion to his children. They came often to the government school, always with them some token of affection for their child, an apple, an orange, some nuts. Evidences of a shared confidence could be seen when a father and his child were in close conversation out on the grounds under a tree. A loving companionship was thus kept alive. This so easily might have died out had the father turned his child over entirely to the Government and not wanted to foster his paternalism.

Social occasions of one kind and another were offered by the school for the Agency folk and those interested from Anadarko. Too often were these merely exploitations of the children for adult entertainment, a mere excitation and over-stimulation. Then the authorities in charge, who had stimulated the children to a high degree of hilarity, would require a completely tamed behavior from them immediately following a performance. This, of course, had its effect in other forms of dishonesty and hypocrisy. So in the name of educating the Indian, both education and the Indian were sometimes sinned against.

This was equally true in some of the mission schools endeavoring to christianize a primitive people. The missions with which I became most familiar were all south of the Washita river in the Kiowa nation. The nearest one, in fact the one adjoining the new town only a few blocks from our tent-home, was under the direction of the Methodist Church South, in charge of the Reverend J. J. Methvin.[7] "Brother" Methvin, he was familiarly called by both Indian and white man.

This man of small stature but of stout heart and mind had come from Georgia fourteen years before the opening to work among the wild tribes of southwestern Oklahoma. Soon after we moved into our tent-house we observed this quick moving little man with his patriarchal whiskers, his alpaca coat, his white tie and his ever present cane, thumping along over our street twice a day, so regular in his goings and comings that one could easily set his watch by this punctuality. Even before we knew him well we had set up a more intimate relation toward him and among ourselves had affectionately called him "Daddy Methvin." Thoroughly identified with the welfare of his Indians, he took a deep interest in all the civic affairs of the newly organized community, knowing that life for the Indian would not be the same with the introduction of white men's ways. He had built a school, a dormitory and his home on the site given the mission by the Government. He had an interesting family whom we came to know. His daughter Emma's marriage to Mr. Blackman, Chief Clerk at the Agency, who became United States Indian Agent upon the retirement of Colonel [James] Randlett, marked the most important social event during the first year after the opening.

A young Indian student died that first year at Methvin Institute. Mr. Methvin had sent for her parents and friends. After her death the family were heard out on the adjoining prairie wailing lamentably, tearing their clothes, breaking up their wagons, pulling their hair over their faces, appealingly throwing their arms heavenward and then casting themselves on the ground in despair. This demonstra-

[7] The Methodist Mission was established at Anadarko by the Reverend J. J. Methvin in 1887.—Sidney H. Babcock, "John Jasper Methvin," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (June, 1941), pp. 113-18.

tion was the traditional form of mourning of the Kiowa Indian. Their daughter had been tenderly nursed and cared for by these good people who lived their Christianity. Never did they impose their particular faith, but deeply respected the primitive ways of this child-like people.

To the east of Anadarko was another mission under the direction of the Presbyterian Church in charge of Reverend S. V. Fait.[8] It was called Mautame Mission. This was a rich valley farm with substantial buildings, including the school. Here Mr. Fait with his energetic meticulous wife and several valuable helpers gave to Indian boys and girls new life and assisted them to learn new ways of doing things. Mr. Fait held a most practical religious faith. He gave himself to every part of the farm activities, participating with the boys in all outdoor work. He had built a church at the Agency, and with the coming of the new town it was moved here to serve a wider usefulness. Mr. Fait's honest face, bronzed by wind and weather, gave many a new settler renewed faith in the things that are eternal. These spiritual pioneers in these big open spaces took on many of the graces and powers with which Mother Nature is endowed.

Practical life activities, such as cooking, laundry and sewing, were part of the educational program of the school. It was my good fortune to now and then be an over-night guest at this Presbyterian mission and I came to know these Indian boys and girls and these workers as friends and to value their contribution to the new commonwealth.

Driving to the south into the Apache and Comanche country on one of our pilgrimages, we found standing stark in the open prairie, a high wall enclosing buildings erected around an open court. It had every appearance of an ancient monastery. . . . . We made a visit to this interesting old school, called St. Patrick's Mission, in charge of cultivated, intelligent workers. Going into the open courtyard behind this high wall with a look-out at one corner, and many other indications of a fortress, one could easily feel the thrill of a much more highly colored adventurous life than we were now living. Indeed, it was quite easy to imagine this substantial masonry, with its large gates, belonging to an old world setting rather than a new state in the making.

This largest and perhaps most successful mission was built by the Catholic Church and in charge of Father Isadore Ricklin.[9] A

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[8] The Presbyterian Mission was established by the Reverend Silas V. Fait, under the auspices of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in 1888. Mr. Fait named the Mission "Mautame," its location (Caddo County Farm) four miles west of Verdun having been the site of Camp McIntosh, a Confederate outpost, in the War between the States.

[9] St. Patrick's Mission was established by the Reverend Father F. Isadore Ricklin in 1891.

merry soul he was, riding his buck-board, drawn by two lively Indian ponies. He would flourish his whip and have a pleasant nod and smile for passers-by, sometimes stopping longer for a friendly chat. It was quite easy to understand why it was commonly known as "Father Isadore's Mission." Located only a few miles to the southwest of Anadarko, good roads made it a favorite drive. There one would see substantial fields of grain, a full bearing orchard, a fine garden and an extensive vineyard. Along an imposing drive-way leading up to the mission had been planted growing trees. All this cultivation was a paradise to the eyes of those newcomers whose own land had not yet been turned. It also gave promise of what might be expected of this virgin soil with intelligent treatment and care. The simple faith of Father Isadore and his workers, his unbounded good humor, his sympathetic interest and influence in whatever might be of great concern to this primitive people, made this mission a center of helpful counsel and won the loyalty of the Indians that resulted in many converts to the Catholic faith. The character and high order of the work not only commanded the respect of the community, but was recognized by the United States Government.

These leaders and their workers were all frontiersmen in matters of spiritual welfare. Their contributions to the coming commonwealth were perhaps not so tangible as those of some others but were nevertheless as real and far-reaching as they were obscure.

INDIAN LIFE IN THE NEW COUNTRY

It was the day before Christmas—our first Christmas in the new country—that Grace Perry came to our tent in her jaunty buggy, driving her spirited black horse. "Hoo-hoo! Hoo-hoo!" she called. "Can't you drive with me today up into the Wichita country? That is where the Indians build grass houses that last a century."[10]

The day was like early spring. The sun warm and bright, the air clear and balmy. Driving past the Government School, we came to a high plateau and as we followed the trail, there was nothing but open country and here the wind had full play. Jogging along comfortably, Grace Perry told me how the Wichita (women) build these grass houses. They cut tall young saplings, placing them in a circle one hundred feet in circumference, pulling them together at the them together at the top and tying them securely with pliable bark. At intervals, they reinforce these saplings, binding them one to another with the same heavy pliable inside bark of saplings. Then they beat into this warp of bark great bunches of prairie grass, weaving it over and under until the whole is securely enclosed. Only two apertures are provided, one at the top for the smoke to escape, and a small low door that one must stoop to enter.

[10] The Wichita-Caddo Reservation adjoined the Kiowa-Apache-Comanche Reservation on the north.

Wichita Grass House

Just at this point of her story, we suddenly came upon a grassy opening just off the main trail, well protected by a natural windbreak. It looked so inviting in that direction that we left the main trail to explore a bit. Quite unexpectedly we came upon a wide open space filled with tepees, beautifully decorated with symbols in bright colors. We stayed a safe distance away so as not to intrude. Many small tepees were set in a large semi-circle and well toward the center was a new large one, decorated profusely and artistically with eagles and other bright-colored symbols. Not a sound of any kind could be heard except the wind and singing birds in the tree branches on this lovely afternoon. The mystery of it all filled us with suspense and expectancy. Grace Perry could not interpret it. She had not seen anything like this. She did not know its meaning. But we both knew it was a significant happening. We decided to remain quietly near and await developments. It was not long until out from the forty or more tepees emerged the most gorgeous array of Indian life I shall ever hope to see. With dignity and ceremony in their finest of buck skin suits and dresses, old men, old women, young men, and maidens all moved toward the large central tepee. One young Indian maiden stood out from all the others in her beauty and dignity. Her buck skin dress, fringed from the knees, her lovely mocassins and leggings tinted a soft green. Her cheeks, painted with large red circles. Her black hair, oiled and shining in the sun light. Her straight hair held in place by a band of green satin ribbon. Her shawl had been artistically made from fine black wool cloth, lined with a lovely shade of apple green silk. As she moved gracefully toward the great central tepee, her shawl floated back of her in true regal fashion.

It was fairly breath-taking, the loveliness of those silent, moving figures, arrayed for a festive occasion of some ceremonial importance. Soon they were all assembled in this large tepee. No Indian could be seen. What would happen next? We waited in the deep silence of the wind-blown prairie. Murmuring of voices could now be heard from within the large tepee, then one voice stood out above the others in deep guttural tones. The rise and fall of a long recital seemed to have no end. Soon, however, we were convinced that the tale had been a review of their trials and tribulations, for a woeful moaning came as a refrain from the entire group, which could mean nothing other than death, disaster, sorrow.

Another leader's voice was now relating another tale, not so solemn nor so woeful, but equally important from the deliberate enunciation and rhythmic flow of Wichita language. Now sounded notes of triumph, the tom-toms beat and the joyful chanting by the entire group indicated achievement, success and good fortune.

Thus, they reviewed the happenings of the year in tribal ceremonial fashion. A young Indian boy came toward us and on recognizing Miss Perry invited us to come nearer but we refrained. He

explained that this is the greatest day of the Wichita Indian's year. Events of the year are told by the old men of the tribe, their ill fortunes caused by storms, disease, injustices. Their good fortunes, too, in the form of abundant crops, successful agreements with neighboring tribes and the authorities of the Government at Washington. This was followed by feasting and dancing far into the night. We knew we must leave at perhaps the most telling part of the drama for already the sun was almost gone. We did not visit the grass houses that day but we did experience the unexpected pageantry of a never to be forgotten ceremonial day of the Wichitas.

Though the Indians had been allotted their lands and were scattered throughout the reservation, many of the smaller tribes, such as the Caddoes, north of the Wichita river, retained their tribal customs as the Wichitas had their New Year Feast. In August, each year after the gathering of corn, they held this ceremonial dance. Through an official at the Government Agency, three of us were invited to drive to the scene of this dance, north and west of Anadarko. By no other means could white people witness this sacred feast and dance. The long drive across the high prairies was full of interest. Worn trails by Indian horsemen always told of a settlement in this or that direction. Hobbled ponies, grazing—jack rabbits and coyotes in abundance.

One year after the Opening, there were few signs of civilization. Suddenly, one would come upon an abrupt break in the prairie and a precipitous drop into a canyon lined with green cedars and clear water flowing at the base. Here many Indians chose wisely to keep their homes protected from high winds, for their tepees, with the southern exposure brought natural warmth, caught the sun's rays of the winter. With grass lands near for their ponies and water for themselves and their stock, they had the essentials for permanent settlement. But on summer days, the canyon proved too sultry and hot. It was then that they moved to the high prairies where the breezes blew. The tepee then gave way to brush arbors.

The day of our excursion was fair and hot. We came to a fenced-in field, fringed with trees along a near-by stream—Big Jenny's place. Here Indian families had encamped for perhaps a week. For three days previous to the dance, the men made an intoxicating drink, known as mescal. In the stupor produced from this drink, they hacked their naked bodies until they bled freely, then they decorated their bodies with their own blood, adding many bright colors. They barbecued a steer for the feast. The head of this animal, with its long horns, was worn on the head of one of the leading women at the dance. Soon after our arrival they confiscated our camera and locked it safely in a small corn crib. One can fully understand their taking this precaution. The sacredness of this custom was not for outside eyes to look upon. At times I felt we had no right to be there. What looked to us so barbaric and so gruesome, was to them a sacrificial

ceremony, honoring the harvest season. The tom-toms began to beat soon after our arrival, the dance began with slow movements of both men and women. They grew more wild and more frenzied until they dropped out from sheer exhaustion. Then another group took up the dance where these left off and the dancing continued without ceasing, two days and two nights. There was no beauty for me in this experience, for it was the most primitive, barbaric exhibition of human frenzy and unnaturalness.

We started toward home as the sun set and the southern wind cooled the atmosphere. The drive, under the glistening stars, gradually quieted the turmoil of emotions aroused by this primitive people. It seemed it must be time we were heading toward the river when we discovered we were travelling directly toward the north star. Our ponies had taken the wrong trail and they were taking us due north instead of south. The men halloed, hoping some Indian might appear to give us direction. Finally, our agency friend called in Indian language loud and long, but no one responded. . . . . It was then decided to wheel directly in the opposite direction and give the ponies the reins. They brought us soon into the right trail and galloped a steady gait into Anadarko.

No more picturesque festival could be imagined than when the Indians were paid their grass rent. When the allotments were made to the Indians before the Opening, they retained, in addition to a home, a share in grass lands, known as the "Big Pasture."[11] Cattlemen rented these lands for grazing purposes at a price and paid the Government. To the Anadarko Agency the Indians came periodically from every part of the reservation to receive their "grass payment" from the Government. They brought their families and encamped in tepees bordering the new town. Hundreds and hundreds of Indians from the reservation tribes assembled here. They set up life in all its reality. Sometimes the encampment continued for several weeks. Their brush arbors, their cooking paraphernalia, their jerked meat hanging in strips drying in the sun, their babies laced into beautifully made cradles sometimes hanging from the limb of a tree, sometimes standing up against the tree trunk while the women cooked or prepared skins for moccasins. Every activity of real Indian living went forward here and offered a rare opportunity to observe

[11] The Kiowa, Apache and Comanche owned their reservation land in Southwestern Oklahoma under the terms of the Medicine Lodge Treaty with the United States in 1867, the reservation having been granted these tribes in lieu of their other western land claims assigned them by the Government before the Civil War. By Agreement with U. S. Commissioners in 1892, approved by Congress in 1900, each member of the three tribes had the right to select an allotment of 160 acres to be owned in severalty; after all allotments had been selected, 480,000 acres were reserved to be held in common by the tribes for grazing or pasture lands, the surplus lands on the reservation to be opened to white settlement by Prsidential proclamation. The terms of this Agreement are in Kappler's *Indian Affairs—Laws and Treaties*, Vol. I.

and become acquainted with native life on the reservation. Even the Cherokees [Cheyennes] from the "Strip" well to the north decided to bring their beadwork and buckskin moccasins and set up trade during this encampment.[12]

One morning I walked through the Indian village to find a Cherokee [Cheyenne] woman to make me a pair of moccasins. She had small feet and hands as most Indian women have. She secured a piece of paper, asked me to take off my shoe, put my foot on the paper, and with a stick she outlined my foot. Holding up the pattern, she coyly smiled and said, "White woman big foot." She made me a beautiful pair of buckskin moccasins with attractive bead trimming.

It was not unusual that an Indian family during grass payment would receive as much as a thousand dollars cash, depending, of course, upon the size of the family. They used it very much as children would. It was not unusual to find one with a bunch of bananas sit down in the street and with his family and others devour the entire bunch. Throughout the Indian camp, dotted with circles of Indian men and women, one found one group after another absorbed in playing Monte, a Spanish gambling game, never leaving off until their last penny was thrown on the cards. Women with babes at breast shared in all sports, sitting quietly, intently watching, and now and then throwing their money on the cards along with the men or chuckling to themselves over the result. The cooking, the sports, the hilarious and festive purchases never ceased until the encampment ended. . . . .

It was interesting during grass payment to see the Indian go first to his old friend the Indian trader at the Agency, look over the stock of blankets, buy bright colored calicos for his wife, buy candies for the children, letting them search everywhere in a playful manner to try to find the sweet meats hidden away in the folds of his blanket. in his pocket or sometimes in his hat. The Indian parent loved his children with deep feeling. I never saw one cruel or unjust to a child. My first view of the lovely Washita water fall showed an Indian woman with her children playing in it in order to keep cool.

Mrs. Annette Hume, wife of Dr. Charles Hume, the Government Agency doctor, was another good companion in the Indian country. She would drive over from the Agency frequently in her buggy and would take me on long journeys to an Indian mission, or on some errand of mercy. She usually carried her camera and we snapped pictures of life on the plains. About that time, I believe, *Colliers* or *Harper's Weekly* carried a page of her very excellent pictures of the new country. One day she took me out to an "Indian Beef Issue."

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[12] The name "Cherokees" here should be Cheyennes whose reservation bordered th Kiowa-Apache-Comanche Reservation on the northwest. The Cherokees in 1901 did not live in the "Strip," nor rarely, if ever, make beaded moccasins for sale.

In the early days the Government paid the Indians in cattle, by treaty stipulations, which were killed on the open range in the barbaric fashion of the old Indian hunt. At this time, they were still supplied the long horned cattle for the beef issue, but they had built slaughter houses and the killing was less spectacular. I shall always remember the scene after the division of the beef, with the women searching the discarded parts to try to find a few more tidbits that had been overlooked, the dogs crowding around in the background. An Indian camp always had many dogs.

It was no unusual things to come upon an Indian camp where some one was ill. Sometimes the medicine man had already come. His small tepee was set up with hot stones inside, over which a little cold water was constantly poured to create steam and the patient put into this well covered vapor bath.

It was through Mrs. Hume that I met Ida Rolfe, an Episcopal missionary to the Indians. One day I visited her little mission house and was introduced to . . . . three Delaware Indian women who were doing the most beautiful Italian cut work under Miss Rolfe's direction. I wish I might write here the Indian equivalent of their names for they were so musical and euphonious. Miss Rolfe explained to me that when an Indian baby is born the first thing the mother looks upon, that she names her infant, thus accounting for these unusual names. Indian women did exquisite needle work. As they completed these small linen squares they brought them to Miss Rolfe, she laundered them and set them together in the form of bed spreads and table covers and sold them in New York for a good price to the Episcopal women who helped support this mission..

To this mission, too, came the delightful Episcopal Bishop Brooks, a truly understanding friend of the Indian. I heard him tell one of Mark Twain's western stories at Mrs. Hume's dinner table, very appropo of the flimsy hotel structures of these early days. "Last night I felt much as Mark Twain, who tells this story," said Bishop Brooke with twinkling eyes. "Two men, having taken rooms at one of these quickly thrown up western hotels, had this to say. 'The partition was so thin in my room, I could hear the man next to me change his clothes.' 'Change his clothes?' said the other fellow, 'Why the partition is so thin in my room I could hear him change his mind.' And so could I last night." Good company he was, and a fine Christian gentleman.

An Indian never knocked on entering a house. In our tent-house one day I was surprised to find three Kiowa women had walked in and were complacently looking over the clothes in our improvised closet. They had pulled back the curtains and were handling our dresses with much curiosity, jabbering Kiowa while mother and I looked on. When fully satisfied as to our cooking arrangements, our beds which they examined as to mattress and covering, they went

as quietly on their way as they had come, with the simple curiosity of children and with the same playfulness. One day I was startled to find a handsome young brave at our open tent window where I sat reading. I could feel his presence. Jumping up, frightened, I dropped my book. He moved off in great glee. The Indian seemed to be able to slip up on one without warning and enjoyed one's startled reaction. . . . .

Grace Perry and I came upon some young Kiowa Indians with a wagon load of pecans from the southern part of the Territory. We stopped to buy some but first wished to sample them. Never shall I forget those blanket Indians, vieing with one another in cracking nuts for us with their strong white teeth. They really made a game of feeding the two white women pecans until we made our purchase. They were friendly and would use any situation to develop a competitive game.

On a trip into the Apache country near Ft. Sill, we went out to their camp, where we found their chief Geromino, a prisoner of war at Ft. Sill but his people were peacefully settled in the valley at the foot of the Wichita Mountains, under surveillance. Here we found unique baskets being made by the Apaches. The women would gather willow branches and collect empty tin cans from Ft. Sill. With the willows they wove sturdy waste baskets and they decorated them with cone-shaped bells cut and made from the tin by wrapping it around a pointed stick and suspending them on the baskets by buck skin strings knotted so as to let the little bell shaped pieces of tin jingle as one moved the baskets. These ornaments were arranged at intervals in groups of five around the top and middle of the basket for decoration and were most effective and unusual. That same year, at Marshall Field's Indian Department in Chicago, I found them selling for five dollars. We paid one dollar to the Indian.

Chief Quanah Parker stood out as one of the most interesting Indian leaders I chanced to meet in the new country. He lived sumptuously in the Wichita Mountains with his several wives. Quanah, himself, had taken on white man's dress but his home life was typically Indian and primitive. . . . . He entertained lavishly and his home was one of the show places in the mountains.[13] Many of the older Indians, among the Plains tribes, practiced polygamy at that time.

THE NEW UNDERTAKING

The frame cottage was completed. The location that held our tent-home had become valuable in those few months of residence, so we erected a home and moved to more civilized living quarters on the other side of the new town of Anadarko. Father was able to more than double his original investment on the tent-home site.

[13] Quanah Parker's home is still standing near Cache, in Comanche County, Oklahoma.

The vagabondish life of the tent had its charm and its humor as well as its hardships and inconveniences. I shall always see mother, who had unfortunately turned her ankle on a board, as she sat inside the tent at mid-day with a green silk umbrella over her to temper the glare of the sun. I can still hear the remarks of the passers-by: "Look at that woman in there! She must think she is out in the sun. Yes, or the rain." Catching glimpses of this peculiar woman under a green umbrella, it was very funny to them, but it was far more comfortable when one had to sit many hours and nurse one's foot. Here she could read and sew without the annoyance of intense light. So it was that we invented many ways of meeting situations in our crude quarters. Six months of intense living in our tent-house had held storms, accidents, illness, birthday and Christmas dinners, friendly calls from our neighbors and the Indians, and most of all the deep satisfaction of having met life on the frontier as we found it, not as we wanted to find it.

Already wooden structures were in the ascendancy over tents. It was the passing of temporary habitations to more permanent abodes, and change was the order of the day. A woman editor had come from Chicago to our town to take charge of a newspaper, and it was she who was calling at the door of our new home.

"No, I haven't a moment to come in," said she. "I have only run over here a moment to tell you of an interesting chance at Ft. Cobb, the new town-site that is opening farther west. Dr. Peters from there came to our office just now to make inquiry for a person who could start the schools in their new town. I thought of you."

"Thought of me!" said I, in an astonished tone. "I couldn't undertake to open schools in a new town. My preparation has only been in the field of young children."

"Well I feel sure you could do it. Why don't you run down here with Dr. Peters this afternoon and look over the situation. The train leaves in twenty minutes."

I looked to mother who never failed me. "It would do no harm to go down there, if you like the idea" said mother.

"I believe I will," and with that decision I threw a few things into my bag and rushed to the newspaper office. There my editor friend hurried me on to the station where she introduced me to Dr. Peters. We boarded the caboose of the local freight and bumped along the rails to Ft. Cobb.

It was late afternoon when we arrived. A few well-worn Indian trails stretched across the open prairie. What might have been a block or two from the Rock Island Railroad was a small settlement of tents scattered along one of these trails. A bank and hotel building was in process of construction.

Dr. Peters lost no time in calling the leading citizens of tent-town together. The doctor, the lawyer, the banker all met with the real estate man in his little office. I was presented to each as the candidate whom Dr. Peters had found to take charge of the schools. I placed my salary at a figure that I supposed would discourage employment.

As I stood in front of the real estate office awaiting the verdict, I wondered how I could manage to stay alone one night in so temporary and forlorn a place as this embryo town on the western plains. It was not long until the senior member of the group—the real estate man—came to the street. He summoned me to the group where he pronounced me duly elected the first Superintendent of Schools of Ft. Cobb. My duties were to begin the following Monday. "Where shall I find a place to spend the night?" said I.

They looked from one to the other, puzzled and ill at ease. "She can't stay here. They only take men," said one. Another suggested "Could we find an extra tent to put up for her tonight?"

At this point Dr. Peters gallantly invited me to his tent-home to meet Mrs. Peters. Promptly was I asked to be their guest. "We have only a little lean-to that we use for our kitchen," said Mrs. Peters, "But we do have an extra cot that we can set in there for the night." After supper we talked of the new school project and engaged two people to assist with the older children, a young woman and a young man, both of whom had applied previous to my arrival. The community also promised a quickly erected school building that could be used to assemble the children on Monday.

Then came the time to arrange my sleeping quarters in the rag kitchen. The cot almost filled the space, indeed, it had to be crowded up against the gasoline stove. To gain a little more privacy I slept with my head literally under the stove. Using my coat for covering, I dreamed of children swarming the prairie and no place to assemble them. I was up early to permit breakfast operations to go forward. I walked around the tent to the front of it. It was a clear, cool morning in late February. As I stood there the sun's rays picked up every detail on the horizon and clearly revealed a little house a mile or two up the railroad to the west.

When I was called to breakfast I found that the lawyer of the town took his meals with Dr. and Mrs. Peters, so the four of us gathered around the board. I inquired who lived in the only house to be seen.

"The Indian woman who owns this town-site lives there," said Mrs. Peters. Dr. Peters, seeing my interest, quickly added, "She does not have anything to do with white people." I decided to keep my own counsel. After breakfast I asked, "How soon can I get a train going to Anadarko." There were several hours to wait. I

struck out across the prairie in a straight line and headed directly toward the Indian woman's house.

As I came nearer I found it a comfortably built house set in a large yard, well-fenced, with many signs of settled home life. I knocked timidly. The door opened and there stood a young Indian matron, the most attractive in feature and dress I had yet seen. A three year old child, she held by the hand. I spoke to the mother then to the child.

Whatever effect we had upon each other as I stood there, it was a friendly smile she gave me as I told her that I had come to Ft. Cobb to open the schools, that I had no place to live and had ventured to come to her home.

"Have you a room that I could use while working here?" said I. In excellent English she replied with a question, "Would you care to live with an Indian?" At that I smiled and answered, "I would like to live with you."

Whereupon she invited me into her four room house, nicely furnished with the cleanest of floors and the whitest of bed covering on real beds. To me, it was a palace in contrast to the close quarters in which I had slept the night before. As I made my way back to the little settlement to pick up my bag, I felt I had found a friend in the Indian woman on whose allotment the new town of Ft. Cobb was being built.

The next Monday I moved into the Indian woman's home, into a room that was clearly an addition to the original house, for it had outside walls on three sides. It was a surprise to find a white servant in the kitchen and to find that I could have my meals here also.

The white children of the community assembled at the new school early. It did not take long to find that they fell into three groups. The youngest were to be my charge. The young woman took the middle group and the oldest and smallest group constituted the high school, taught by the young man.

It goes without saying that the youngest group was the largest and most ill assorted, ranging in age from five to fifteen. There were some twelve and fourteen old boys and girls who had drifted in with the cotton pickers from Texas. They had never been inside of a school. Here they were in their blue overalls and bare feet, wanting to learn to read, to write and to figure—so they fell to my lot.

I shall always see the crude board structure called the school, with openings for windows and doors, but no windows and no doors. These bright-eyed scraps of humanity looked to me for guidance in their first organized learning. I found the older boys and girls surprisingly mature with the life experience of many grown-ups but illiterate. It was a distinct challenge to treat these children with

the dignity due their experience and at the same time build in them the awareness of a need and create the desire and the power to read and write. It was experimental education in truth. With no materials, no books, no equipment, no furniture our point of departure had to be some live interest of the children. This seemed to be universally the new railroad coming into the new country. A railroad map became our first geography. The schedule of trains, our first arithmetic. We found how to read the names of towns. We found that there were other railroads from the names on box cars. We learned the names of the things Ft. Cobb needed that the trains brought in. Lumber: Where did it come from? Food, furniture, farm implements. Their cotton picking experiences took on new meaning in connection with the railroad which hauled the raw cotton to the mills where it was made into cloth and then brought back by train to Ft. Cobb in boxes of overalls, shirts, trousers, dresses and aprons to be sold in the general store. The railroad became not only the carrier of goods but the avenue of communication—letters, packages, money, people.

Oh, the eagerness of those boys and girls for stories! Each day I brought a few of the old classics—the folk tale, the legend. Then we had songs. They would sing songs for me that I had never heard. They would sing religious hymns and sing them well. In turn I would bring them new music, including rhythms and melodies. How they loved to sing and skip! We learned from each other during our music hour, and it was a happy time.

They had not known organized games. Even to the older boys running was an aimless activity. Gradually then on the open prairie, with all the out-of-doors for a play-ground, they learned to set limits in this space for play that controlled their activities and began to build skill and attainment.

The most discouraging feature was trying to cope with the lack of sanitation—limited water supply, crude toilets, dirty clothes. The lack of windows and doors helped this situation in a measure, for we were truly a fresh air school. But the conditions were impossible for developing desirable habits.

Never was there a cruder, more pioneer school effort on any frontier than this happy group of youngsters, busy from nine to four, learning largely from one another. There was no question about this little community spending all of its available school money in the salaries of their teachers. The little money spent in ordering supplies was largely for upper grades and high school.

Now and then Indian boys and girls would visit the settlement and come and peek into the white children's school. They brought with them one day, bows and arrows they had made. They set up their target for competitive play, much to the delight of our boys and

girls. This was used as an incentive to make some of our own play things, and utilize nature materials about us for games. The china berries they gathered for bean bag games, the sumach heads for ten pins.

It was in the midst of this crude beginning and my growing enthusiasm for the progress our boys and girls were making that a telegram came offering me what I had always called an enviable position in Chicago. It was too tempting to ignore. I wired my acceptance with a tug at the heart strings for this pioneer group and all they had taught me.

APPENDIX A

Lucy Gage: Founder of Oklahoma's Kindergartens

By Ethel McMillan

Among the able and well-equipped young people who came to Oklahoma at the turn of the century was one whose contribution to its cultural development must be recognized. This was Lucy Gage, who with her parents arrived at El Reno in July, 1901, from the north of Wisconsin in time for the opening of the Kiowa and Comanche Country.

This young woman had grown up at Portsmouth, Ohio, in advantaged surroundings from which some ten years before she had moved with her family to Wisconsin. During residence there educational opportunities for professional training in teaching young children were had in Chicago. With this completed and the return to the home of her parents in the Lake Superior area, she was just in time to catch their enthusiasm and determination to have a part in Oklahoma's last great land opening, so joined them in the journey to El Reno, Oklahoma Territory, where in July, 1901, the registration and "drawing" took place. Neither parents nor daughter drew a number which gave the right to a homesite in the newly laid out town which became Anadarko, but they journeyed on to the center of interest and were able to purchase a lot from a lucky, but faint-hearted fellow adventurer. At once the family became a part of the ongoing community.

Just as all this was well launched an opportunity came to return to Chicago where a highly desirable teaching position awaited. After a few months in the metropolitan center came the realization that there was pressing need to lay educational foundations deep and strong in the Southwest and the urge to have a part was not to be downed. The decision was made to go to Oklahoma City, the largest town in Oklahoma Territory.

In the fall of 1902 this young woman imbued with the spirit of the pathfinder, called upon the few well known business people of this lusty young town, found them as she tells in her own story, "surprisingly interested and encouraging as I laid before them my hopes and plans in coming to this community. Suddenly bold, the public press announced a mass meeting of citizens to be held in the Carnegie Library building to discuss the opening of a public kindergarten to demonstrate the importance of childhood education."

To the gathering of representative citizens of Oklahoma City, Miss Gage made known that she had come to cast her lot among them for the purpose of developing a school for children under six years of age, to offer her services for one year to demonstrate a school without books, to

express her desire to be intelligent about this undertaking and the need for their assistance in launching the idea. Before the meeting closed the Oklahoma Kindergarten Association had been organized, a church offered, janitor service provided, and supplies arranged for.

Of the experience she further says, "Intelligent and interested persons caught a vision of something desirable not only for their children but for the welfare of the state. . . . . They had given me a vote of confidence. I was ready to give them my time, energy and preparation."

Before the school year was over Lucy Gage had written the bill providing for the establishment of kindergartens for Oklahoma Territory, gone to the Territorial Legislative Council at Guthrie during the last days of the session and through marked ability and well-directed efforts, steered through its passage. This law continues as a part of the laws of the State of Oklahoma.

Lucy Gage having thus ably demonstrated the value of public schooling for young children and having had written in the Territory's statutes the right to establish them, that fall inaugurated Oklahoma City's kindergartens as part of its public school system, directed their work and became the head of the department of early elementary education at the newly established Epworth University in Oklahoma City, now Oklahoma City University.

With this earnest and able direction made sure by the in-coming of teachers trained by Miss Gage in the city's university, the kindergartens developed on a firm basis and kept pace with the rapidly developing school system.

In 1907, Oklahoma's statehood year, and six years after the opening of the Kiowa-Comanche Country, Miss Gage, feeling that she had reached the end of her tether in educational pioneering, set out for Columbia University to gain, as she has expressed it "more range professionally," but having in mind to return to her well-established work. On completion of the year's study there a call came from Western Michigan College at Kalamazoo. Here opened a wider field for the training of teachers, so with regret the investment in Oklahoma City was turned over to others.

After serving one year at Western Michigan College, Miss Gage heard the call to the old South and began her nationally recognized career in Peabody College, Nashville, Tennessee, which closed in 1942. Upon her retirement from long and valued service in this "wider professional range" *THE Nashville Tennessean,* Thursday morning, August 20, 1942, paid this tribute:

"After many years of brilliant educational leadership, Miss Lucy Gage can feel justified in bringing to an official close her career and giving up her duties as professor of elementary education at George Peabody College . . . . . But for such a fertile and brilliant mind it is safe to say, the word 'retirement' can have only a relative meaning . . . . . She is rightly known as one of the country's most noted pioneers in the field of child training and as such has been the recipient of many honors. But she is above all else a far-seeing, tolerant and brilliant personality who has won for herself a place all her own in this city of schools and colleges."

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Epworth University Bulletin, Oklahoma City, 1906, "Kindergarten Training Department," Lucy Gage, Principal.

Oklahoma City Times, November 7, 1946, notice of death and a tribute to the life work of Lucy Gage, with emphasis on establishment of City's Kindergartens.

NOTES ON OKLAHOMA LAW CONCERNING KINDERGARTENS:

Study of legislation concerning Oklahoma's statutes authorizing establishment of kindergartens shows continuation of the law as originally passed. This had been written by Lucy Gage and under her influence steered through the Territorial Legislative Council by Dr. John Threadgill and by Thomas P. Gore, later United States Senator from Oklahoma.

1. *Territory of Oklahoma Session Laws of* 1903, p. 257.
An Act Entitled, "An Act to Aid School Districts in the Maintenance of Kindergartens in the Public Schools; to establish Kindergarten Training in the State Normal Schools, and to Define Methods of Providing Revenue to carry out the Provision Hereof." Approved the 16th of March, A.D. 1903.

2. *Oklahoma* (*State*) *Statutes*, 1908, Taken over intact from Statutes of 1903, Sections 6509-6514..

3. *Session Laws* 1913, p. 560, Quoted in Compiled Statutes, 1921, Sections 10540 -10542.

4. *Oklahoma Statutes of* 1931. No change. Re-copied Sections 391-393.

5. *Oklahoma Statutes*, Supplement 1949, Act as approved.

—E. M.

WHEELOCK MISSION

*By Lona Eaton Miller**

Wheelock Church, located about one and a half miles northeast of Millerton and about eleven miles north and west of Idabel, in McCurtain County, Oklahoma is the oldest church organization in the Choctaw Nation and the oldest church building in the State. It was organized as a Mission December 9, 1832, by Reverend Alfred Wright.[1] The first structure, a log building was constructed shortly after the arrival of the Choctaws in 1832. The stone church there was built and dedicated in 1846. Since its construction, the school has been destroyed by fire and the church partially wiped out. They were rebuilt, and with the exceptions of a few years the mission work at Wheelock has been continuously carried on. One hundred and five years after its dedication, services are still held in this oldest, Oklahoma church.[2]

Prior to the moving of the Choctaws from Mississippi, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with headquarters in Boston had established a number of missions among the Choctaws and had made considerable progress in both educational and religious work. Since 1821, under the appointment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Reverend Alfred Wright had been a missionary to the Choctaws in Mississippi. He chose to continue his work with them after their removal west to the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma.

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* Lona Eaton Miller is Garden Editor in *The Daily Oklahoman.* Her garden feature has grown from a small beginning in March, 1939, to its present page and often more. In addition to her weekly work, several special garden features have been published in *The Daily Oklahoman. Hollands*, The Magazine of the South, for July, 1951, published her garden story, "All this on a 60-foot Lot." Mrs. Miller is a charter member of the Garden Writer's Association of America, and is a member of the Oklahoma City Branch, National League of American Pen Women.—Ed.

[1] "Shortly after their arrival in their new home a mission was established and a church organized and named Wheelock Mission, in memory of the first president of Dartmouth College. It is said that the first meeting was held on the 9th day of December, 1832, at which time thirty persons were received into the church from those who had formerly been members of the church in Mississippi, and that seven others were added on profession of faith. The Mission was established by Reverend Alfred Wright, who was a missionary to the Choctaws in Mississippi, and who had continued his work amongst the Choctaws in their new home after it had been interrupted in Mississippi, occasioned by the preparations for their removal."—Allen Wright, "Wheelock Seminary," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. I, No. 2 (October, 1921), pp. 117-20. (The writer of this article cited lives at McAlester, Oklahoma, where he has had his law office and resided for more than fifty years. He is Allen Wright, Jr., a son of the late Principal Chief Allen Wright of the Choctaw Nation—see *fn.* 16 following.—Ed).

[2] Letter received from Mrs. Leila Black, Principal of Wheelock Academy, dated July 9, 1951, Millerton, Oklahoma.

(Photo 1951 by A. Y. Owen, photographer for *Life* magazine)

Wheelock Church, erected 1846

True to the spirit of the new West, Jackson would push the "Red people" further back, exchanging new promises for broken ones.[3] Following the conclusion of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in September, 1830, the Choctaws immigrated to their new home west of the Mississippi, during the years of 1831, 1832, and 1833. For accomplishing the removal, bands or companies were organized, each known by the name of its leader or head man.

In the early part of the year 1832, the band or company known as the Thomas LaFlore Company comprising about six hundred persons settled in what is now McCurtain County, Oklahoma. Shortly after arriving in their new home, a mission was established and a church organized, December 9, 1832. It was named Wheelock Mission, in memory of Eleazer Wheelock, the first president of Dartmouth College, and a former pastor and good friend of Reverend Alfred Wright.

To better understand the impressive work attendant to organizing a mission over a century ago, it is important to have a knowledge and understanding of conditions at the time, and of the character and educational preparation of the man accomplishing the feat.

Alfred Wright was born at Columbia, Connecticut, March 1, 1788. He was graduated from Williams College in the year 1812, and from Andover Seminary in 1814. In 1815 he went to North Carolina, and for three years resided in Raleigh. At Charlestown, on December 17, 1819, Wright was ordained an evangelist. It was shortly after his ordination as an evangelist that he received an appointment from the American Board to become a missionary to the Choctaws. He returned to New England in 1820. From there he went to Goshen, a mission in Mississippi where he was stationed until August 1, 1823.

He returned in 1825 to what was then spoken of as "civilization," to marry Harriet Bunce and bring her with him to the Choctaws, who so greatly needed the home-making ways and the housewifely arts of a woman like her.

Harriet Bunce was born in Weathersfield, Connecticut, July 19, 1779, the daughter of Captain Jared and Lydia (Pettyplace) Bunce. Harriet was ten months old when her mother died, leaving her to the care of her sisters. After the marriage of her elder sister in 1814, to the Reverend Dr. B. M. Palmer, Harriet made her home with them in South Carolina.[4]

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[3] "Indian Removal: True to the spirit of the West, Jackson would push the Red people further back, exchanging new promises for broken ones."—Marquis James, *Andrew Jackson, Portrait of a President* (New York, 1937), p. 218.

[4] "Early orphaned, her [Harriet Bunce Wright] home was first in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and then for a number of years in Charleston, South Carolina, with a sister, wife of the noted Doctor B. M. Palmer".—Ethel McMillan, "Pioneer Women Teachers in Oklahoma, 1820-1860," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXVII, No. I (Spring, 1949), p. 24.

Harriet was a teacher of unusual ability and influence, who had taught children and young ladies in Charlestown, South Carolina, with remarkable success. Of great intelligence, and well educated for the early years of the nineteenth century when a slight knowledge of music and painting and household arts were all that any woman, regardless of her intelligence, was expected to learn.[5] She was possessed with qualities to endure and withstand the hardships of life in the early day missions.

While making her home with her sister and brother-in-law, in Charlestown, South Carolina, Harriet Bunce established the first Sunday School ever assembled there, thus at an early age her executive ability and a love for teaching were manifested. By her residence in Charleston, she had become familiar with southern culture and had added it to her New England culture, an advantage invaluable when teaching later. It was to Mississippi as a bride, that she went to work together with her husband in the mission field.

Missionary operations in Mississippi were interrupted by preparations for the removal of the Choctaws across the river to Indian Territory. Because its missions east of the Mississippi had to be discontinued, the American Board in Boston was undecided about the advisability of future efforts. In October 27, 1830, Wright again visited New England, remaining there until 1831.

Be it ever to the glory of the Choctaws, the decision was determined by them. While on the March. and from their location west of Arkansas and north of the Red River, many messages were sent to missionary friends. They sent dispatches telling of their great need for the missionaries. How could they reopen their schools without missionary teachers, how could they lay out new farms without advice from the mission farmers, how could they combat cholera and fever without the missionary's medicine kit? Because of the uncertainty of Indian Affairs, the American Board could promise very little, but the missionaries heeded the voice of friends in dire need, calling them.

Alfred Wright went to Little Rock, Arkansas, February 18, 1832. Low waters in the rivers, the theft of two horses and the serious illness of Afred delayed the journey for several months. Alfred suffered from an incurable heart disease, but he and Harriet had responded to a call which hardships and sickness failed to falter. They joined the Choctaws west of the Mississippi and journeyed with them to the site of Wheelock Mission. There he remained until his death, March 31, 1853. He was succeeded by the Reverend John Edwards who was in charge from 1853-1859.

Coming with a company of Choctaws, Alfred Wright and his friends crossed the Arkansas line into the Choctaw Nation, in 1832.

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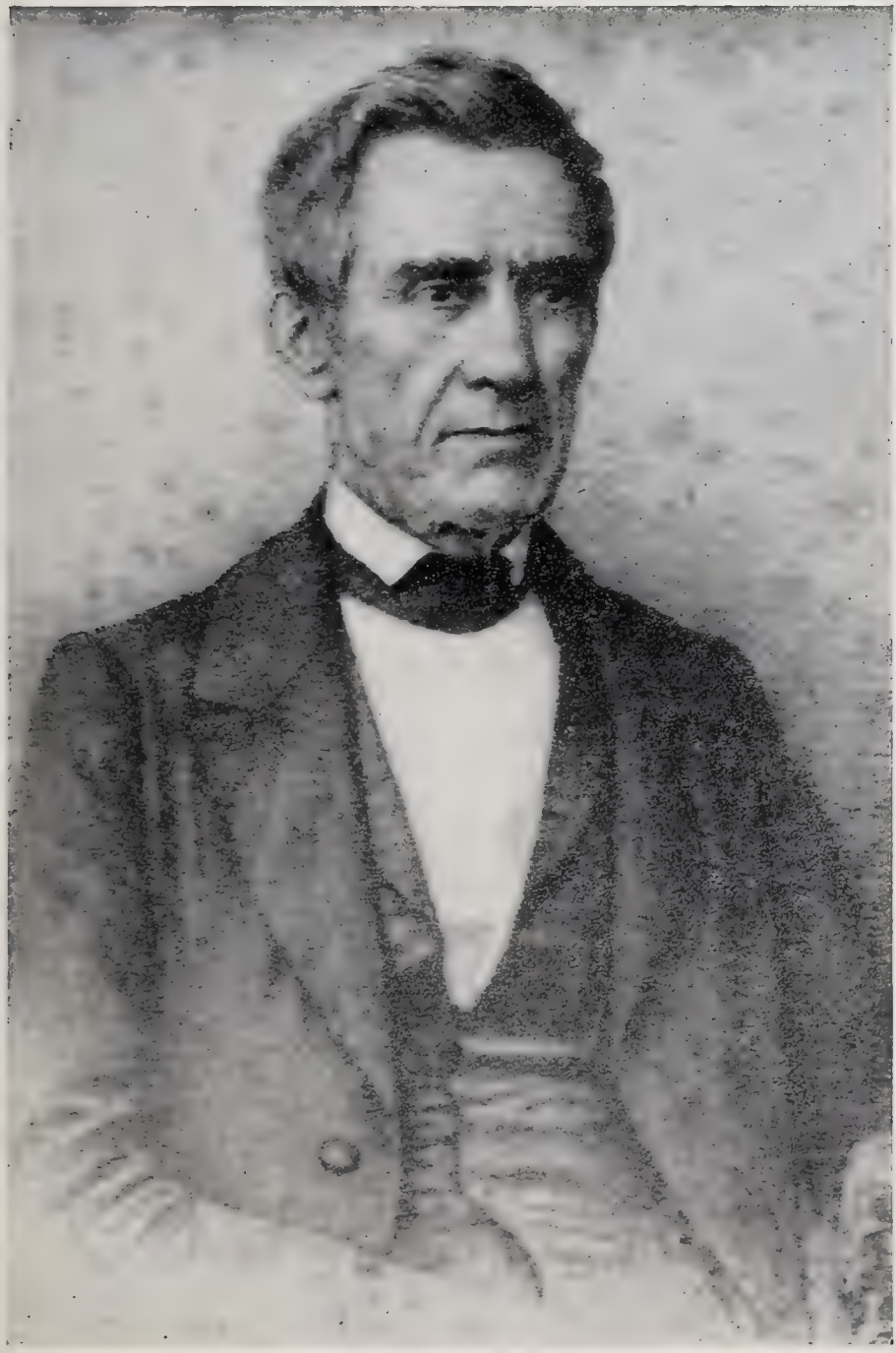
[5] Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), pp. 78, 80.



REVEREND ALFRED WRIGHT, MISSIONARY

Soon they began looking for a desirable place to stop. With them as all pioneer peoples, a source for obtaining water was a major consideration in the selection of a home site. A location near Little River, eighteen miles east of Fort Towson was selected. On a hill where Wheelock Academy now stands west of a little creek, tents were pitched. Along the creek bank cedar trees and holly were growing but best of all there was a spring. A small cabin for a temporary residence was erected. Very soon government employees and experienced workmen came, and with the assistance of the Indians began the erection of buildings for shelter, school and worship. It was a very new land to which the Choctaws had been removed, and it took many years to make the necessary adjustments.

In his long association with the Choctaws, Alfred Wright learned to speak the language and also learned the need of Christian education for them. Educating the Indians, bringing them nearer to civilized life, enabling them to assimilate the speech, industrial life, family organization, social manners and customs, civil government and ethical standards of the white people was the objective he set for his life's work. Until his death he faithfully held to this course.

It was in the first completed log building the organization of the church December 9, 1832 was established, when thirty persons were received into the church from those who had formerly been members of the church in Mississippi, and seven others were added on confession of faith. All were carefully examined as to their views and character.[6]

In its initial stages, the Mission was solely a religious organization but very shortly after its founding, in the early part of 1833, a school was instituted as a component part of the Mission—a day school for Indian children.

The sympathetic nature and understanding heart of Harriet Bunce Wright were always in tune with the emotional disturbances and sufferings of the Choctaws while trying to become accustomed to their new home. She had great faith in the children of the Choctaw Nation and diligently set forth to meet the challenge of being counselor and teacher to them. In the beginning singing, oratory and penmanship were taught.

Perhaps the response of the Choctaw children to singing inspired Alfred Wright and Williams in 1833 to revise the Choctaw Hymnbook, adding many new hymns, enlarging the collection to 123 hymns;

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[6] "The church at Wheelock was organized on the second Sabbath in December, including thirty-seven members, seven of whom had not before been connected with any church. All were carefully examined as to their religious views and character." —*Missionary Herald*, Vol. 28 (1832-1833), p. 464.

which with some supplementary matter, filled 162 pages. There were 3,500 copies of the edition.[7]

Sickness was one of the impediments to making progress with teaching the children. Stagnant water left by the receding floods of 1833, decaying timber, lack of proper food and nourishment indirectly caused cases of cholera and fever, causing death in almost every family. The stricken children surviving, lost many days in the schoolroom. Harriet Bunce Wright was very ill. It was a period when the mission seemed more like a hospital than a school. It was a common occurrence for from 10 to 15 persons to call at the Wright home for medicine or for treatment. Undiscouraged, the Wrights labored on, and by 1834 the school was well established having an attendance of from 30 to 40 pupils.

Realizing the value of Christian education for their daughters, the Choctaw Council appropriated funds for the Seminary in 1842, and Harriet Bunce Wright, wife of Alfred Wright became its first principal. By 1842, it was exclusively a school for girls. As the school grew, one or more assistants were provided. The following is an intimate description of life in the work of this early school for girls:[8]

"Mrs. Wright's duties as housekeeper at Wheelock were highly complicated. The boarding pupils of the school, the assistants at the mission, and the great number of visitors to whom hospitality must be extended in that region where hotels were unheard of, constituted a large and varying family. And household help, when it was available at all, was undependable; 'pious Irish or German girls from the North' preferred cotton factories near their friends to kitchen work in the Indian Territory.

"Sometimes the Mission employed slaves, hired from their Choctaw owners; but members of the American Board in New England misunderstood and disapproved of this plan.

"Once Harriet Wright voiced her indignation against the disapproval of people who could not know the conditions under which Missionaries worked:

" 'If there are individuals in New England who work as hard as we do, I was so unfortunate as not to find them. My violent illness last winter was caused by dipping 40 dozen candles, and the relapse which brought me so near the grave was occasioned by going out, well wrapped up, to see about the making of soap—It was easier for me to dip candles than to cook, and besides unless well made we could not use them to any profit. The best of dipped candles are

[7] "A new edition of the Choctaw Hymn-book, consisting of 3,500 copies, has recently been reprinted. The hymns have all been revised by Messrs. Wright and Williams and many new hymns added, enlarging the collection to 125; which with some supplementary matter, fill 162 pages."—*Ibid.*, Vol. 29 (1833), p. 425.

[8] Althea Bass, "Oklahoma Had Its Heroines Century Ago," *Tulsa Daily World*, March 29, 1936.

HARRIET BUNCE WRIGHT

another kind of light to what those enjoy in the Northeast, who can see so well to find fault with us.'

William Armstrong, U. S. Agent for the Choctaws, made the following statement in his report in 1843: "Wheelock is one of the schools now supported from funds appropriated by the General Council—I cannot forbear mentioning the high qualifications of Mrs. Wright as a competent teacher, and as a lady eminently suited to improve the female pupils."[9]

Here is another description of Mrs. Wright's life and contributions as a teacher and missionary at Wheelock:[10]

"The course of study provided that five and a half hours daily be given to regular studies—the Bible, Natural Philosophy, geography, English grammar, arithmetic, writing, reading, spelling, composition and drawing. Afternoons were devoted to thorough training in 'domestic arts', the necessary duties of a well ordered household, plain and fancy sewing, knitting and the cutting and making of garments.

"In addition to her arduous duties as a teacher and homemaker, Mrs. Wright gave her wholehearted assistance to her husband in his monumental work as author, translator, and collaborator of forty-one published volumes in the Choctaw language. She herself copied his manuscript translation of Joshua, Judges and Ruth for the press. In preparation of another manuscript, she copied the New Testament three times, and all in long hand."

From this institution many fine Choctaw women prominent in their day and time received the first rudiments of their education. Some were sent at the expense of the Choctaw Nation to different colleges of the South and East. Some became teachers.

The following notes give the history of Oklahoma's oldest church building:[11]

"1845. The people of the Wheelock community met and decided to build a stone church that would be a monument to the planting of religion and civilization in the West. The funds for the building were to be obtained by free will offerings of the people in money and labor, and by donations from the members of the Presbyterian Church in the North and East."

"1846. The church was built of stone taken from the ground a few rods south of the building and was completed in 1846. Its site

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[9] Report of William Armstrong, U. S. Agent for the Choctaws, in *Commissioner of Indian Affairs Report*, 1843.

[10] Jessie D. Newby, *The History of The Delta Kappa Gamma Society in Oklahoma from Alpha to Omega* (1945)—The Story of Harriet Bunce Wright by Muriel H. Wright in "Figurines of Pioneer Educators," p. 102.

[11] *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 11 (April, 1933), p. 6.

was about two hundred yards south of the mission buildings. It stands facing west. There is a door in the northeast corner opening toward the Mission House. High on the east wall, outside, is a tablet bearing the date and Reverend Wright's motto, "Jehovah Jireh"—"The Lord Will Provide."

A large marble tablet inscribed with either a Biblical quotation or a profound statement by Reverend Alfred Wright was placed in a niche located in the east wall back of the pulpit in the church. It was the custom of the missionaries and devout Christians to worship by sitting and studying the wisdom of the inscription. During the years the tablet has disappeared, but there are those who are still hoping it may be found and restored to its original place.[12]

On July 8, 1951, the writer heard a sermon by her pastor, Dr. G. Raymond Campbell, at Westminster Presbyterian Church, Oklahoma City, telling about the church and about the training Presbyterian ministers receive, to be able to teach the value of worshipping the Almighty and for attending services for worshipping, and the explanation of the use of symbols and what they represent for creating a feeling of reverence. Later, the writer wondered if the old tablet placed by Alfred Wright could have been a contribution for bringing his people nearer to worshipping God. If so, he succeeded.

Tradition says, "at the west wall of the church, an upper balcony was built for seating the negro slaves for Worship services."[13] In 1846 the church was dedicated, and its stone walls have withstood the wear and tear through the years, including a fire and the War between the States.

Riding horseback, Alfred Wright attended to his duties as a missionary and physician, in which he was often called away. The severe heart attacks to which he was subject necessitated Harriet accompanying him on many of his missions: "Once when he suffered an attack on the open prairie, she piled stones for him that he might dismount from his horse, covered him from the boiling sun with an umbrella, fanned him during the day, and then helped him home when the heat and heart attack abated in the evening."[14]

Reverend Alfred Wright, the beloved friend of the Choctaws and the founder of Wheelock Mission passed away on March 31, 1853. "At his request he was buried in the cemetery a short distance from the church he built and loved. His body lies there today in a small iron enclosure and over the lonely grave is a marble slab placed there by friends and admirers, bearing testimony to him as a man, a Christian, a physician, a translator, and a minister."[15]

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[12] Data from Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma Historical Society.
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Bass, *op. cit.*
[15] *The Oklahoma Indian School Magazine, op. cit.*

SACRED
to the memory of the
REVEREND ALFRED WRIGHT
WHO ENTERED INTO HIS HEAVENLY REST
MARCH 31, 1853. AGED 65 YEARS.
BORN IN COLUMBIA, CONN., MARCH 1, 1788.
APPOINTED MISSIONARY TO THE CHOCTAWS, 1820.
REMOVED TO THIS LAND, OCTOBER 1832.
ORGANIZED WHEELOCK CHURCH, DECEMBER 1832.
RECEIVED TO ITS FELLOWSHIP 570 MEMBERS.

AS A MAN

HE WAS INTELLIGENT, FIRM IN PRINCIPLE,
PRUDENT IN COUNCIL, GENTLE IN SPIRIT,
DISTINGUISHED FOR SELF-GOVERNMENT,
KINDNESS AND GRAVITY,
AND CONSCIENTIOUS IN THE DISCHARGE OF EVERY
RELATIVE AND SOCIAL DUTY.

AS A CHRISTIAN

HE WAS FILLED WITH THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST,
STRONG IN FAITH, UNIFORM, CONSISTENT,
CONSTANT AND FERVENT IN PRAYER,
SOUND IN DOCTRINE, HOLY IN LIFE,
AND PEACEFUL IN DEATH.

AS A PHYSICIAN

HE WAS SKILLFUL, ATTENTIVE, AND EVER READY
TO RELIEVE AND COMFORT THE AFFLICTED.

AS A TRANSLATOR

HE WAS PATIENT, INVESTIGATING, AND DILIGENT,
GIVING TO THE CHOCTAWS IN THEIR OWN TONGUE,
THE NEW AND PART OF THE OLD TESTAMENT
AND VARIOUS OTHER BOOKS.

AS A MINISTER

HIS PREACHING WAS SCRIPTURAL, EARNEST,
PRACTICAL AND RICH IN THE FULL EXHIBITION
OF GOSPEL TRUTH.
HE WAS LABORIOUS, FAITHFUL, AND SUCCESSFUL.
COMMUNION WITH GOD, FAITH
IN THE LORD JESUS, AND RELIANCE UPON
THE AID OF THE HOLY SPIRIT, MADE
ALL HIS LABORS SWEET TO HIS OWN SOUL
AND A BLESSING TO OTHERS.
IN TESTIMONY OF HIS WORTH,
AND THEIR AFFECTION, HIS MOURNING FRIENDS
ERECT THIS TABLET TO HIS MEMORY.
"There remaineth therefore,
a rest to the people of God."

Inscription on large marble tablet over the grave of the Reverend Alfred Wright, in Wheelock Mission cemetery.

From the time of the first meeting in the Mission, December 9, 1832, to the time of his death, March 31, 1853, Alfred Wright received nearly six hundred members into Wheelock Church.[16] Following his death, Reverend John Edwards, also from the East, and an assistant named John Libby took charge of the school. After her husband's death, Harriet continued to teach at Wheelock, but in 1854 her health failed and she returned to friends living in the East. She died in Madison, Florida, October 3, 1863, having made her home for several years in the South she had known and loved from early girlhood.[17]

Since its founding Wheelock Mission has been rebuilt, added to, and remodeled. Today it is an attractive institution maintained for orphan Indian girls and is wholly supported from Federal funds.

With the outbreak of the War between the States, the school saw some changes. Reverend John Edwards, successor to Alfred Wright was a Northern sympathizer. In 1861 he was compelled to leave Wheelock, and he went to California. Mr. John Libby, the assistant, though a Union man at heart, had become a slave owner and decided to remain with the Choctaws at the outbreak of the war. For eight years Mr. Libby continued to look after the buildings when the dormitory on the west side of the brook caught fire and sparks carried by a strong northwest wind set fire to the church and school house and all were destroyed. When the day was over nothing remained of the old Mission except the Wright home, a small log house, and the walls of the church.

In the following years the Wright residence was used off and one as a subscription school and "local exhorters would sometimes hold services there." From 1869 until 1882 the place known as Wheelock was little more than a wilderness. The walls of the old stone church with its former history aroused interest in the old Mission, and Wheelock was brought to life again. It was rebuilt in 1882 by Reverend John Edwards when he returned and resumed work among the Choctaws. In the autumn of 1883 assisted by others, he succeeded in re-establishing the Presbytery of Indian Territory. Work was begun at once for rebuilding Wheelock and in the year 1884

[16] A young Choctaw ("Kiliahote"), best known by his English name "Allen Wright" bestowed upon him as a lad when entering the neighborhood school at Lukahta, was a namesake of the Rev. Alfred Wright who was in charge of the Choctaw Mission field West for the American Board. In 1846, Allen Wright was baptized at the Wheelock Church. He was the Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation who gave the name *Oklahoma* for a proposed organization of the Indian Territory in 1866.—Ed.

[17] Harriet Bunce Wright was honored almost three quarters of a century after her death, by the Delta Kappa Gamma Society which has for one of its purposes the honoring of women in the history of the teaching profession. In accordance with the Society's custom in this, a figurine (or appropriately dressed doll) representing the honoree was presented in a special program at the National Convention of Delta Kappa Gamma in Chicago, March 27, 1937, during which a poem "Harriet Bunce Wright of Oklahoma" was read in tribute to this splendid teacher, written by Naomi John White, of Stillwater, Oklahoma.

(Photo 1951 by A. Y. Owen, photographer
for *Life* magazine)

Entrance to old dormitory, Wheelock Academy

all the buildings were completed and the school reopened. The site chosen for the new buildings was several hundred yards northeast of the old church. Using the same old walls, the church was rebuilt. The Reverend William B. Robe and wife were first in charge after the reopening of Wheelock[18]

Outstanding in Oklahoma history are the memory and accomplishments of Reverend Alfred Wright who founded Wheelock and of his wife Harriet Bunce Wright who was first principal of Wheelock Seminary for girls in the Choctaw Nation. Upon their shoulders rested many diverse responsibilities. When a church develops from a Mission to survive a period of over a hundred years it is a monument to the staunch and sterling character of the founders. Mr. and Mrs. Wright left comforts and pleasures amid cultural surroundings for the discomforts and sufferings of early day in the great West in order to accomplish the objective of what they chose as their life's work. Gentle persons having a determination of purpose they journeyed with the Choctaws in wagons drawn by horses or oxen, or on river boats and flat boats. History has recorded the route followed by those making the arduous trip from Mississippi to the line across the Mississippi river, and that many died enroute and were buried where they died. Because of the hardships and sadness experienced, the road traveled is called "Trail of Tears."

In November, 1950, one of the State's historical markers located on U. S. Highway No. 70, a mile east of Millerton was dedicated at Wheelock Academy just off the highway. It was erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society and the State Highway Commission, and reads: "Wheelock Mission, established by Alfred Wright in 1832, missionary to the Choctaws for 33 years; also physician, and translator of the New Testament and other books into Choctaw. The Choctaw Council established the Seminary for girls in 1842, Harriet B. Wright, Principal. Reverend John Edwards was in charge, 1853-59."

Work at Wheelock Mission is continuing today and has grown. During the 1950-51 school terms there were 127 girls attending the school, not necessarily orphans but those needing such a home. All were boarding school girls rather than day pupils. Reverend Roy Craig, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Idabel, Oklahoma, is also pastor of Wheelock Church.[19]

Were not the lives of the founder and the first principal of Wheelock Mission excellent examples of Paul's expression of a Christian life as stated in his letter to the Philippian (4:8): "Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, if there be any praise, think on these things."

[18] Ora Eddleman Reed, "The Robe Family—Missionaries," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 301-12.

[19] Letter from Mrs. Leila Black, *op. cit.*

THE FIVE GREAT INDIAN NATIONS

Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole and Creek: The Part They Played in Behalf of the Confederacy in the War between the States.

*By Jessie Randolph Moore**

When North America was discovered, most of that portion now known as the Southern States, with the exception of Texas, was in the possession of five powerful Indian nations: Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole.[1] Some smaller tribes occupied territory within their boundaries but as the centuries passed they were gradually controlled or absorbed by these stronger nations. England, France and Spain surrounded this Indian country with forts and settlements in an effort to conquer them. A proud, progressive and warlike people, the Indians resented all interference in their national affairs and compelled these alien races to remain without their boundaries. By wars, purchases and treaties with these European nations, the United States eventually became owner of the forts and settlements, but not the country nor the people of the Five Indian Nations in the South.

Before the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, the leaders in the United States decided that what their government could not conquer should be purchased. By conciliatory treaties with these Indian nations, commissioners appointed to represent the United States from time to time succeeded in purchasing many valuable tracts for the Government, from the Indians thereby reducing the boundaries of their lands to that portion of the South now occupied by Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi and parts of Kentucky, Tennessee and the Carolinas. A most unsatisfactory situation existed on this frontier between these powerful Indian peoples and the United States citizens who were pushing to settle in the region. Andrew Jackson was aware of this situation. He was also aware of the military skill of the Indian warriors.

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* This contribution in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, by Mrs. Jessie Randolph Moore, member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society for many years and much loved and outstanding pioneer citizen in the state, appeared first in the Oklahoma number of *The Southern Magazine*, Vol. III, No. 2 (August-September), 1936, official magazine for the United Daughters of the Confederacy (1935-38). The article as it is presented here has been adapted for publication in *The Chronicles*, with the addition of editorial footnotes, besides some expansion of the lists of the Confederate Indian military organizations with names of Indian commanding officers during the War between the States and some battles and engagements in which these officers participated.—Ed. (M.H.W.)

[1] The name *Seminole* was first applied to this nation about 1780, representing the union of some two or three ancient tribal groups that had formerly been a part of the Creek confederacy.

In the War of 1812 between the United States and England, official records show that Andrew Jackson called on the Indian nations for assistance and that the success of his southern campaign was due largely to the valuable aid rendered by their warriors. It is said that the country west of the Alleghanies was saved to the United States by their allegiance. General Jackson was no sooner victorious than, as early as 1817, he demanded the removal of all Indians from the East to the West beyond the Mississippi. This purpose was attained between the years 1830 to 1842. Within these years, compulsory treaties were entered into between each of the Five Indian Nations and the United States, thereby causing the forced migration of almost the entire Indian population then inhabiting the Southern States.

The uprooting and forcible expulsion of the Five Indian Nations is without parallel in the history of this country. This tragic saga of Indian removal known as the "Trail of Tears" was truly a trail of desolation, a Gethsemane of suffering, and will be remembered forever by the Five Nations and their descendants. They loved their ancient southern home, its hills and vales; the wide rivers and deep forests; the ashes of their ceremonial fires and the sacred graves of their ancestors. They carried this love for the South and its people to their new home in the West.

The country purchased by the Five Indian Nations was known as the Indian Territory, and comprised the land now occupied by the State of Oklahoma, with the exception of the extreme northeastern corner now included in Ottawa County. On arriving in their new lands in Indian Territory, each nation proceeded to establish its governments, and eventually each was organized under a constitution with legislative, judicial and executive departments, modeled after the governments of the Southern States from which they came. In time capitals were established by each nation: the Cherokee, at Tahlequah; Choctaw, at Tushkahomma; Chickasaw, at Tishomingo; Creek, at Okmulgee; Seminole, at Wewoka. Churches, schools and towns were founded, land placed in cultivation and cattle roamed the prairies and a thousand hills.

Much hardship and suffering was endured by the Indian people at the beginning of their struggle to establish their institutions in their new country. Dr. Grant Foreman in his book *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934) gives a graphic picture of Indian Territory in ante bellum days. But this was a country of great possibilities and eventually the Indian people developed a great Indian commonwealth that arose out of the wilderness, a classic State.

One of the important provisions made in the Indian treaties was that forts should be established by the United States in the Indian Territory. These forts were to be occupied by a sufficient number of United States soldiers to protect the Indian nations from

war with the Plains tribes that were at the time in a last stand against the encroachments of the white race. Discouraged and desperate at times, the Plains tribes, too, were seeking a country that they could call home where they could be their own masters free from the white people and, even, from the Indian nations to the east in the Indian Territory. The United States government established Fort Smith, Fort Gibson, Fort Towson, Fort Wayne, Fort Washita, Fort Arbuckle and Fort Cobb by 1859. The base fort was Fort Smith just over the border in Arkansas.

When the Southern States seceded and the war drums were beating in 1861, the U. S. War Department ordered that all forts in the Indian Territory must be abandoned. This order out of the U. S. War Department was promptly obeyed and the Federal troops marched north under the command of Colonel William H. Emory, thereby abrogating solemn pledges in the treaties and leaving the Indian nations in the Territory at the mercy of enemies at War. Because of their high sense of honor, relative to keeping inviolate the provisions of the treaties entered into with the United States at the time the Indian Territory lands were purchased, most of the Indian nations wanted to remain neutral had not the Federal forces been withdrawn from this country. However, this action on the part of the U. S. War Department released the Indian nations from further sense of obligation that they might hold toward the treaty rights.

The great majority of the members of the Five Civilized Nations were southern in their sympathies. The ideals, principles, customs and institutions of the old South were brought with them on the "great trek" west, and established with pride in their own Indian commonwealths. Abandoned as they were by the Federal forces, it was natural for the people of the Five Nations, when the tocsin of war sounded, to follow the inclination of their hearts, even though it was important to their interests to remain neutral. Their several legislatures met in extra-ordinary session and selected delegates to attend a convention of all the Five Nations and other tribes that would attend to determine what course to pursue in the coming war. The convention was held and the Five Nations were joined by the Caddo tribe in an alliance with the Confederate States.

In 1861, President Jefferson Davis of the Confederate States of America, appointed Albert Pike, of Arkansas, as Commissioner to treat with all the Indians west of Arkansas and south of Kansas. He was delegated with plenary powers to secure the assistance of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole nations in the Indian Territory.[2] Commissioner Pike met the official delegates

[2] For the texts of the Indian treaties with the Confederate States, see *War of the Rebellion Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series IV, Vol. I.

of the Creek and the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations (delegations of the two latter nations acted together) at North Fork Town near the North Fork of the Canadian River, in the Creek Nation where two treaties were entered into respectively on July 10 and July 20, 1861. The Seminole Nation, also, soon signed a treaty negotiated by Commissioner Pike at the Seminole Agency west of Little River. By these treaties with the Confederate States, the various Indian delegations—Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole—pledged their nations as friends and allies to the Old South. The Indian governments ratified these treaties at once, and Indian officers were commissioned to raise troops in their respective nations.

The Cherokees in the meantime though just as enthusiastic deliberated longer, and on August 12, 1861, held a convention in which they pledged their friendship to the Confederate States though their delegation did not sign a formal treaty of alliance until October 9, 1861, at Tahlequah. The call for assistance from their beloved Southland brought a quick and generous response from the Indians when they dedicated their lives and their fortunes to the cause of the Confederacy.

After the ratification of the treaties of alliance with the Indians, there was no question to be raised concerning the status of the Indian Territory as definitely a possession under the supervision and protection of the Confederate States. In verification of this, the following statement from a message of President Jefferson Davis to the "six nations,"—Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole and Caddo[3] on February 22, 1864, is hereby quoted:[4]

"Your last resolution which instructed your delegates to insure the Confederate States of the unshaken loyalty of the six Nations represented is highly creditable to them, is what I expected from them and claims my grateful recognition. The soldiers and people of the six Nations in treaty and amity with us, are regarded by this Government with the same tender care and solicitude as are the soldiers and people of the Confederate States. Our cause is one and our hearts must be united."

In May, 1861, the Confederate government placed all of its forces in the Southwest under the command of Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch of Texas. A military district of Indian Territory was created. General McCulloch moved into the Indian Territory, and organized immediately three Indian regiments and placed these three Indian regiments together with one regiment from Texas,

[3] The Caddo were one of eleven tribes in Western Indian Territory, most of them Plains Indians, that were visited by Commissioner Albert Pike and signed treaties of alliance with the Confederate States at the Wichita Agency near the Washita River, in a meeting on August 12, 1861.

[4] A photograph of the original published circular of this message from Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, is in the Confederate Memorial Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Arkansas and Louisiana, under the command of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper.[5] Fort Smith, Arkansas, had been captured by the Confederate forces in that state, on April 23, 1861, and the forts in the Indian Territory abandoned by the Federal forces had been reoccupied by Confederate troops.

In the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society are two thick volumes of typewritten manuscript, containing the nearest complete statistical information existing in the state on the part that the Five Civilized Nations and other Indian tribes played in behalf of the Confederate States during the War between the States. This work was compiled in Washington, D. C., from official records of the War Department, under the direction of Dr. Grant Foreman, of Muskogee, Oklahoma, one of the most noted historians of the Southwest. The material was bound in two volumes designated as "The History of the Five Civilized Tribes in the Confederate Army," which are among the most treasured books in the Historical Society's valuable collection. There are found in these two volumes the records of eleven regiments, three battalions, three squadrons, a company and several miscellaneous units. These lists give 11,875 enlisted men. Rolls of all the companies in some of the regiments could not be found in the War Department Archives. This indicates that many more persons than the above numbers were in service in the Indian Territory for the Confederate cause.

The following list gives the organized Indian military units and the Indian commanding officers that served in the Confederate States Army, Military District of the Indian Territory, compiled from the records in the two volumes of "The Five Civilized Tribes in the Confederate Army":[6]

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[5] Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, a Mississippian, had served as the U. S. Indian Agent to the Choctaw and Chickasaw for a number of years. Colonel Cooper (commissioned Brigadier General in 1864, C.S.A.) was one of the really big men, outstanding for his influence and activity in the Confederate cause, in the Indian Territory throughout the War. It was largely due to Colonel Cooper's acquaintance, knowledge and prestige in Indian matters that Commissioner Albert Pike consummated treaties with the nations and tribes of the Indian Territory in behalf of the Confederacy, in 1861.

[6] It should be kept in mind that this is not a complete listing of the Indian military organizations and Indian commanding officers, C.S.A., the official records of some of these having been lost to history. The order of the regiments, battalions, squadrons and a company is given here as they appear in Volumes I and II, "Five Civilized Tribes in the Confederate Army," without regard to the dates of their organization.

VOLUME I

First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Rifles, Col. John Drew, Lieut. Col. William P. Ross.[7]

First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Col. Stand Watie (to Brig. Gen., C.S.A.), Lieut. Col. James M. Bell, called "Watie's Regiment."[8]

Second Regiment Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Col. William Penn Adair, called "Mounted Rifles" or "Riflemen."[9]

First Cherokee Battalion Partisan Rangers, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan (to Col.), called "Bryan's Battalion."

First Squadron Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Capt. Charles Holt.

Cherokee Regiment, (Special Service) Col. Joel Mayes Bryan.[10]

First Regiment Creek Mounted Volunteers, Col. Daniel N. McIntosh, Lieut. Col. Samuel Checote, Lieut. Col. William R. McIntosh, called "Mounted Rifles" or "Riflemen."

First Battalion Creek Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh.

Second Regiment Creek Mounted Volunteers, Col. Chilly McIntosh, Col. Timothy Barnett, Lieut. Col. Pink Hawkins.

VOLUME II

First Regiment Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, Col. Douglas H. Cooper (not Indian—to Brig. Gen., C.S.A.), Lieut. Col. Tandy Walker (to Col.), Lieut. Col. James Riley, called "Volunteers," "Riflemen" or "Cavalry."[11]

First Choctaw Mounted Rifles, Col. Sampson Folsom, Lieut. Col. D. F. Harkins.

Deneale's Regiment Choctaw Warriors, Col. George E. Deneale, called "Deneale's Regiment Confederate Volunteers."

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[7] The First Regiment Cherokee Mounted Rifles was mustered into Confederate States' service November 5, 1861, eleven companies having enrolled October 4 and having been accepted into service for twelve months from October 25, 1861. "This Regiment was recognized on Adjutant and Inspector-general's Office Roster as First Arkansas Cherokee Mounted Rifles, which was probably due to the fact that the Indian Territory was under jurisdiction of the Court at Ft. Smith, Arkansas."—*Ibid.,* Introductory Statement in Vol. I, p. 4.

[8] "Watie's Regiment" was organized July 12, 1861, for two years, and subsequently reorganized.

[9] Battalion of five companies organized with the addition of five other companies as a regiment on February 3, 1863, and subsequently reorganized. The original battalion was the Cherokee Partisan Rangers, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan (formerly Bryan's First Battalion).

[10] The Cherokee Battalion (also called Bryan's Battalion) was organized as a regiment after February 3, 1863, and before the Battle of Honey Springs in July, 1863, in which the Cherokee Regiment, Col. Joel Mayes Bryan, served on the battlefield.

[11] The First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles was outstanding in the service of the Confederate States throughout the War, participating in major battles in the Indian Territory and Arkansas. Douglas H. Cooper (not an Indian) was appointed Colonel May 30, 1861, and the regimental organization was completed July 31, 1861. Tandy Walker, former Governor of the Choctaw Nation (1857-59), served as lieutenant colonel from the organization date to January 1, 1863, when he was promoted to the rank of colonel. He was looked upon as the commanding Indian officer of the Regiment from the beginning to the surrender. A brilliant and courageous leader, he had the respect and was commended by the highest Confederate Army officers in the Southwest for his bravery on the field of battle in the major military campaigns in this region throughout the war. Recommendation for his promotion to the rank of brigadier general was in review by the Confederate military authorities when the War ended.

Captain Wilkins' Company Choctaw Infantry, Capt. John Wilkins.

First Regiment Chickasaw Infantry, Col. William L. Hunter, Lieut. Col. Samuel H. Martin.

Shecoe's Chickasaw Battalion Mounted Volunteers, Lieut. Col. Martin Shecoe, Lieut. Col. Joseph D. Harris, called "Chickasaw Battalion," "Regiment."

First Regiment Seminole Volunteers, Col. John Jumper.[12]

First Osage Battalion, Maj. Broke Arm, Capt. Black Dog.

Reserve Squadron of Cavalry, Capt. "Caddo" George Washington, called "Washington's Squadron" or "Caddo Battalion."

Lee's Command on Northwestern Frontier Indian Territory, Col. Roswell W. Lee.

Scale's Battalion Cherokee Cavalry, Maj. Moses C. Frye, Maj. J. A. Scales.

Second Regiment Choctaw Cavalry, Col. Simpson N. Folsom, Lieut. Col. Franceway Battice (Battiest).

Third Regiment Choctaw Cavalry, Col. Jackson McCurtain, Lieut. Col. Tom Lewis.

First Battalion Cherokee Cavalry, Maj. Benjamin W. Meyer, called "Meyer's Battalion."

First Battalion Chickasaw Cavalry, Lieut. Col. Lemuel L. Reynolds, Lieut. Col. Joseph D. Harris.

The Confederate Indian troops of the Indian Territory participated in nineteen battles and engagements, besides many skirmishes, the complete records of which have never been found. The following list is based on the military reports of the principal battles and engagements, all in the Indian Territory except where otherwise noted, with names of commanding officers and names of Indian officers given for the Confederate forces, as compiled from the *War of the Rebellion Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*:

Round Mountain, November 19, 1861, Col. Douglas H. Cooper, Commanding Indian Department: Indian officers—Col. Daniel N. McIntosh, Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh, Maj. John Jumper, Maj. Mitchell LeFlore; Capts. R. A. Young, Lem. M. Reynolds, O. G. Welch, Joseph R. Hall, Jackson McCurtain, F. B. Severs; and Lieuts. Joseph Carroll and Samuel Berryhill.

Chusto-Talasah (Caving Banks), December 9, 1861, Col. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Indian Department: Indian officers—Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. John Drew, Lieut. Col. Wm. P. Ross, Maj. Mitchell LeFlore; Capts. Alfred Wade, R. A. Young, Lem. M. Reynolds, Joseph R. Hall, Jackson McCurtain, W. B. Pitchlynn, Willis Jones, Richard Fields, J. N. Hildebrand, Pickens M. Benge; and Lieuts. Joseph W. Wells, James F. Baker, George Springston, Broom Baldridge, George W. Ross.

Chustenahlah, December 26, 1861, Col. James McQueen McIntosh, (Headquarters, Van Buren, Arkansas) Commanding Division: Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Maj. E. C. Boudinot.

Pea Ridge (Elkhorn, Arkansas), March 7, 8, 1862, Gen. Ben McCulloch, Commanding General of the Southwest, Brig. Gen. Albert Pike, Commanding Department

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[12] First Seminole Battalion Mounted Volunteers, Maj. John Jumper, was organized September 21, 1861, and was increased to a regiment prior to 1864 (probably summer of 1863), with the same commanding officer promoted to colonel. Colonel Jumper was commended for his bravery and courage in the Confederate service, and served many years as chief of the Seminole Nation (see Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "John Jumper," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXIX, No. 2 [Summer, 1951]).

of Indian Territory: Indian officers, Col. Stand Watie, Col. John Drew, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Lieut. Col. Tandy Walker.

Neosho (Missouri), May 26 and 31, 1862, Indian officer—Col. Stand Watie.

Locust Grove, July 3, 1862, Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Col. John Drew.

Bayou Menard, July 27, 1862, Indian officer—Lieut. Col. Thomas Fox Taylor.

Newtonia (Missouri), September 30, 1862, Col. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Division: Indian officers—Col. Sampson Folsom, Lieut. Col. Tandy Walker, Lieut. Col. M. W. Buster, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan; Capts. Martin Folsom, Wm. B. Pitchlynn, Sol Loring, Joseph W. Wells, David Perkins, E. W. Folsom, F. W. Miner and Lieut. C. H. Tiner.

Granby (Missouri), October 4, 1862, Indian officers—Lieut. Col. M. W. Buster, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan.

Fort Wayne, October 22, 1862, Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Confederate forces, First Brigade; Indian officers—Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. Stand Watie, Lieut. Col. M. W. Buster, Lieut. Col. Simpson N. Folsom, Lieut. Col. Chilly McIntosh, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan, Maj. Willis Jones, Capt. Joseph W. Wells.

Fort Gibson, May 20, 1863, Indian officers—Col. Wm. P. Adair, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. Sampson Folsom, Maj. Joel Mayes Bryan.

Cabin Creek, July 1, 2, 1863, Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Capt. Joseph W. Wells.

Honey Springs (Elk Creek), July 17, 1863, Brig. Gen. D. H. Cooper, Commanding Confederate forces, First Brigade Indian troops: Indian officers—Col. Tandy Walker, Col. D. N. McIntosh, Col. Joel Mayes Bryan, Lieut. Col. James M. Bell, Lieut. Col. O. G. Welch, Maj. J. A. Carrol, Maj. Joseph F. Thompson; Capts. Roswell W. Lee, Joseph L. Martin, Hugh Tinnin, James L. Butler, James Stuart and Lieut. A. G. Ballenger.[13]

Perryville, August 22, 1863. Gen. Cooper's rear guard, Indian officers—included among others Lieut. Col. James M. Bell, Capt. Joseph L. Martin.

Middle Boggy, February 13, 1864, Indian officers—Col. John Jumper, Col. Simpson N. Folsom (?).[14]

Poison Spring (Arkansas), April 18, 1864, Brig. Gen. Samuel B. Maxey, Commanding Cavalry Division (including Indian Brigade): Indian officers—Col. Tandy Walker, Col. Simpson N. Folsom, Lieut. Col. James Riley.

Pheasant Bluff (or Pleasant Bluff), capture of the Steamboat *J. R. Williams*, June 15, 1864, Indian officers—Col. Stand Watie, Lieut. Henry Forester (of Capt. Lee's Light Battery).

San Bois (at *Iron Bridge*), June 16, 1864, Indian officer—Maj. M. H. Campbell, Commanding detachment of Shecoe's Chickasaw Volunteers.

Cabin Creek, September 19, 1864, Brig. Gen. Stand Watie, Brig. Gen. R. M. Gano, Commanding Confederate forces Indian and Texas troops: Indian Officers—Col. John Jumper, Col. Timothy Barnett, Lieut. Col. Samuel Checote, Lieut. Col. C. N. Vann; Capts. William M. Taylor, William H. Shannon; Adj. D. R. Patterson and Lieuts. Richard Carter, Saladin Watie, Pleasant Porter.

Only a brief outline can be given in this article of the military operations of the Confederate Indian forces in the War Between the States. A minority of the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole nations refused allegiance to the Confederate States. After the Confederate

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[13] The Battle of Honey Springs or Elk Creek was the major battle fought in the Indian Territory during the War, the Confederates suffering defeat in the attack by Federal forces under the command of Gen. James G. Blunt.

[14] A Confederate encampment at Middle Boggy (or Muddy Boggy) was occupied by Choctaw troops under the command of both Col. Sampson Folsom and Col. Simpson N. Folsom in 1861. It was in a strategic location on the Texas Road, just north of the present City of Atoka, in Atoka County.

treaties of alliance were signed the Union sympathizers among the Creek and Seminole, nearly five thousand in number when later joined by some of the Cherokee, decided to withdraw to Kansas within the Union lines under the leadership of the noted Creek leader, Opothleyahola. The Confederate forces under Colonel Cooper, Commanding Indian Department, and Colonels John Drew and D. N. McIntosh, besides detachments from the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole regiments followed the Union Indian forces commanded by Opothleyahola who suffered defeat in two of the three battles that were fought in 1861.[15] Many successful engagements were also fought during the War, and victory perched on the Confederate banner at its close.

In the spring of 1862, Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch, Commander of the Confederate forces of the Southwest, marched the Confederate Indian troops out of the Indian Territory, and joined the forces of General Price at Pea Ridge, Arkansas, just across the border. The Battle of Pea Ridge on March 7, 8, 1862, was fought with disastrous results for the Confederates. General McCulloch, the beloved commander and great military leader of the Southwest, was killed in action. Brigadier General Albert Pike was placed in command of the Provisional Army in the Southwest but only served until the following July when he resigned, at which time Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the Indian Territory.

In June, 1862, the Federals invaded the Indian Territory but were repulsed and forced to withdraw by Colonel Stand Watie and his troops. Six battles and heavy engagements besides many hot skirmishes, the details of which are unrecorded, were fought in the Indian Territory and beyond its borders by the Indian forces from May to October, 1862. After the Battle at Fort Wayne which began the second invasion of the Indian Territory by the Federals, Fort Gibson was captured and remained the Federal base throughout the War.

Early in January, 1863, Brigadier General William Steele was placed in command of the Confederate forces in the Indian Territory District, with Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, second in command. In the battles and many skirmishes, the Confederates fought desperately but unsuccessfully to regain the territory lost in the second Federal invasion of 1862. They were hungry, ragged and without arms and ammunition. The Battle of Honey Springs in July, 1863, was lost because of lack of sufficient arms and ammunition. What powder they had was rotten, and eye witnesses have said

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[15] Opothleyahola's forces won the first battle of the War in the Indian Territory, known as the "Battle of Round Mountain," (see Angie Debo, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 [Summer, 1949]). His forces were defeated in the battles of Chusta-Talasah and Chustenahlah (see list above) by the Confederate forces.

that many Indians threw their guns away in despair when the powder failed to ignite. Through all the dark days, the military activities of the peerless Indian leader, Stand Watie, runs like a golden thread as he constantly harassed the Federal with his Indian troops. Tandy Walker of the Choctaws is mentioned in many records by the commanding officers for his courageous leadership in the midst of major battles in the Indian Territory and beyond its borders. Many other Indian officers whose names are not found in the records of the Five Civilized Tribes served the Confederacy with gallantry and distinction, and were commended by their superior officers for their bravery in action.

At the beginning of the year 1864, the Confederate forces were reorganized under Brigadier General Samuel B. Maxey. Colonel Stand Watie was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and placed in command of the First Indian Cavalry Brigade. It was a merited award for distinguished service, and he was the only Indian who attained the honor in the Confederate Army in the War Between the States. His picture hangs today in Battle Abbey, that shrine of the Immortals at Richmond, Virginia, where the South in reverence pays homage to its heroic dead. Another merited award.

In 1864, the Confederate troops occupied Forts Washita, Towson-Arbuckle and McCulloch. When Fort Gibson, and later Fort Smith, had been captured by the Federals, the northern part of the Territory became untenable for the Indians who were pledged to the Confederate cause, and they were forced to flee south to refugee camps along Red River and to Texas. Northern soldiers and bands of guerillas, called "Kansas Jay Hawkers," pillaged and burned the Indians' homes, ran off their stock and ranged as far as Red River on their expeditions. William C. Quantrell, a Missourian and noted Confederate sympathizer, organized a guerilla band, of which he was addressed as "Colonel" when he set out on his volunteer mission to protect the homes and property of the people of the Indian Territory from the depredations of the Northern marauders. Many were the skirmishes fought during the winter of 1864-65 between these opposing forces up and down the old Texas Road, the main thoroughfare through the Indian Territory military district. The descendants of many families that were befriended by "Quantrell's band" will always cherish his memory.

The most heartening event to the Confederate forces was the second Battle of Cabin Creek in September, 1864, when a Federal wagon train on its way to Fort Gibson was captured—250 wagons loaded with supplies which with hundreds of horses and mules were valued at $1,500,000. While Brigadier General Richard M. Gano and his Texas troops had a part in this battle yet the victory and the winning of this great prize in war were largely due to the tactics

of General Watie and his courageous Indian officers and troops. The year 1864 closed on a bright note for the Confederate Indian troops since they had been serviced with food, clothes, arms and ammunition from the captured wagon train, and had been victorious in many engagements. There was little activity in the winter of 1864-65.

In the early part of 1865, Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper was again placed in command of the military district of Indian Territory. From the official correspondence, it is seen that the close of the War was imminent. At this time, there were no railroads or telegraphs that reached the borders of Indian Territory, and news was slow in reaching the West.

General Robert E. Lee surrendered to General U. S. Grant at Appomattox Court House, April 9, 1865. General Edmond Kirby Smith, Commanding the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederacy surrendered the forces under his command to General E. R. S. Canby, Commanding the Military Division West of the Mississippi, for the Federal Army, May 26, 1865. General Douglas H. Cooper, Commanding the Military District of the Indian Territory, carried out the terms of agreement and surrendered all the white troops in the Indian Territory, May 26, 1865.

The Five Nations, or "Five Civilized Tribes" as they are best known in Oklahoma history, reserved the right to surrender independently. Principal Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn surrendered the Choctaw troops at Doaksville, June 19, 1865. General Stand Watie surrendered the Cherokee, Creek, Seminole and the Osage Battalion troops, June 23, 1865. Governor Winchester Colbert surrendered the Chickasaw troops, July 14, 1865, and the Reserve Squadron of Cavalry, popularly and better known as the "Caddo Battalion," under Captain "Caddo" George Washington, laid down arms on the same day, over three months after Lee's surrender in Virginia. It is interesting to note that the Indian nations of the Indian Territory were the last of the Confederacy to surrender arms.

The dawn of peace found the people of the Indian nations with a country laid waste, their homes and fortunes wrecked, the slaves free, their horses and cattle gone. It is said that over three hundred thousand head of cattle, valued at $450,000 were driven north by "rustlers" from within the Federal lines at the close of the War.

Specially appointed commissioners on the part of the United States called the Indian nations and tribes of the Indian Territory to a conference at Fort Smith, Arkansas, September 8, 1865, and announced to them that their lands had been confiscated because of their alliance with the Confederate States in the War. Abraham Lincoln had been assassinated, and the Government was in the hands of a group of abolitionists and autocrats who ignored the age-old principal that nobility obliges the conquerer to be generous to the conquered. The prevailing idea was to punish the Indians for having

made an alliance with the South. The Five Indian Nations contended that their lands in the Indian Territory had been purchased by them and were not a gift from the Government, and that the United States Commissioners in behalf of the Government had no more right to force confiscation of their lands than the lands of the Southern States.

Compromise treaties were finally negotiated between the Commissioners representing the United States and official delegations from each of the several Indian nations at Washington, D. C., in 1866, whereby the nations were compelled to cede half of the Indian Territory to the United States for the settlement of the Northern and the Plains Indians.[16] One of the provisions of the Cherokee Treaty and the Choctaw-Chickasaw Treaty in 1866 stipulated that each of these three nations should grant their former Negro slaves and their descendants equal rights as citizens. Neither the Cherokee Council nor the Chickasaw Legislature ever enacted laws granting Negroes equal rights of citizenship. In order to get a settlement of certain funds from the Government under the Treaty of 1866, the Choctaws many years later enacted laws granting citizenship to their former slaves and their descendants, with certain limitations. In line with the Treaties of 1866, the Cherokee, Chickasaw and Choctaw nations had to allow their former Negro slaves and their descendants allotments of land. The Seminole Treaty provided that all freed Negroes and their descendants in the Seminole Nation should "have and enjoy all rights of native citizens"; and the Creek Treaty stipulated that all Negroes lawfully residing in the Creek country should have "all the rights and privileges of native citizens, including an equal interest in the soil and national funds, "which was considered the greatest wrong ever perpetrated on a defenseless people, and is a reproach at the door of the administration of Indian affairs in the United States to this day.

To summarize: The Indian people of the five nations gave their lives, fortunes and homes to the Confederate cause. In addition, the United States government required that they cede half their country for the settlement of other tribes besides share the residue of their lands with their former Negro slaves. Did any State of the Confederacy sacrifice more in their loyalty to the Southern cause? Of the War in the Indian Territory, some writers have said, "it was the White Man's quarrel and the Red Man's woe." Following the sacrifices demanded in the treaties of 1866, the Indian people with patience and an unfaltering courage began "with worn out tools" the reconstruction of their nations. Slowly through the years, this noble purpose was achieved in the rich and prosperous Indian commonwealth that compared favorably with any of the surrounding states in the latter part of the 19th Century. From out the dark

[16] For the U. S. Indian Treaties of 1866, see Charles J. Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II (Treaties), (Washington, 1903).

shadows of war, a safe civilization was builded that later became the commonwealth of Oklahoma.

The writer's father, Captain William Coville Randolph, a Texan and officer in a Texas regiment assigned to the Indian Territory under the command of Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch and Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, fought in most of the battles mentioned in the military record; her mother was a Chickasaw Indian born in Fort Washita, Indian Territory, in 1846. Around the winter fires at night, stories were told of the heroic struggle, the battles lost and won, the splendid courage, the fortitude of the Indian soldiers and the great privation and suffering endured in the Indian Territory during the War.

The Indian nations "fought a good fight and kept the faith" for the Confederate States of America. The descendants of these Indian warriors are proud of their ancestors and the fine loyalty and matchless service they rendered the Confederacy in the War between the States.

They pass in grand review,
Those Indian chieftains,
Within their eyes the fires of valorous deeds.
They smile—salute a Bonnie Flag,
Beloved emblem of their sacrifice;
Then march away in timeless glory.
What a deathless heritage they left!

IN BILINGUAL OLD[1] OKARCHE

*By W. A. Willibrand**

The uniqueness of the Okarche community lies in the fact that it became a predominantly German settlement during the decade that followed the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe country, in 1892. Its location on the Rock Island railroad in the extreme eastern section of this territory gave it an advantageous start; and just across the 98th meridian, in Old Oklahoma, were German settlers who realized the economic possibilities of the Okarche railway station. These settlers saw to it that German-speaking people in other parts of the country were informed about these possibilities. They hoped to preserve the German language and the traditional values of German civilization in the new American Fatherland, to which glowing poetic tributes were paid in the German-American press. In Okarche this interest in the German language was manifested early by four religious groups: Lutherans, Catholics, Evangelicals, and Mennonites. Their contribution has been mentioned in an earlier article entitled, "German in Okarche, 1892-1902."[2] It is the purpose of the present notes to call attention to some non-German contributions to the early development of the community. We begin with the village printing office, which acted as a unifying agency by introducing newcomers to each other and thus working towards the gradual evolution of a community spirit. There were lines of cleavage in early-day Okarche and the tensions resulting from them were ameliorated by the neighborliness and the social interest of the village weekly.

With the "run" to Okarche came an enterprising printer and business man by the name of Charles E. Hunter, who also participated variously in the development of other Indian lands as they were opened to white settlement. From 1889 to 1893 he established printing offices and newspapers in Guthrie, Chandler, Okarche, and Enid. His pioneering career in Oklahoma as a whole might well be a suitable topic for a master's thesis in either history or journalism. In Luther B. Hill's *History of the State of Oklahoma*[3] and in *Oklahoma Imprints 1835-1907*,[4] by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, he is credited with starting the *Okarche Times*. Mrs. Foreman makes the statement on some one else's authority that the initial issue of the *Times* is numbered October 11, 1892. But the first issue available to the

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* Professor W. A. Willibrand, Department of Modern Languages, the University of Oklahoma, contributed "German in Okarche, 1892-1902," in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950).

[1] The term "old" here refers to the earliest period of white settlement.

[2] *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Autumn, 1950, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 284-291.

[3] Vol. II, pp. 35 f.

[4] P. 367. See also p. 310, where the paper is mistakenly called the *Okarche News*.

present writer is that of November 25, 1892, and that is No. 29, which would throw issue No. 1 back to the second week in May. There is, however, evidence that the Okarche weekly was called the *Advocate* during the summer of 1892. On July 28 *The Kingfisher Free Press* reprinted some news items under the headline "Okarche Advocates," probably a play on the name of the paper from which they were taken. Two weeks later the same Kingfisher paper mentioned that soldiers favored the *Advocate* "with a serenade which was highly appreciated."[5] More enlightening is an item in the *Times* of November 25, 1892, by the new editor, A. Hummel: "In purchasing this plant we agreed to carry all paid subscriptions to the *Advocate.* We invite all who should but are not receiving the *Times* under the agreement between Mr. Allen and Mr. Hunter, to call and we will place their names on our list." It appears then that either Hunter or his successors changed the paper's name to *The Okarche Times,* of which there are files in the possession of Mr. W. F. Voss of Okarche and in the Newspaper Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society. However, with the disappearance of the *Advocate* file considerable information about the first months of Okarche's history has been lost.

Okarche's third editor, Hummel, was on the paper from 1892 until 1895. In January, 1893 he formed a partnership with his sister. In telling the public about it his burlesque sense of humor reveals a certain aberation:[6]

"Our old maid sister has arrived here. She is an experienced newspaper 'man' and has purchased one-half interest in the *Times.* Boys, don't let this deter you from dropping in on us, she is old, toothless, deft (sic) and her tongue is paralized (sic), therefore, she is not dangerous. As we haven't been pushing that line of work lately, we will turn our religious column over to her and in all matters pertaining to the Great Beyond we refer you to her—7th floor and 11th door to the right."

It might be said in passing that this lady married an Okarche business man and the publishing firm's name changed from Hummel & Hummel to Hummel & Latto.[7] The Hummels belonged to a family of German origin, one member of which was an early-day blacksmith in Okarche. Banter and boosting constituted an essential part of their editorial policy. About the time he took over the paper Hum-

[5] *Kingfisher Free Press,* Aug. 11, 1892. Another discovery of the present writer is that Okarche apparently had a paper called *The X-ray* back in 1903. See *Ti,* Aug. 28, 1903, p. 1, col. 1 and p. 8, col. 2.

[6] *The Okarche Times* (hereafter abbreviated to *Ti* without period), Jan. 27, 1893.

[7] *Ibid.,* Sept. 14, 1894. The editor wrote up his sister's wedding as follows: "We always told our old maid sister that it was never too late, & c. Of course she wished it that way, but at times she seemed to lack faith, but now, that is of the past, for last Saturday evening, between eight and nine o'clock in the presence of 'us' and a few more choice spirits, Rev. Kelso tied the knot that bound her to Charles R. Latto. May is a good, big-hearted girl—a little up in years—but a prize all the same. Charles is a promising young man who buys grain and sells implements at this point, and should he be successful in dodging skillets and such things, he has a bright future before him."

mel gave an Okarche hotel man a boost with his particular kind of editorial humor:[8]

> "At this time we are laboring under a load of turkey; we were the guest of mine host, Longmire that is, we paid him 2-bits, but for all that we don't think it was a paying deal for him. We made the many good things that the tables were loaded with fairly fly. We tuckered out six waiters and we gobbled the gobler. Every minute we expected Mr. L. to tender us our quarter, and jump the contract, but he repressed his feelings with a fortitude that was beautiful to see. We noticed many of our town folk there and among them was to be seen our affable station agent H. J. Hall; he seemed to have an awful grudge against the turkey and should you find the baggage not handled with care you can guess the reason thereof."

Early in 1894, the editors brought out a booster edition of the *Times.* Huge headlines proclaimed to the world: "Okarche—The Metropolis of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Country—A Trade Center of an Empire—The Future Wheat Mart of the Territory—Has Natural Gas—Inexhaustible beds of Salt, Gypsum, Cement and Brick and Potters Clay."[9] Previously the *Times* had boosted the one dependable natural resource of the area, namely the soil, by telling about a "squaw man near town who had raised 60 bu. (of wheat) per acre for several years."[10] It had anticipated "that millions of bushels of wheat would flow into Okarche in two years." All of this enthusiasm was succeeded by discouragement over the drouth and the low prices of the next few years.

In 1896 a lawyer by the name of I. F. Crow was publisher of the *Times*[11] and he in turn was followed by J. L. Hoover early in 1897.[12] During these years the paper developed as a reliable organ of information. The element of advertising and boosting was still present but it was accompanied by a deep interest in the welfare of the community and its relationship to the world at large. Hoover worked for a more neighborly spirit by combatting religious intolerance. He called attention to the patriotic loyalty of German, Irish and Southern Catholics during the Spanish War, when it had been expected that world Catholicism would be on the side of Spain. In the fall of 1899 Hoover disposed of the *Times* to Art C. Royer,[13] who was soon afterwards joined by his brother J. H. Royer.[14] J. C. Royer and F. E. Royer are also mentioned in connection with the *Times,* and another Oklahoma weekly.[15] Politically the Royers were on the side of sanity. In the midst of varying clamor for prohibition they favored orderly processes as opposed to the simple but radical solutions of a Carrie Nation, a position in which they were ably seconded by their in-

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[8] *Ti,* Nov. 25, 1892.
[9] *Ibid.,* Jan. 12, 1894.
[10] *Ibid.,* March 10, 1893.
[11] *Ibid.,* Dec. 18, 1896.
[12] *Ibid.,* Feb. 5, 1897.
[13] *Ibid.,* Oct. 6, 1899.
[14] *Ibid.,* Jan. 5, 1900.
[15] *Ibid.,* May 9, and Sept. 19, 1902.

fluential contributor, Dr. R. B. Foster. The *Times* had a circulation of 750 in 1907, according to a statement by J. H. Royer, whose tenure as editor and publisher was comparatively long.[16] During those early years the paper had the support of Okarche's business men, non-German for the most part, who were generous in the purchase of advertising space.

The early day editors of Okarche labored seven days a week in the interest of stabilizing a community which was in a state of flux from the very beginning, due to the constant departure of early homeseekers and the arrival of others. The editors realized that the stress and the hardships of pioneering had to be supported by imagination, vision and enthusiasm, traits which they cultivated in themselves and in others. There was something fascinating and comprehensive about the whole game of getting out a village weekly, not only editorially but also in the details of printing. Tedious though the job of setting type might seem to the casual visitor, the typesetter knew that if the copy before him had ceased to be interesting he could let his mind wander and dream as he liked until the columns in the forms had been filled. Ideas would come during the typesetting process and even during the more arduous task of running an old-fashioned press and therefore the work in hand often had to be abandoned temporarily while the editor sat at his makeshift, littered desk to produce more copy. The details of his shop might not be an attractive sight to others but they were meaningful to him because he used them in the weekly production of something that could show its face in public.

Unlike the modern newspaper man the village editor was less concerned with objective reporting than with the molding of community attitudes. The news came first but the degree of its dissemination was governed by the editor's ideas of public welfare. In his own modest way he was an educator. It was he, for instance, who told Okarche farmers about experiments carried on in their interest by the college at Stillwater. But while some of his pieces were information pure and simple there were always others that had to do with ethical judgments and with issues that faced the entire community.

The editor was nearly always underpaid, especially when he purchased four pages of ready-print, on the blank sides of which he did the local printing. As an example of the ready-print section we cite the *Times* issue of May 6, 1898. Here a new story began to run serially and the story happened to be *Treasure Island* by Robert Louis Stevenson. The different columns devoted to war news, general news and news of the week were rounded out by current comment. There was also a generous amount of jokes and poetry while the ads featured, Hood's Sarsaparilla, Lydia E. Pinkhams Vegetable Compound and Peruna. Without turning many pages the reader was

[16] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* 1835-1907, p. 367.

able to find well-written condensations of news and other features in the accustomed sections of the paper.

The verse of the ready-print pages was of a popular character but it had poetic merit. Around the turn of the century the name Longfellow was still a household word in America and much of the poetry that appeared in the humblest of rural weeklies was often superior to the modern mass-production verse which appears simultaneously in vast number of American daily newspapers. There was a real taste for poetry in those days—a taste of which an Okarche editor took advantage when, probably for pay, he printed 18 stanzas of verse celebrating the merits of the Milwaukee binder. Nine more four-line stanzas appeared some weeks later and finally there were ten more in the next issue. And there was imagery in the verse. It was drawn from Dewey's victory at Manilla. Under the attack of the Milwaukee binder the Plano and McCormick machines were either sunk or wrecked.[17]

There are indications that a spirit of racial tolerance prevailed among the early-day editors of the *Times* and its readers. Not that there was unanimity in this regard, but on the few occasions when a racial problem appeared it seems to have been solved in the interest of the negro. Back in 1894, when the community was approximately a year and a half old, the death of a colored woman by the name of Mrs. Washington presented an issue which aroused emotions that ranged from the grotesque to extreme bitterness. Charitable people wanted to see the woman's remains interred in the town's only cemetery. This plan was strongly opposed by the Jim Crow element, whose irrationalism was ridiculed by Editor Hummel:[18]

> "The objections were backed by no weightier reasons than, 'how would you like your body to be layed (sic) beside that of a black man or woman?' and 'if my body was layed by that of a black, I could not rest in my grave.' Truly, these are weighty (reasons), and it would be just awful to run the risk of having the remains of whites flopping around in their graves, because a colored person was buried within six or eight feet.
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> "Quite a feeling was stirred up, and a number of whites having places around town, proffered land for Mrs. Washington's last earthly resting place. By this time a more just and humane feeling prevailed and the husband was told he could have a lot in the cemetery."

A precedent was thus established which must have met with the approval of the Reverend R. B. Foster, a brilliant speaker, writer, and humanitarian who came to Okarche two years later as minister of the Congregational Church. A Dartmouth graduate of 1851, Foster enlisted as a private during the Civil War and became a first lieutenant in a colored regiment.[19] With the establishment of Lincoln Institute, (a school for negroes now called Lincoln University) at Jefferson City, Missouri in 1866, Foster became its first presi-

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[17] *Ti*, May 25, June 17, June 24, 1898.
[18] *Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1894.
[19] *Ibid.*, April 5, 1901.

dent.[20] There was considerable sentiment in Jefferson City against the establishment of this negro institution of higher learning. "They told him to get out of town and take his nigger school with him. He replied he had no intention of getting out, but armed his black boys with rifles and posted notice that any one molesting the school property (which was an old barn) would be *shot.*"[21] The respect in which Foster was held during the six years of his stay in Jefferson City is evidenced by an oil painting of him in the auditorium of Lincoln University.

Some years later Foster began his career as a Congregational minister. He organized churches and served as pastor in different places, including Perkins and Stillwater.[22] While at Okarche he lectured once a week on religious topics at Kingfisher College and found time to write many columns of critical comment for the front page of the *Times.* It was easy to recognize the consistency of his stand on important issues of the day, many of which he treated objectively and with profound spiritual insight. His penetrating comments ranged from local and territorial matters to the larger spheres of public affairs. He was a critic of the Territorial legislatures, the fractional strife of which caused him to observe that the "history of Oklahoma legislatures, from the first to the present, does not constitute much of an argument for our fitness for statehood."[23] During the Boer War he sided with the British because he saw in their victory a better regime for the South African negroes.[24]

Howard University conferred an honorary doctorate upon Foster in 1893. When his daughter came to Okarche as a doctor of medicine in 1897 the editor of the *Times* did not know how the community would distinguish nominally between the two Doctors Foster. "We do not wish to give up the title deserved and so long held by our pastor, and we desire to be courteous to the M. D."[25] The next year a son, Dr. C. Sidney Foster, opened a dentist's office in Okarche. Dr. Foster died in Okarche, in 1901,[26] and in 1902 one of his daughters, Dr. Eunice Foster Creel, married the veteran Okarche merchant and civic leader, A. J. Thompson.[27]

Foster had the courage to defend certain ideas on racial equality which were too radical even for a community which had admitted

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[20] *Missouri: A Guide to the "Show Me" State.* Writers' Program, 1941. New York. Duell, Sloan & Pierce, p. 231.

[21] Letter signed *Aunt Grace,* March 21, 1945. Two important sources, a book on the Fosters and a history of Lincoln University, were not available to the present writer.

[22] *Ti,* April 5, 1901.

[23] *Ibid.,* Feb. 10, 1899.

[24] *Ibid.,* June 15, 1900.

[25] *Ibid.,* May 28, 1897.

[26] *Ibid.,* April 14, 1899.

[27] *Ibid.,* March 14, 1902. Cf. *Portrait and Bibliographical Record of Oklahoma.* pp. 142 f., for biographical sketch of A. J. Thompson.

the remains of a colored woman to its cemetery. He wanted no racial segregation in the school systems and no laws to forbid the intermarriage of races. One senses a mild understatement in the following news item of 1897: "The remarks of Dr. Foster last Sunday night, opposing separate schools for colored people, and legislation against the intermarriage of races, caused considerable discussion, and it was evident that his admission that all would not agree with him was well founded."[28]

It would be another half century before the merest beginnings of nonsegregated education would be made in Oklahoma. Under the leadership of early Christian settlers, and particularly of men like Dr. Foster, Okarche might have been ready for it earlier. This is suggested by an incident of 1899. In the late spring of that year a destitute little colored boy appeared on the streets of the village. He had lost his aunt, with whom he had been living at Kingfisher and was on his way to his home in the South. The editor of the *Times* recorded how this lad was made to feel at home in the village: "Junior Endeavors took him to their meeting and donated the collection to him." To the young people he demonstrated that he could outrun and outjump all the boys he tackled. "Charlie Standard (a local merchant) fitted him with a complete boot-black outfit. Lawyer Crow sort of adopted him, bought him a flashy suit and installed him as a private coachman."[29]

A more general aspect of the racial problem appeared in a *Times* editorial some years later:

> "While American Jews, aided by United States officials, are preparing a petition to the Russian government regarding the treatment of Jews at Kirchineff, the churches of Russia and Europe are said to be preparing a message to be forwarded to the United States through the Russian government against the increasing number of lynching (sic) and torturing (sic) of negroes. It is much easier to suggest improvement in a neighbor, than to correct our own faults, whether we be Russian or American."

This editorial may have been inspired by a racial incident which is recorded in the same issue of the paper, under the headline, "Tried to Run The Town." Once more a stand is taken against racial intolerance:[30]

> "A Texas threshing outfit, with an idea that they were bad men, tried to run all the negroes out of town Saturday and had scared some of them considerably, when deputy sheriff Mayfield stopped them. There was no cause for any such actions. Negroes who attend to their own business are much to be preferred to white men who are full of booze and continually causing trouble.
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> "One of these same Texans was afterward heard to remark that they could do as they pleased in Okarche. Fight, drink, or holler, there was no marshal to object. However, there is a day of reckoning coming and such incidents as occurred Saturday will help the cause along."

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[28] *Ti*, June 4, 1897.
[29] *Ibid.*, May 26, 1899.
[30] *Ibid.*, July 24, 1903.

It took some time for the Indians of the region to be accepted in a spirit of friendly tolerance. The Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes had a warlike reputation[31] and there was some comfort in having soldiers at nearby Fort Reno. A number of Indian scares troubled the Okarche community during the nineties. One of these is related by William Dunn, pioneer farmer of the region, in an interview by a WPA worker who was gathering historical material:[32]

"One evening we were at a dance at a neighbor's house. People had come for miles in buggies, wagons, on horseback and on foot. A man came riding into the yard, jumped from his horse, yelling as loud as he could that the Indians were on the war path, and that they were only a half mile from this house. I don't think it took ten minutes for everyone to clear the house. Some ran behind haystacks, others behind the wood-pile and several ran out on the prairie and laid (sic) flat on the ground. In a 1 2 3 short time two drunken Indians passed by riding horseback, shooting in the air as they rode along. But when they passed the light was out and everything looked deserted. In about 30 minutes after they had passed we lit the lamp and continued our dance."

One pioneer lady, Mrs. Barbara Baker, recalls that Indians in war paint once rode up and peered into her prairie cabin, which had no back door through which she might have escaped with her children. In the terror of the moment she remembered her mother's injunction to say "You-Tucket-Chee" to any Indian who came too close. These magic words, whose meaning Mrs. Baker apparently did not know, had the desired effect.[33]

The *Times* did not tell many of these scare stories. After all, its business was to help attract families to the community. However, in 1899 it told briefly of some Indians found "torturing" a local physician.[34] We are not given the details of the "outrage" but apparently it was stopped in short order by the intervention of Attorney Crow, the same gentleman who befriended the negro boy. As early as 1893, when many farmers were looking forward to their first harvest, there was complaint about Indian ponies devastating the crops. Some of the ponies were taken up by the whites, and when the Indians came and took their animals out of stables and pastures the settlers were afraid to resist.[35] There is also the story of Indians rounding up horses and cattle belonging to white people in order to obtain a fee for taking up estrays.[36] Village people also complained. In February, 1893 the editor referred to some Indian women as "old squaws" who came to town and shopped in the store of A. J. Thompson. While one of them "dickered with the storekeeper for

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[31] Cf. E. E. Dale. "Early Days Ranching on the Cheyenne-Arapaho Reservation 1880-1885." In *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. VI, pp. 35-59.
[32] *Indian-Pioneer History*, Vol. 23, p. 123.
[33] *Ibid.*, Vol. 99, pp. 332 f.
[34] *Ti*, Aug. 25, 1899.
[35] *Ibid.*, April 7, 1893.
[36] *Ibid.*, Jan. 27, 1893.

a wildcat skin the others made their get-away with some merchandise. They were promptly pursued and forced to make restitution.''[37]

Generally speaking, however, the Indians could come to Okarche in considerable numbers without frightening or troubling the whites. Mrs. Myrtle Thompson Butler tells of Arapahoes camping in the village while enroute to the Darlington Indian School to bring home their children. At Darlington they were also given their allowance of beef. She also mentions the visit of three hundred Indians who showed up for an Indian dance at a Fourth of July celebration in Okarche. The dance seems to have disappointed many spectators[38] but the Indians were satisfied because they received three beeves for the performance.[39]

Indian-White relations took a turn for the better in 1898 when a friendly baseball rivalry developed between Okarche and the Indian schools at Darlington and Caddo (now Concho).[40] The lineup of the Cheyennes at the Caddo school in a game with Okarche has been preserved: Swezy, Red Wolf, Left Hand, Lame Bull, White Wolf, Alford, Antelope, Look Around, Touching Cloud.[41] Two weeks later the Caddo school again played at Okarche, but this time against Union Hall. Editor Hoover used the jargon of Indian warfare in writing up the game. And he was impressed by the quiet dignity of the Indian boys, whose conduct probably contrasted strikingly with the discourteous and unrestrained rooting that often marred rural baseball games. He deserves to be quoted: ''The school nine played in their usual quiet gentlemanly way, making no kicks or protests, asking nothing but an enforcement of the rules, and added many admirers to their list by their behavior as well as by their skillful playing.'' This game was followed by foot races that lasted until sundown.[42]

Baseball was the object of considerable enthusiasm during the late 'nineties. To be sure the sport involved a new vocabulary which prevented older German settlers from ever understanding the game. Many of them never cared to make the effort. It was a game for the young people and for the village business men. The German farmers attended church regularly on Sunday mornings and they were usually content to stay at home on Sunday afternoons, there to rest, to plan and dream, and to read their favorite German-language newspapers, some of which were published in Oklahoma while others came from neighboring states in which the farmers had lived before putting all of their worldly belongings and them-

[37] *Ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1893.

[38] The time for an appreciation of Indian dancing had not come.

[39] In the ms. life of her mother, Mrs. Molly R. Thompson, pp. 197 and 203. Mrs. Butler kindly loaned her manuscript to the present writer.

[40] Cf. *Oklahoma. A Guide to the Sooner State.* Writers' Program. University of Oklahoma Press (Norman, 1941), p. 372.

[41] *Ti*, May 13, 1898.

[42] *Ibid.*, May 27, 1898.

selves into freight cars bound for Oklahoma. They had prospered in Oklahoma—Okarche's churches and schools were signs of this prosperity. Now it was up to each to make his farm, and the abandoned farms he had begun to purchase for his children, monuments of this same prosperity.

For many people the joy of the game was marred by what was thought to be fashionable "guying indulged in by spectators." In 1898 editor Hoover called the practice "abusive," even though it might be "strictly up-to-date" and "modern." In the interest of good sportsmanship he pointed out that such ridicule put the visiting team at a disadvantage and he insisted that visitors "should be treated with the same respect accorded them in ones home."[43]

The enthusiasm for the game continued. When a business man by the name of C. J. Woodson became manager of the team in 1903 the fans of the community responded with a new eagerness. This gentleman was able to charter a train to take his team and his rooters to Waukomis on a certain Sunday in May almost fifty years ago. A hundred-dollar guarantee, which had to be deposited with the station agent, was apparently raised easily among the business men. The game at Waukomis enhanced the growing fame of Okarche! The editor's own enthusiasm may be responsible for the slips in the following paragraph:[44]

"The manager issues a challenge to any and all ball club (sic) in Oklahoma for games any and all days of the week. Okarche is the only town in the territory whose ball team travels in there (sic) own special train and whose players are all home talent. The game at Waukomis will be a good one and a great many admirers of the national sport will go from this place and Kingfisher."

Many people left the community during the drouth and depression of the mid-'nineties.[45] Those who remained through the dreary years of low prices, parched crops and near-starvation were ready to enjoy the better times that appeared again in 1897. There was a reawakening of social activity throughout the community. On the farms the amusements were largely traditional, alternating now and then with innovations from elsewhere. People sang at neighborhood gatherings; to the music of different instruments they had square dances and round dances and they played a variety of old-fashioned games.[46] In the growing German population of the community weddings were big and important affairs that concerned

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[43] *Ibid.*, same date. See also *Ti*, May 19, 1899, for mention of "scraps" at a ball game.

[44] *Ibid.*, May 22, 1903. But two years earlier there had already been a special baseball train to Hennessey. Most of the players were non-Germans: P. Eischen, J. Eischen, Standard, Doty, Weakley, Garrison, Hunter, Shelton, Moss. *Ti*, May 24, 1901.

[45] These times have been aptly described for another community in *Prairie City* by Angie Debo, pp. 59-65.

[46] Interview, William Dun, *Indian-Pioneer History*. Vol. 23, p. 124.

whole neighborhoods and all the relatives of the bride and groom who could possibly come. After the forenoon nuptial ceremony at church the home of the bride was the center of festivities, which included an abundance of home-cooked food, drinks of varying degrees of potency, conversations and games. When the guests had been served, young men would begin to move out tables and chairs to provide space for the wedding dance.

On the Fourth of July, 1898, there was a celebration at Jarvell's Grove, ten miles west and one mile south of the village. "Pony races, foot races, sack races, potato races" were featured, along with a "toboggan slide" and dancing in the evening.[47] Later that same year we find a frontier literary society active in the Union Hall district. When it came to the debating part of a certain program the question had to do with the relative merits of love and fear: "Resolved that man is more influenced to do right by love than by fear."[48] And from the Pleasant Valley district the *Times* correspondent reported: "Husking bee and party enjoyed by about 30 of our young people Monday night—at E. Shannons." He also had this in his column: "(Warning.) Some people think it would be better if some people would not let their arm get out of place in meeting." That same winter this school had "a box supper, spelling match, music and literary program."[49]

There is a hint of the new prosperity in a *Times* item for November 30, 1900. It reported that "roast ox, several roast pigs, turkeys galore and plenty of liquid refreshments" were served at Peter Herber's silver wedding. A Mr. Herber, by the way, had once been associated with a real estate man in an effort to induce more and more Germans to settle in the community.[50]

In the village there were also literary societies but the tendency was towards more fashionable types of entertainment. In 1898 there was a conumdrum social given by the local WCTU in an effort to increase its membership for a more effective fight against the saloons. That same winter the Congregational Church put on a Valentine party. Here is the charmingly worded published invitation:[51]

> Come and Meet your Fate
> Valentine & Co., Court Street,
> Dealers in Hearts, Bows and Arrows
> Broken hearts mended;
> Bows and Arrows repaired;
> Dainty Refreshments Supplied.
> One price to all—25c.

[47] *Ti*, July 8, 1898.
[48] *Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1898.
[49] *Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1898.
[50] *Ibid.*, Nov. 30, 1900.
[51] *Ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1899.

In 1900 the Terpsichorean Club gave its first annual Thanksgiving ball. "Professor" J. B. Frazier, head of the dancing school, was master of ceremonies. There was one significant interruption of the evening's festivities: "3 gentlemen complained there were not enough square dances. Their money was promptly refunded."[52] For the time being the dancing teachers won the battle against the square dance but they might have been more tolerant towards this authentic kind of folk-dancing if they could have foreseen its widespread revival some forty years later.

In 1902 Okarche had a "Culture Club" and a "Bon Ami Club." The Culture Club sponsored the study of American authors of the 19th century, on whom papers were read, supplemented by selected readings and quotations.[53] The Bon Ami Club leaned towards parties at which prizes could be won for excellence (or non-excellence) in Games. Here is a newspaper story with the headline, "The Ladies Entertain":[54]

"The ladies of the Bon Ami Club banqueted their husbands at the pretty home of Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Tull on Oklahoma Avenue. The fragrant blossoms were seen everywhere. Large and small vases filled with them were placed in every nook and corner. The decorations were all red. The lace curtains were draped in heart. Each guest received as a souvenir a red carnation. Roman punch was served in the parlor by Mrs. C. J. Woodson and Mrs. A. E. Warfield. The table spread with a handsome scarf, shivered with red carnations set with red candelabra at each corner shaded with red. Above the table suspended from the chandelier to each corner of the room, were red satin ribbons caught with clusters of smilax. A dainty lunch consisting of oysters, cocktails, and wafers, salad in lettuce leaves, ham sandwiches, olives, sherbet, cake and coffee was served. The first prize a beautiful handpainted plate was won by Mrs. A. E. Warfield. The gentlemen's prize was awarded to Mr. Dan Burnsides."

There are a few lapses in punctuation and syntax but the atmosphere of the evening seems to be faithfully suggested. One might venture to guess that the prizes were won at playing high five, a game which was very much in favor at the time.

There is mention of a Japanese party for July, 1902, at which imitations of Japanese costumes, names and lanterns were used.[55] Sometimes chaperoned parties of young people went on hayrides and moonlight picnics on John's Creek. Carpet-rag tacking appears as a social activity in 1902 and about this time a lady with a loom

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[52] *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1900.

[53] *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1902. Membership mostly non-German to judge from following surnames of members: Thompson, Standard, Royer, Burhans, Henderson, McCoy, Erwin, Loosen, Woodson, Wright, Hunter.

[54] *Ibid.*, April 4, 1902. Present at this party were the following gentlemen: A. B. Tull, A. E. Warfield, Dan Burnsides, Charles Standard, C. J. Woodson, H. Hunter, R. Hunter, T. Burnside, E. C. Loosen, F. Loosen, O. von Merveldt, F. Wiedey, J. E. Wright, J. K. Wright, W. C. Newcomb. Other members of this club were the Browns, Royers, Bothells, Crows—illustrating again that club activities in the village were largely in the hands of non-Germans.

[55] *Ibid.*, July 25, 1902.

undertook to "weave carpets with any design."[56] It would seem that the majority of social activities were not reported to the *Times*. The "G. M. C." Club is mentioned in the newspaper files of 1903 but it must have had a number of meetings.[57]

Among the amusements of both the village and the farming neighborhoods was the charivari, the regional spelling of which should be changed to something like "shivaree." It was the custom to honor newly married people with this burlesque serenade. A noise produced by beating on old pots and pans, rattling rocks in tin-cans, hammering, shooting, etc., produced a pandemonium which was kept up until the groom decided to treat the crowd. A keg of beer could always be had to wind up this kind of celebration.[58]

There is one instance recorded of a whole April day of 1898 given over to sports. A "grand wolf drive" began by the forming of the lines at nine in the morning. After the hunt, which netted only one coyote, about fifty horsemen paraded into the village and lined up for inspection at the post office. This event, which the paper describes as being "free from rowdyism," was followed by a ball game between Okarche and Union Hall. Horse-racing ended this day of purely masculine social activity.[59] One suspects that there may have been a continuation of the day's merriment in the village saloons.

The saloon issue was perennial during the first decade of Okarche's history. At mid-year 1893, there were three saloon ads in the *Times* and one of the places was significantly called "Germania Hall." For the most part the Germans were on the liberal side of the issue. It did not achieve its purpose for German Catholic readers to be told about the progress of the Wisconsin Catholic Total Abstinence Union and the temperance activities of "The Knights of Father Mathews" and that the sidewalks were "blocked by drunken staggering men." Things came to a head in 1897 when the local W. C. T. U. published in the Times the names that appeared on a petition for a liquor license of a certain Mr. S. This started a letter-writing campaign to the *Times* which stopped only when the editor refused to continue publishing the letters.[60] The refusal of the Commissioners to grant the petition constituted a temporary victory for the WCTU but before the end of 1897, Mr. S. secured a township license which permitted him to open a saloon outside of the village.[61] In the village itself the no-license rule prevailed for some months, until midyear 1898 when two successful petitioners again opened saloons.[62] The community simply would not stay dry. The village

[56] *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1902.
[57] *Ibid.*, Feb. 13, 1903. Also Oct. 24, 1902.
[58] Interview, Mrs. Katie Swanke. *Indian Pioneer History*, Vol. 58, p. 372.
[59] *Ti*, April 22, 1898.
[60] *Ibid.*, July 30, 1897.
[61] *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1897.
[62] *Ibid.*, July 8, and July 15, 1898.

alone, under the leadership of the WCTU, might have been able to keep out saloons but in the long run the community as a whole was the determining factor. In spite of the intractable position of the liberal side, (or perhaps because of it), the Ninth Annual Convention of the Territorial WCTU convened in Okarche in September 1898.[63]

Comparatively little attention was paid to this meeting but before the end of the year something happened which resulted in a newspaper debate involving two communities. The Congregational College at Kingfisher accepted a donation of $300 from Mr. Busch of the Anheuser Busch Brewing Company. The Okarche WCTU rose to a high pitch of moral indignation: "God forbid that Kingfisher College shall stain her record with blood. We therefore beseech the return of such ill-gotten gains to the coffers from whence they came."[64] This very current puritanical point of view was challenged by Dr. R. B. Foster in the very next issue of the paper. He defended the acceptance of the gift with a Scriptural argument and said it would be impractical to inquire of every giver how the money was made. The gift was made personally by Mr. Busch and had nothing to do with the brewing interests.[65] To this attitude the WCTU and "White Ribboner" took exception in the issue of the succeeding week.[66] At this point an Enid pastor enters the debate against Dr. Foster and calls upon the WCTU to help Kingfisher College redeem itself. And the membership of the WCTU at the College itself united "in indorsing with hearty approval the action of our sister Union in Okarche, in condemning the action of the trustees of Kingfisher College in receiving a donation of $300 from the Anheuser Busch Brewing Association of St. Louis."[67]

During the closing years of the last century the *Times* leaned towards the ideals of the WCTU membership but there was also some sympathy with the element sometimes referred to as Dutch. One illustration may be cited here: "When editors and druggists get together and drink a wagon load of wine it is called a 'magnificent banquet,' but when a party join in drinking a keg of beer it is a 'dutch drunk' and should be prevented."[68] Suggested by this quotation is the fact that the Germans tended to hold their celebrations on a segregated basis. In many instances also religion was a line of cleavage even within the German element of the community—but it was largely overlooked in certain cooperative phases of economic activities which have been mentioned in the writer's previous paper on Okarche.[69]

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[63] *The Daily Oklahoman,* Sept. 28, 1898, p. 3, col. 2.
[64] *Ti,* Dec. 2, 1898.
[65] *Ibid.,* Dec. 9, 1898.
[66] *Ibid.,* Dec. 16, 1898.
[67] *Ibid.,* Dec. 30, 1898.
[68] *Ibid.,* April 22, 1898.
[69] See footnote 2 above.

Music has always played an important part in the religious and social life of the Okarche community. There was a widespread interest in group singing among the settlers. It served to recall memories of their varied homelands and it aided in the rather intensive effort to retain the German language as a living force in the community. The non-Germans also cherished their folksongs and both groups were willing to make sacrifices in order to hear band music. Thus a ladies' band furnished the music for a Modern Woodmen picnic and the Indian band of Darlington played for a Fourth of July picnic and dance in the summer of 1902.[70] The community happened to be without a band of its own at this time but this was no longer true after the fall of 1903, when a band was organized largely through the efforts of the German-speaking element. With one possible exception the officers of the band were of German origin: Paul Mass, President; Fred Schroder, Vice-President; A. W. Groseclose, Secretary; H. J. Diehl, Leader; H. F. Schroeder, Assistant. Some of these men would remember the first band organized in the village early in 1893, less than a year after the "run," when business men were asked to contribute generously to the purchase of instruments.[71]

A degree of cultural and historical alertness during the pre-auto, pre-radio and pre-movie age is suggested by an incident of June 20, 1900. On that day a poorly-clad man, whose manners and conversations were not those of an "ordinary hobo," came to town. He would not tell his name but from a picture in *The Cosmopolitan* he was "recognized" as Count Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910). An awareness of Tolstoy's belief in voluntary poverty, simplicity and the Christian ideal of human brotherhood probably caused the editor to affirm that the celebrated Russian's "unassuming role as a poor man is quite in line with the count's former eccentricities, and he is probably collecting material for another story. Giving his age as 90, the man was walking from Missouri to New Mexico, and was strong and vigorous and a great story teller."[72] The only difficulty about the editor's account is that Tolstoi did not visit the United States in the year 1900. He was living dramatically but in ill health in his native Russia.[73] It was the year of the Boxer uprising and the *Times* published Tolstoi's indictment of Christian nations in their treatment of the Chinese. The editor commented favorably on the views of the celebrated author who had supposedly favored Okarche with a visit and quoted him as saying, "The revolt, Christians, is of your own making."[74] The rising political tensions in Europe were reflected in the still formidable German-American press and the editor's German readers were probably pleased to see him tie up Tolstoy's

[70] *Ti*, Aug. 15 and June 13, 1902.
[71] *Ibid.*, Nov. 20, 1903; also Jan. 6 and Feb. 1893.
[72] *Ibid.*, June 22, 1900.
[73] Aylmer Maude, *The Life of Tolstoy*, 2nd edition, Vol. II, Chapter XV.
[74] *Ti*, Oct. 12 and Oct. 19, 1900.

views with a denunciation of British and French opium traffic. Incidentally, from a contemporary picture the bearded Tolstoi might well have appeared like a man of 90 but he was in reality only seventy-two years old.

Fraternal and beneficiary organizations made their appearance early without ever achieving great strength. Due to the vigorous development of the churches and the different organizations within their membership, Okarche could never be a community of flourishing secret societies. An "Order of Chosen Friends" appeared during the year of the run[75] and we hear something of an early Red Men's lodge, The Home Forum, The Sons of Hermann, and the Modern Woodmen of America.[76] Perhaps more significant than any of these was the Labor Exchange Association of which the Okarche chapter was known as Branch No. 168. It flourished briefly in 1897 and passed out of the picture. Leaning upon Socialist and Populist doctrine it stood for a better system of exchange. Labor, it held, was the sole creator of wealth and a more just and equitable system of exchange would help the laboring classes to retain and enjoy the prosperity they create. Idle labor could prosper through the interchange of commodities and services. Holding that the competitive system was a failure, The Labor Exchange Association emphasized co-operatism:[77]

"Instead of having the wealth produced by labor concentrated in the hands of the few, the Labor Exchange aims to have the producers of this wealth co-operate, place their labor and products into their own keeping, issue to themselves receipts therefore and own the wealth they create; each one being owner according to his industry. The certificate of deposit will give them an abundant medium of exchange of stable quality. . . . ."

Currency reform was a populist notion. During the preceding year the *Times* printed the platform of the People's party which included the following:[78]

"1. A safe, sound, flexible, national currency. 2. Free and unlimited coinage of silver in the ratio of 16 to 1. 3. The amount of the circulating medium to be increased speedily to not less than $50 per capita. 4. A graduated income tax. 5. Keep money in the hands of the people. 6. Postal savings banks. 7. Government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. 8. No monopolistic speculative ownership of lands. All land owned by railroads in excess of their actual needs, and lands owned by aliens should be reclaimed by the Government and held for settlers only."

Much of this program appealed to the early settlers of Okarche; it promised money, of which they were in desperate need. The Populist-Democratic alliance was so strong that even in 1900 its candidate for congress received fifty-eight votes while Dennis T. Flynn, the successful champion of "free homes," received only 34.[79]

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[75] *Ibid.*, Nov. 25, 1892.
[76] *Ibid.*, Sept. 23 and Oct. 14, 1898; Aug. 15, 1902; Sept. 11, 1903.
[77] Cf. *Ti*, Feb. 5, Feb. 12, Feb. 26, 1897.
[78] *Ibid.*, Aug. 21, 1896.
[79] *Ibid.*, Nov. 9, 1900.

And yet Flynn was a favorite political speaker in Okarche. Editor Royer knew his business when he drew upon Shakespeare to express his admiration: "Ye god! Upon what meat does this, our Dennis, feed, that he hath grown so great?"[80] With many people, free homes and certain Populist ideas were more important than statehood. Around 1902 the community was so accustomed to radical ideas that socialism was expected to become a national issue in a few years in some quarters.[81] This may have been due to the persuasiveness of Socialist speakers who came to town. On the whole the community remained conservative.

This was especially true of the Germans who resorted more and more to cooperative undertakings without any thought of joining the Socialist cause. In fact they were inclined to take ideological preoccupations and the solemnities of fraternal groups with a sense of humor. One of their number gave this name to a society which he and his friends had started: "Consolidated Aggregation of the Conglomerate Offscouring of Humanity."[82] It was a grotesque imitation of the self-praising appelations adopted by fraternal groups. There is no indication that this travesty on secret societies lasted even as long as the local lodges of these orders.

To appreciate the subtle as well as the burlesque features of the humor prevalent in Okarche one had to understand some German dialects. This was also true of German merriment in general as it manifested itself at social gatherings, particularly at weddings and picnics, where conviviality went hand in hand with dignity and respect for traditions. These builders of a community knew how to play but they never forgot that religious and moral values are the essence of a stable society. Unlike other Oklahoma communities Okarche never had a high degree of social restlessness after the trials of the mid-'nineties.

The non-German Congregationalists took the lead in giving the community this sort of stability. They were followed by Baptists, Methodists, Mennonites and by the far more numerous German Catholics, and Lutherans. Another group of German origin, the Evangelicals, built a church in 1903.[83] During that year the Catholics built their second church, a Gothic structure of brick and stone which still serves religious needs of a large congregation. We bring these notes to a close with a reference to the laying of the cornerstone for this edifice on July 9, 1903.[84] Something like historical consciousness must have come over Okarcheans when they were told what went into the sealed box that was placed in the cornerstone of Holy Trinity.

[80] *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1900 and March 15, 1901. (For borrowing from Shakespeare see *Julius Caesar*, Act I, Sc. 2, lines 148 f.)
[81] *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1902.
[82] *Ibid.*, Oct. 14, 1898.
[83] *Ibid.*, March 6, 1903.
[84] "Holy Trinity Parish in Okarche" in *The Orphans Record, Official Organ of the Diocese of Oklahoma*, Vol. 4, No. 7, (July 1918) p. 6.

It contained the names of the contemporary ecclesiastical and temporal rulers Pope Leo XIII, Bishop Meerschaert, President Theodore Roosevelt and Governor Thompson B. Ferguson; also coins from the various countries of Europe, coins of the United States, bearing the date 1903, a history of the church and town, a picture of Leo III, church documents, daily papers of Europe and America, the *Okarche Times,* and the card of the First Bank of Okarche.[85] In a sermon prepared for the occasion Bishop Meerschaert significantly stressed harmony in the congregation. In order to secure this harmony, the builder of the new church, Father Zenon Steber had been sent to Okarche in the fall of 1902. Under the egis of his faith this Alsatian-born priest had reconciled his German ancestral background with his French culture. He was ready for the task that lay ahead of him.

[85] *Ti,* July 10, 1903.

THE McKINNEY NAME IS HONORED

*By Mary M. Frye**

It was shortly after the turn of the century when Hallie McKinney of Bonham, Texas, went with her brother, James Robert McKinney, to see the location of the proposed Normal School at Durant, Oklahoma. When the Durant banker and his sister had made a rather tiring trip over uninviting roads 'back to town', Hallie had one comment.

"There's one thing I'd like to know, Jim. Why couldn't they pick either Durant or Caddo? Why did they have to decide to put it out here so far from both towns?"

On June 1, 1951, Southeastern State College—no longer the Normal School—celebrated its forty-second birthday by naming its new women's residence hall for Hallie McKinney. No 'tiring trips into the country' are necessary to reach Hallie McKinney Hall or any other of the nine buildings of the college; for the beautiful campus adjoins the main residence section of Durant.

For the three hundred people who gathered at the newly-named hall, the dedication party was a happy occasion. President T. T. Montgomery had received the heartiest support from the Board of Regents when he suggested that the dormitory be named for Hallie McKinney, member of Southeastern's first faculty and the College's first dean of women. Friends who gathered to congratulate "Miss Hallie," now retired and living in Durant, echoed this hearty approval. Roses and orchids vied with sincere compliments as college officials, representatives of the board of regents, and other friends honored one of Oklahoma's most distinguished teachers.

"I knew how Texas felt about the McKinneys," said Judge Henry Cunningham of Bonham, who was the "voice from Texas" at the dedication program. "Now I see you Oklahoma people feel the same way."

It was in 1900 that Bonham saw the first of the McKinneys go over into Indian Territory, when the Durant National Bank was founded. Relatives and friends were disturbed, not only at losing Jim McKinney, but because he was going "so far away" and into "such wild country." The John Wesley Newmans, staunch Presbyterians in spite of the name, persuaded their daughter Blanche, who was Mrs. Jim McKinney, to stay in Bonham until Jim was settled, or until he had decided to give up his preposterous venture and return to "civilized country."

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Jim did not give up his venture. For a time he returned to Bonham for week-end visits, riding horseback and carrying the bank's money in his saddle-bags. In hunting season the money shared space with quail in the saddle-bags. During the week he slept with the bank's capital under his pillow. By 1902 his family was with him in Durant, and his brother Buck soon afterward became associated with him in the Durant National. "The wild Indian country across Red River" began to look less formidable to Bonham relatives and friends.

Jim and Buck McKinney were a part of every progressive movement in Durant. When churches were built, the McKinney brothers were quick to lend their support. Members of the Christian Church, they were instrumental in erecting the building the congregation still uses, while Jim McKinney played a prominent part in the construction of the Presbyterian Church, in which his wife worshipped. For many years Buck's wife, Lucile Geers McKinney, was organist for the Christian Church, while Blanche McKinney performed the same service for the Presbyterians.

Prospects of getting a State Normal School at Durant stirred the enthusiasm of the brothers. Their lack of formal education had deepened their regard for higher education and its opportunities. "Workers they were, every one of them," said Judge Henry Cunningham at the Hallie McKinney Hall dedication, as he recalled the early days of the McKinney boys and girls in Bonham.

Their mother, born Rebecca Abernathy in Pulaski, Tennessee, met Thomas Clark McKinney, native of Fayetteville, Arkansas, when he was a student at the Missouri school, of which her step-father and mother were in charge. After their marriage they settled in McKinney, Texas, where Tom McKinney was associated with Colonel Tom Murray in the dry goods business. After Colonel Murray's death, Tom began working for the Singer Sewing Machine company. One of Hallie McKinney's most treasured possessions is a silver pitcher the Singer company gave her father for selling more machines in his area than any other representative.

Tom McKinney died young, leaving his wife with seven young children and little money. The family, accompanied by the children's paternal grandmother, went to Bonham where Rebecca McKinney's parents operated Carlton College, a school similar to the one they had in Missouri.

"Grandma McKinney," widow of a Presbyterian lay preacher and farmer, was the key figure in the home she and her daughter-in-law established across from Carlton College. Stronger physically than her daughter-in-law, Grandma McKinney was also a tower of strength and resourcefulness. "But she was severe!" Hallie McKinney recalls. "Too severe, I thought then." Grandma, deeply religious, shrewd, and industrious, had no patience with dirt nor

HALLIE McKINNEY

laziness; when she made a decision, she stuck to it and followed it through.

There was the time she took Hallie, a small girl, out into the country to visit relatives. Hallie's mother had packed the little girl's "best clothes" for her to wear to Sunday School. Hallie could hardly wait to put on the freshly-laundered white dress, pink sash and hair-ribbons, and pink stockings. But when Sunday School time came, Grandma got out a plain gingham. Hallie cried and pleaded, insisting that her mother had planned for her to wear her best dress. "These children out here don't have clothes like that," said Grandma. "You will wear the gingham." Hallie's weeping increased, approaching hysterics; but Grandma was not to be moved. The little girl did not wear the finery with which she had expected to impress the community. Furthermore, she spent the Sunday School hour locked in the smokehouse.

In spite of their connections with Carlton College, the McKinney boys had little schooling, since the institution was primarily a girls' boarding school. Jim's recollections of "college duties" were principally milking cows, carrying wood, and other chores. Dick, Ed, Jess, and Buck had similar tasks. Buck's special duty was selling the vegetables which Grandma McKinney raised in her garden. Hallie and her sister Alice went to school and helped with housework.

Hallie recalls telling her mother that there were two things she would never do when she was grown. She would not wash dishes and she would not go to school in summer. "Mama always told me never to say 'I won't do something' or I'd end up doing it. Well, I went into home economics and I wish I had a penny for every dish I've washed. And for twenty-seven years I was going to school and teaching, summer and winter."

Grandma McKinney outlived her daughter by several years. Hallie recalls that she was somewhat confused and embarrassed by the way Grandma reacted to her mother's death. She went right on with the churning and other chores; there were no evidences of mourning. "When someone as good as your mother dies, there's nothing to grieve about," was Grandma's explanation. After Grandma McKinney died, Alice and Hallie taught at Carlton College and made a home for their brothers, until the boys began to marry and make homes of their own.

In 1909 the two sisters went to Durant to become members of the first faculty of the State Normal. In addition to their study and teaching at Carlton College, they had both attended Chicago University. Hallie McKinney later went to Columbia University, New York, where she received a master's degree in personnel and guidance. At the Normal Alice taught music and Hallie taught home economics.

In Durant the sisters made a home modeled after the one in Bonham, where Carlton College teachers and other friends had

always found good talk in the living-room and good food in the kitchen.

The late Kenneth Kaufman, another member of the first Southeastern faculty who went on to the language department at Oklahoma University, used to recall the McKinney sisters' home as one he could never forget. "And when they were looking for a dean of women up here at the University, I told them they ought to try to get Hallie McKinney, and their troubles would all be over," Professor Kaufman once said.

The nieces and nephews will never forget their aunts' home, either. A visit there was always an adventure. When a family dinner was held in "Aunt-Alice-and-Hallie's" home, there was no "second table" for the children. They were always served first, instead of having "to wait" as was the procedure in other relatives' houses.

In 1916 Alice McKinney died, and the following year Hallie McKinney was made dean of women at Southeastern under the administration of T. D. Brooks, now at Baylor University. "When I learned President Brooks wanted to see me that day, I started going over menus in my mind," said Miss Hallie, who was famous for her luncheons, one of the first of which was for Oklahoma's first governor, Charles Haskell. "I was sure he wanted a dinner of some kind. When I went into his office, he said he had good news. Then I thought, 'A new stove for my department!' When he said he wanted me to be dean of women, I could hardly believe what I was hearing." The title was actually the only new thing about the position, however. For years Hallie McKinney had been counseling girls who had learned to go to "Miss Hallie" when a problem arose.

One of her former students was recently recalling her days in the home economics department. "Miss Hallie was always about twenty years ahead of her time. They are just now getting things in the textbooks that she taught us years ago. As Dean of women, she was just as modern." Hallie McKinney is not sure about that "modern" description of her work. She thinks that much of the success attributed to her career can be traced straight to Grandma McKinney.

Southeastern's first dean of women is the only one of the McKinney brothers and sisters left. Dick, who went into the lumber business and who, as Buck always said, "had more brains than the rest of us put together," died of tuberculosis at the age of thirty-three. Pneumonia caused the death of Alice McKinney in 1916.

In 1923, Jim McKinney died at the age of fifty-six, three years after the death of his brother Ed, who had established a hardware business in Durant a few years earlier, after operating similar businesses in Bonham and Honey Grove, Texas. A year after Jim's death, his brother, Jess McKinney, Honey Grove banker, died.

Hallie McKinney Hall, Southeastern State College

Jim's death occurred in Durant, which had truly become his home and the center of his life. The difficult depression years, which came early in Southern Oklahoma, had taken their toll of his physical strength; but his spirit and faith in "the wild country across the river" persisted. "It was like being married to a doctor those last years," his wife used to say. "In the middle of the night calls would come from 'sick' banks, asking for help which he never refused."

During those last years Jim McKinney was also made president of the State National Bank in Denison, in addition to his connection with the Durant National and other banks in southern Oklahoma. His friends and physicians urged him to move to Denison. "If you'll move to Denison and start acting like a bank president and keeping 'banker's hours,' you may live a long time," they told him. "You can't keep on here in Durant. Every person who comes into the bank thinks he has to see you personally, no matter if he has nothing more on his mind than a sick pig."

Jim McKinney moved to Denison, but he was able to go to the bank only a few times. When death came, it was in the house in which Alice and Hallie McKinney had lived in Durant, for the family home had been sold.

In 1936 Buck McKinney, who had gone from Durant to become a prominent figure in Dallas banks and as governor of the Federal Reserve, followed his brothers and sister in death.

Except for a few years when she went to Dallas to keep house for her brother Buck, after his wife's death, then to be a resident counselor at Hockaday School, Dallas, Hallie McKinney has lived in Durant since the day she and her sister Alice left their Bonham home forty-two years ago to become teachers at the new Normal School in Durant.

The recounting of all these events, and many others, had a part in the dedication of Hallie McKinney Hall at Southeastern State College on June 1.

"We are honoring, first of all, a distinguished teacher whose inspired service will always be remembered," said President Montgomery." We are also honoring a family whose spirit has left its mark on the history of Southern Oklahoma and Northern Texas."

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

Grazier's License and Monument Marking the Site of the Old Drumm Ranch, in the Cherokee Strip

(Notes Reported by E. H. Kelley of Oklahoma State Banking Dept.)

Following the examination of the Farmers And Merchants Bank of Arnett, Oklahoma, March 12th 1951, I visited at the home of Mrs. Alex Barton, in Higgins Texas, which is about 14 miles west of Arnett.

Mr. Barton passed away February 13th 1951. He was an influential man in the early history of The Texas Panhandle and Oklahoma Territory, and has prosperous children living in Oklahoma City now.

Alex Barton was a young man when fencing on The Chisholm Trail forced cattlemen to move their drive 100 miles west, and he and his brother, Doc Barton drove one of the first herds of longhorn up the Western Trail, from Mason County Texas, through what became known as Doans Crossing, and on to Dodge City, Kansas. There were three thousand head on this drive, which took three months to make the trip. They arrived in Dodge City in July, 1872, when the Santa Fe was pushing rails to that destination.

Doc Barton died in Dodge City January 11, 1946, at the age of 95 years, and the *Daily Globe* of that place published an account of this cattle drive in their issue of January 12, 1946.

Alex Barton made a recording of his experiences on this drive a number of years ago, which is very interesting. On February 18, 1951, Johnny Linn, Jr. devoted a half hour program in honor of Mr. Barton, over K G N C Broadcasting Station in Amarillo, and played this record.

Mrs. Barton's father was William Cloud Mills, who formed a partnership of Mills and Sherlock, in the cattle business, and she holds the original grazing lease made with the Cherokee Nation, on the back of which is the name of Andrew Drumm. This grazing lease is as follows:

No. 120

Grazier's License

CHEROKEE NATION

Office National Treasurer, Coweta I.T. Dec. 18 1882

By virtue of authority given me by an Act of The National Council, approved Dec. 1st 1880, to supervise the collection of the revenue of the Nation derived from that portion of the country, not included within The Nation as organized by law, but remaining in the possession of The Nation

that many Indians threw their guns away in despair when the powder failed to ignite. Through all the dark days, the military activities of the peerless Indian leader, Stand Watie, runs like a golden thread as he constantly harassed the Federal with his Indian troops. Tandy Walker of the Choctaws is mentioned in many records by the commanding officers for his courageous leadership in the midst of major battles in the Indian Territory and beyond its borders. Many other Indian officers whose names are not found in the records of the Five Civilized Tribes served the Confederacy with gallantry and distinction, and were commended by their superior officers for their bravery in action.

At the beginning of the year 1864, the Confederate forces were reorganized under Brigadier General Samuel B. Maxey. Colonel Stand Watie was promoted to the rank of Brigadier General and placed in command of the First Indian Cavalry Brigade. It was a merited award for distinguished service, and he was the only Indian who attained the honor in the Confederate Army in the War Between the States. His picture hangs today in Battle Abbey, that shrine of the Immortals at Richmond, Virginia, where the South in reverence pays homage to its heroic dead. Another merited award.

In 1864, the Confederate troops occupied Forts Washita, Towson-Arbuckle and McCulloch. When Fort Gibson, and later Fort Smith, had been captured by the Federals, the northern part of the Territory became untenable for the Indians who were pledged to the Confederate cause, and they were forced to flee south to refugee camps along Red River and to Texas. Northern soldiers and bands of guerillas, called "Kansas Jay Hawkers," pillaged and burned the Indians' homes. ran off their stock and ranged as far as Red River on their expeditions. William C. Quantrell, a Missourian and noted Confederate sympathizer, organized a guerilla band, of which he was addressed as "Colonel" when he set out on his volunteer mission to protect the homes and property of the people of the Indian Territory from the depredations of the Northern marauders. Many were the skirmishes fought during the winter of 1864-65 between these opposing forces up and down the old Texas Road, the main thoroughfare through the Indian Territory military district. The descendants of many families that were befriended by "Quantrell's band" will always cherish his memory.

The most heartening event to the Confederate forces was the second Battle of Cabin Creek in September, 1864, when a Federal wagon train on its way to Fort Gibson was captured—250 wagons loaded with supplies which with hundreds of horses and mules were valued at $1,500,000. While Brigadier General Richard M. Gano and his Texas troops had a part in this battle yet the victory and the winning of this great prize in war were largely due to the tactics

An Interesting Correction: Women Lawyers West of the Mississippi

The following letter from Mr. Allan R. Ottley, of Sacramento, California, calls attention to the first women who practiced law in California:

ALLAN R. OTTLEY
Sacramento, California
5062 H Street

July 8, 1951

Editor, Chronicles of Oklahoma
Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City 5, Oklahoma
Dear Sir:

I note with interest that in the biographical sketch of the late Anabel Fleming Thomason by Miss Sara Thomason appearing in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Winter 1950 51 issue, it is stated that Miss Fleming in 1899 was "the first woman west of the Mississippi to be licensed to practice law. . . "

Without attempting to detract from Miss Fleming's splendid record, I should, nevertheless, like to draw your attention to two California newspaper items of 21 and 20 years earlier.

The Sacramento *Union* of September 9, 1878, page 6, col. 2, states that "Mrs. Clara S. Foltz, of San Jose, has been admitted to the Bar. She is the first woman in California who has become a lawyer under the Act of the last Legislature authorizing such admission."

The *Union* of May 14, 1879, page 3, col. 1, carried a story that Mary Josephine Young (Mrs. John N. Young) on May 13, 1879, was the first woman to be admitted to practice before the California Supreme Court.

Sincerely yours,
Allan R. Ottley

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hanging Judge. By Fred Harvey Harrington. (The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1951. 204 p. Illustrations, maps, notes, glossary and index. $4.00)

Serving as a vivid kodachrome panorama of the character, temperment and mores of the Indian Territory variety of outlaw and criminal, rather than a confining biography of the central figure of frontier criminal justice, Isaac B. Parker, author Harrington in his fine and very readable *Hanging Judge* has done well in his chosen mission of showing the frontier felon in his true stripe of ugly hoodlum, down-right scoundrel and no-good coward.

The reader is not taken through intimate views of Judge Parker's personal life and career, but is at once introduced to all of the thugs and villains whose depredations brought to an otherwise obscure frontier jurist a mission vital and essential to the early growth and development of a now prosperous and developed southwest.

Like old soldiers, Robin Hood myths are slow to die. Regarding the defendants in the dock of Judge Parker's Court it is now high time, as the author remarks, for us to change our heroes. In a skillful manner the reader is shown that today's plaudits and kudos should go not to the Doolins, Belle Starr, Rufus Buck, Cherokee Bill and the like, but rather to a man who declined appointment as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Utah Territory to accept the dubious honor of a western Arkansas Federal Judgeship.

All of the more "prominent" outlaws and ruffians of the period are paraded before us, stripped of their patina of glamor and shown in their true and proper base character. One well understands that the epithet "Hanging Judge" is applicable to Parker not in derision but as a by-product of the magnitude of his task and of the volume of the work of his court.

We are spared technical details on the statutory extent of Judge Parker's jurisdiction, legalistic references to writs and pleadings and citations to codes and precedents. Such are left, unsaid, in the law library where they belong. As such are of interest only to the brief-writing lawyer, the omissions are to be commended.

A particularly interesting chapter is that dealing with the head-on collision between the trial court and the appellate court, inevitable in the situation in which Judge Parker was placed. Far from the local scene and entirely familiar with Judge Parker's problems, it should be expected that the appellate justices would cling more to the form and the formal precedent of the law than to its basic substance as required by Parker. Historian Harrington

in his readable way introduces us to just sufficient of the opinions of the United States Supreme Court, including the now famous dissents, to resolve into orderly fashion that which could be misunderstood as an unseasonable conflict between trial and appellate justice.

In passing, two other important adjuncts of Parker's court are not forgotten, the two hundred or more deputy marshals, the "men who rode for Parker," and last but not least, the expert with the noose, hangman George Maledon.

Alive and human, this volume adds a fine contribution to the present day understanding of life in the Indian Territory.

—George H. Shirk

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Pioneer Doctor: An Autobiography of Lewis J. Moorman, M.D. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, Oklahoma, 1951. Pp. xi, 252, including index. Illustrations.)

Behind every paragraph that is written there is always some sort of desire. The chief desire involved in this review of "The Pioneer Doctor" by Lewis J. Moorman, M.D., recently issued by the University Press, Norman, Oklahoma, is to convey to the reader that it is one of the very best volumes on Oklahoma history that has been presented to Oklahomans and other Americans in many decades.

The American doctor that has lived the long life of Dr. Moorman has moved intimately through an almost complete cycle of the development of the United States. An eminent physician born in the early 70's of the 19th century heired the same sort of medical training with slight improvement as was received by doctors from Washington's day until the beginning of the Civil War. Then there was the awakening and advancement in the science and practice of medicine in the decades after the destructive struggle between the States, which doctors born in 1875 and living until 1950 would know intimately.

As Superintendent of Schools in Kentucky in the "Gay 90s", it was my privilege to conduct old-fashioned County Institutes where teachers might come each year and under the direction of the County Superintendent of Schools and an instructor in pedagogy, psychology and management, and spent five days in discussing the aims and procedures of education. As instructor and lecturer, and one introduced by splendid men of the locality and county as a reputable teacher and with powers and virtues I perhaps did not possess, I met every element of the social order of the county entered. As I was invited into that region of Kentucky comprising such counties as Hardin, Breckenridge, Grayson, and stretching across to Meade and Jefferson, I met the Moorman's. Among them were doctors, lawyers, farmers and teachers. All were possessed of values of leadership

which Kentucky demanded at that time from those they were disposed to follow. They possessed the ability, unquestioned integrity, money and lands enough to be rated as "well-to-do" and they displayed a flair in deportment and dress that was demanded of a southern lady or gentleman. Out of this group and from this group came Lewis J. Moorman, M.D., author of "The Pioneer Doctor."

This book of 252 pages is factual and magnetic, and at the same time, the complete story of the boy born in 1875, moving up through the country schools of Kentucky and with the blessings of splendid parentage and with the freedom that only that region and that time could give, he arrived at his choice of life work—an American doctor.

This book presents every phase of living as a country doctor in such regions as the back-woods and remote districts, the states of Tennessee, Alabama, Nebraska and Oklahoma territory could supply a sensitive, adventurous, ambitious and kindly physician. Such chapters as "Alabama," "Westward Ho," "Jet," "The Promised Land," "Chickasha," "O.B.," (O.B. means obstetrics), "On The Plains" will give one a complete picture of localities and territories of those regions in which Dr. Moorman lived. They tell of the experiences of a talented young man, moving steadily toward his aim to be the best physician possible and all this surrounded by the most vivid descriptions of every kind, and seasoned with the saltiest language this writer has found in any book in twenty years.

From Chapter XVII, "Vienna", on to the end of the volume is the engaging tale of a young American, emerging from the undeveloped districts of Oklahoma and America into the rich and cosmopolitan centers. In time, he finds his way into Oklahoma City which soon became the capital and metropolis of a region of almost 70,000 square miles which in the space of a little more than fifty years has given to the world riches in mineral, agricultural, commercial and cultural values unsurpassed by any other area of the earth within an equal time.

The author tells in inimitable style of his services that led him on in specialized therapy until his life was crowned with every honor that the life of a physician can bring. There will be no need to point these out, not to attempt to give the gist of the chapters of the book which disclosed Dr. Moorman's state-wide, national and even international fame.

If anyone who sees these words desires to know the Oklahoma country, root and branch, and at the same time, enjoy every page with its broad range of humor, let him read "The Pioneer Doctor."

Of course this volume like all others issued by the University of Oklahoma Press is of splendid format. The binding neat and strong, blue cover, the paper of most excellent quality, and it should have perhaps been said earlier, that the volume abounds with many

illustrations. All in all, this is a book that should be a "must" for every American physician. This would solve the perplexing problem now vexing American physicians as they confront a public sentiment, charging that humanitarianism is being left out of their practice perhaps too much. The humanities are the very substance of this pioneer doctor's story.

—Charles Evans

Oklahoma Historical Society

Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890. By Lester Hargrett. (New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1951. xvii—267 pp. Index of Printing Places, Chronology of Printing in Oklahoma, General Index. $7.50.)

This volume, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890,* by Lester Hargett who is well known for his scholarly bibliography of *The Constitutions and Laws of the American Indians* (Harvard University Press, 1947), is a fine contribution and a rich source for the Oklahoma historian, the student of Indian languages, and the collector of Oklahoma imprints dating back to the first printing in the Indian Territory by the Union Mission Press, in 1835.

There are 797 titles given by Mr. Hargrett, of which no copies of 102 have been found although satisfactory proof of most of them is cited, and copies may yet be discovered. More than two-thirds of the titles (about 450) are described in this volume for the first time, and 385 titles are known from a single copy each.

The first recorded title is a broadside of the Cherokee alphabet printed in three columns by the Union Mission Press in 1835. A copy of the first book, or the second title, an eight page Cherokee primer for children, printed at Union Mission had not been seen, Mr. Hargrett's evidence of the title being based on a letter of the Reverend Samuel Worcester, dated October, 1835, to the American Board at Boston. This title supercedes that of *The Child's Book,* a Creek primer printed at Union Mission in 1835, a rare copy of which is on exhibit in the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum. *The Child's Book* has been generally referred to by historians as the first book published in Oklahoma, as indeed it is at the present time—the first book seen—, and will be until a copy of the Cherokee primer is found.

Mr. Hargett's text is more than a listing of titles for under nearly all of them interesting and valuable notes are given on their history and on the individuals connected with their publication through more than a half century of printing in the Indian Territory before 1890.

The volume was published under the auspices of The Bibliographical Society of America with the co-operation of The Library of Congress and The Newberry Library. It is beautifully printed

and bound by the Anthoensen Press, Portland, Maine. The organization of the text with its summary of Oklahoma printing by years, its Index of Printing Places, Printing Press, and Printers, its Chronology of Printing in Oklahoma, besides its general Index, makes the book a treasure for any library.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Indians in Transition. By G. E. E. Lindquist. (New York: Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U. S. A., 1951. 117 pp. Maps. 75¢.)

This published survey *Indians in Transition* by Dr. G. E. E. Lindquist, who is so well known for his many years of service a Field Representative of the Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches in the United States of America, fills a much needed source book for accurate statistics on the fullblood Indian and his problems in today's world. The "Foreword" by George Nace, Executive Secretary of the Division of Home Missions, states that this publication is presented for its factual information yet more in the hope that it will stimulate effective participation in an intelligent approach to secure the more abundant life for the American Indian. This problem is twofold: the individual Indian's acceptance and reaction to modern times as a well balanced citizen of worthy character in his native country; and a continued and effective program of Protestant missions to spread the Gospel. In passing, it is well to note that the work of missions will always remain a part of our Christian civilization and its progress, in which the Indian as well as the white and any other person in the United States should have a part. Churches and schools have a never ending program in our country.

Oklahoma has an important place in Dr. Lindquist's report since one-third of the Indians in the United States are located in this state. A great problem since the beginning of World War II has had to do with population changes for work in industrial centers in all regions where Indian tribal groups are located. The Indian population moves by the fullblood and nearly fullblood groups from rural living to urban centers are shown and the results pointed out in the report. Rapid City, Iowa, in the region of the great Sioux tribe is taken as a typical situation of what is happening in towns and cities fringing on the old Indian reservation areas. These data have special significance for urban centers in this state, especially for Oklahoma City with its greatly increased fullblood Indian population from rural communities. Employment opportunities for these people should be encouraged and housing conditions improved if they are to be allowed to live above the level of public charges.

The book supplies a much needed, up-to-date source for information on Protestant mission schools and on activities of religious work directors in Government schools in the United States. The two maps cover one for the United States indicating appreciable Indian population and church organizations at work; and one for Oklahoma showing Indian missionary work by counties carried on by agencies co-operating in the Protestant Indian Council of this state. Dr. Lindquist with the collaboration of E. Russell Carter, Religious Work Director at Haskell Institute, has made a fine contribution of data to students of Indian history and contemporary life, and to all others who would hold and promote the great values of American life.

—Muriel H. Wright

Oklahoma Historical Society
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

NECROLOGY

ADOLPH LINSCHEID

1879-1949

TRIBUTE TO A GREAT TEACHER

Adolph Linscheid was born near Mannheim, Germany, December 24, 1879, the son of Philipp and Elizabeth (Ewy) Linscheid. When he was two years old, the family moved to Minnesota. In 1896, he became a rural school teacher there and three years later, he entered Springfield State Normal school, Springfield, Missouri. He graduated in 1903 and received his bachelor of science degree in 1912 from Fremont, Nebraska, college; his master of arts degree in 1920 from the University of Oklahoma; and his Ph.D. degree in 1928 from Columbia University.

In 1906, he married Hazel Audrey Thompson and they had two sons, Stewart Philip, who is a member of the faculty of East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma, and Billy Adolph, who is a teacher in Compton, California.

Dr. Linscheid was superintendent of schools at Prague, Oklahoma from 1903-1908, at Okemah during 1909-1910, and at Bristow from 1910-1911. He was professor of English at Southeastern State Normal School, Durant, from 1912-1919. In 1920, Dr. Linscheid was appointed president of East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma. He was largely instrumental in having the school changed from a two-building, two-year teacher's college to East Central State College with a four-year course. The school, with seven buildings, now grants five different degrees. A modern library was completed on the campus in 1949 and was given Linscheid's name in spite of his preference that it be named after the first librarian.

From 1925 to 1931, Dr. Linscheid was a member of the Oklahoma textbook commission and served as chairman the last two years. He was a member of the American Association of Teachers Colleges, and from 1929-1931 served as chairman of the Oklahoma council of Presidents of Teachers Colleges. He was president of the Oklahoma Education Association in 1931-1932.

Dr. Linscheid was active in religious work and taught a large mens' Bible class in the Christian church continuously from 1920-1945. He believed this to be his richest experience and that you gain much for yourself when you seek to help others. His character was greatly influencd by his study of two great Americans who appealed especially to him—Lee and Lincoln. Like Lee in his scholarly, polished, gentle manner, Dr. Linscheid possessed an innate kindness and humility that was Lincolnesque. These qualities, above all else, are the things for which thousands of people loved him. He was a thirty-second degree Mason and in 1946 received a Medal of Liberation from the king of Denmark for his "contribution to Denmark's cause during the years of nazi occupation."

The dean of teacher college chiefs, who served the nation's longest tenure as a teachers' college president, died at Ada on December 28, 1949, and is survived by his wife and two sons.

Education in Oklahoma has been deeply enriched and uplifted through the contributions of Dr. A. Linscheid, the master teacher. Completely unselfish, and for many years almost completely tireless, he contributed his

ADOLPH LINSCHEID

services generously, training future teachers, addressing rural schools or huge national conventions, service clubs, P.T.A.'s, church groups, and many others. His addresses were challenging, full of meaning, and he kept them refreshingly new. Audiences knew that when they were to hear Dr. Linscheid they would not hear the same speech he had given many times before. He could talk equally well on a variety of subjects—literature, philosophy, history, business, world affairs, or current legislation. Many of his closest friends have often wondered how he was able to accumulate and retain such a wealth of useful information. Probably no other person in Oklahoma taught so many people for so long a time as this great teacher. His influence for good in this state will be felt by untold generations to come.

By O. W. Davison

Norman, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY JULY 26, 1951

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, at ten o'clock A.M. by General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Gen. W. S. Key, Dr. Estill-Harbour, Judge Baxter Taylor, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, Judge Thomas A. Edwards, H. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk, Dr. I. N. McCash, Mr. George L. Bowman, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison, Mrs. Anna B. Korn, Mr. W. P. Peterson, Mr. R. M. Mountcastle, Judge Edgar S. Vaught and Dr. E. E. Dale.

The Secretary reported that letters of excuse had been received from Judge N. B. Johnson, Judge R. A. Hefner, Mr. Thomas G. Cook, Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, all of whom are out of the State, and Mr. N. G. Henthorne who stated that due to the pressure of business he was unable to attend.

Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that the absentee members who had notified the Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Dr. Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President introduced Mr. Ralph Hudson, State Librarian, who stated that he wished to cooperate with the Society in every way possible relating to the disposal of some of the county records which have been in the possession of the Historical Society for a number of years. Mr. Hudson further stated that it would be necessary to expend $100.00 for the purpose of removing the records which are of no historical value, from the Historical Building. He pointed out that it would take perhaps two men as well as a supervisor which he would send from his office to do the work and he was ready to begin on Monday, July 30th.

Mr. R. M. Mountcastle made a motion that not more than $100.00 be paid out of the private funds of the Society for defraying the expenses of the removal of these county records from the balcony of the Historical Building. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion and it passed unanimously.

Mr. Hudson stated that he wished to offer to the Historical Society a microfilm reader for use in the Historical library. He said that the State Library was in possession of two readers and would be glad for the Historical Society to be made a loan of one of their readers. He also said that it had always been his practice to make duplicate microfilm copies of any material which was considered historically important for the Historical Society, and would continue doing so.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that the Board authorize Dr. Evans to write a letter of thanks and appreciation to Mr. Hudson for his kindness and assistance to the Oklahoma Historical Society. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Gen. Key reported that since the last meeting, two very valuable members of the Board, two great citizens and two outstanding men, Mr. H. L. Muldrow of Norman, and Mr. Jim Biggerstaff of Wagoner had passed away. He asked the Board to rise for a moment of silent prayer, following which Dr. I. N. McCash presented a few words in prayer and memoriam.

Mr. R. M. Mountcastle made a motion to incorporate at a proper place in *The Chronicles* eulogies which would express the devotion each member

of the Board held for these beloved associates. The motion was seconded by Mr. Milt Phillips and unanimously passed.

The President brought before the Board the matter of the two important legislative bills of vital interest to the Society. Namely, House Bill No. 247, making appropriation for the collection and preservation of historical material, and House Bill No. 60, making an appropriation of $1,000 annually for the biennium 1952-53, 1953-54 for the observance of Oklahoma Historical Day to be held at Salina, Oklahoma.

In line with the legislative appropriations, General Key pointed out that the Society had received the ten percent increase in salaries that had been requested by the Executive Committee.

The President stated that he wished to reiterate the desire and need for the Society to acquire as many more historical possessions and collections as possible, and he wished to urge each member of the Board to use their connections and influence in securing the historical documents and relics from the heirs and descendants of many of the first families of Oklahoma.

Gen. Key reported that a letter had been received from Mr. Fisher Muldrow, son of Mr. H. L. Muldrow, stating that he would make proper arrangements to meet with a representative of the Board for the purpose of presenting to the Society a collection of historical values possessed by his late father.

The Secretary called to the attention of the Board that in the past fifteen months a total of 4,476 articles and books had been received by the Society for placement in the library, museum, newspaper department, Indian archives division, and Confederate and Union Memorial Rooms. These run as follows: Museum receptions and collections—1,523; Library books added —696; larger collections comprising Whipple, Tompkins, Van Bibber, Hanraty, and a large number of original World War II posters and drawings by the art students of Oklahoma University, presented by Dr. O. B. Jacobsen—1,412; Books, pamphlets, etc. from material in balcony—461; bound books in newpaper department—484. Dr. Evans pointed out that this reveals that there is a constant stream of historical materials moving into the archives, the museum, the library, the newspaper department, and the Confederate and Union Memorial rooms. He said that this was no light matter, for one collection alone—The Whipple Papers, the tax value was rated at $25,000.

In the discussion of personal interests Directors might have in enlarging the archives of the Society, Judge Baxter Taylor arose to say that he had recently visited his old home region in Jonesboro, Bristol and the TVA region of Eastern Tennessee. He said he had made a special journey to the three homes of the three presidents that Tennessee had given to America. He stood in the tailor shop where Andrew Jackson pegged the shoes of his neighbors up until they sent him to the legislature and then afterwards to Congress and the presidency. He visited the Hermitage and read the story of Andrew Jackson and looked upon the tomb of James R. Polk. He said he brought back some small gifts for the archives and library of the Society. One was "The Story of TVA" by John Gunther and a booklet entitled "Andrew Johnson—National Monument". Judge Taylor also presented a deed which was drawn up between the Cherokees and Hon. Richard Henderson giving large portions of the state of Kentucky and Tennessee to the great land company of Henderson et al. Judge Taylor said that he hoped to obtain more material of this sort and present it to the Society.

The President recognized Mrs. Jessie R. Moore who expressed the desire to hear from Dr. E. E. Dale relating to the archaeological explorations now

being carried on by the University of Oklahoma as well as the Smithsonian Institution and other organizations of like kind.

Dr. Dale reported that he had called at the Office of Anthropology but had found no one in at the time he called, so had written a letter to the professor in charge regarding the archaeological explorations, but had not yet received an answer. Dr. Dale said he hoped to be able to obtain a large collection of artifacts for the Historical Museum of the Society.

Dr. Evans reported the need of a modern system of indexing which would require the services of some typists in the library. He stated that it was imperative that this work be done in order to provide the efficient service necessary to aid the researchers who come to the library.

Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion that the matter of stenographic help be referred to the discretion of the Chairman of the Board and the Secretary. Col. George H. Shirk seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President stated that according to the By-Laws and Regulations of the Society, Section 4, Article V, "The absence of a member of the Board of Directors from three consecutive quarterly meetings of the Board of Directors shall operate to terminate the membership of such director from said Board."

Dr. Harbour made the motion that if by reason of the directors failure to attend meetings of the Board, and if any infractions of the By-Laws and Regulations of the Society had been made, a vacancy should be declared in their positions. Judge Thomas A. Edwards seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Board decided that election for the vacancies on the Board would be deferred until the next meeting of the Board in October.

Col. George H. Shirk revealed to the members of the Board a plan which he and the Secretary had advanced for the purpose of introducing and interesting the school children of Oklahoma in their state history. He stated that this proposed method was by means of a calendar in card form. For each day there would be depicted an historical event in Oklahoma's history.

Dr. Evans arose to say that he felt this calendar would be a fine medium for attracting the students in the schools to the interesting and glorious history of the State of Oklahoma. He pointed out that it had been his observation that the schools are not as well acquainted with *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* as to possess proper pride in their State history. He felt that this calendar would be a valuable contribution to the schools of the State.

Mr. W. J. Peterson made the motion that the Secretary be permitted to publish these calendars and that money be approved for their purchase. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported the following list of applicants for membership: *LIFE*: Mrs. Clover Barrowman, Tulsa; Robert L. Butler, Sulphur; William D. Carr, Cushing; Wilton D. Johnson, Tahlequah; D. D. Kirkland, Oklahoma City; Arthur R. Lawrence, Lawton; John Jackson Lovell, Tulsa; James S. Mabon, Miami; Mrs. Mary E. Seaman.

ANNUAL: Pat Brogan, Oklahoma City; Nancy Bush, Fresno, Calif.; Mrs. C. E. Chamberlin, Pawhuska; Ruth Canady, Tulsa; Mrs. Chester Clark, Evanston, Ill.; Edgar Clemons, Oklahoma City; Mrs. Bernard M. Crisler, McAlester; Emma C. Dent, Kilgore, Texas; Mrs. John W. Foster, Champaign, Ill.; Mrs. J. L. Carretson, Norman; Mrs. O. R. Graham, Pryor; Mary James,

Oklahoma City; Mrs. L. K. McMurtry, Claremore; Edwin C. McReynolds, Norman; Mrs. Mary F. Marks, Berea, Ohio; Fred B. Phillips, Boise City; Mrs. B. M. Risinger, Sand Springs; D. T. Smith, Fort Worth, Texas; C. C. Stephens, Atoka; J. Lawrence Temple, Stillwater; Harry Weinberger, Tulsa; Mrs. Maude A. Wyche, Arlington, Va.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn made a motion that all the applicants be received and accepted as member of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. R. M. Mountcastle read a letter from Dr. Grant Foreman to the Board of Directors in which Dr. Foreman submitted a list of stenographic reports of the Councils which were held by the Cherokee Commission and the several Indian tribes with which that Commission conducted negotiations. These reports are to be found in the Office of the National Archives at Washington, D. C., and Dr. Foreman suggested that these reports be microfilmed for the Society's archives.

General W. S. Key appointed a committee composed of Judge Edgar S. Vaught, Chairman, Col. George H. Shirk, Milt Phillips and Dr. E. E. Dale to look into the matter of microfilming this material as suggested by Dr. Foreman. In connection with this, Col. Shirk advised that microfilming had now become not only accessible in all phases of business, science and history, but could be obtained without much expense. He stated that he believed the Society should take a new and decided angle of interest in setting up a broad and permanent film division.

Gen. Key appointed Col. Shirk as a committee of one to gather all material and facts and figures concerning the matter and present it at a future meeting of the Board.

The Secretary reported that the following list of gifts and pictures had been received:

GIFTS: Kymograph, Phlebotomy knife, pocket case of Tieman's instruments, presented by Dr. Lea A. Riely; miniature cannon, presented by Harlan Dupree and P. T. Holcomb; War bonnet, presented by Jimmie and Howard Gardner; six documents pertaining to Oklahoma Territory, presented by Leo S. Cade. *The Newland (Newlon) Family*, by Robt. E. & Leon L. Newland, presented by L. L. Newland; Genealogical Records, vol. II, by D.A.R. Mary Little Deer Chapter, Moline, Illinois; Oklahoma History and Geography Maps, ed. by James C. Rutherford & John W. Morris and William H. Innerarity; Poems of Otis Joslyn of Oklahoma, presented by Otis Joslyn; The Kindness Club—Membership lists, 1940-51, letters, 3 scrap books, presented by Mr. & Mrs. Charles H. Lamb; Song—*My Choice*, by Anna V. Grant McLain; four volumes of speeches made 1946-1950 by Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain.

PICTURES: Last Regiment parade, 1st Territorial Infantry, Company L, 1st Territorial Infantry, presented by Frank D. Northup; First Kingfisher Townsite Board, C. H. Cade and others, presented by Leo S. Cade; Attocknie, Monument "Battle of the Washita.', Statue of Will Rogers, Canadian County Court House, Custer County Court House, Picking cotton near Cordell in 1924, Old Stage Coach, Half Dugg-Out, Bruce Poolaw, First Washita County officers, Pioneer home near Cloud Chief in 1892, purchased from Ia J. Smith, Cordell; four photographs of Indian drawings in John Day Canyon, presented by Mrs. Jane Erickson through Mrs. Jessie R. Moore; Plains Indian girl, Chief Three Bears and Wife, Chief Red Cloud, Pawnee Bill, Comanche Woman and Baby, Indian Camp at Craterville, Chief Eagle Feather, Chief Geronimo, Ruling His Son, Pawnee Indian Dance, Buffaloes at Pawnee Bill's Ranch, Quanah Parker's Monument, Building at Ft. Sill, Marker, End of the Sante Fe Trail, presented by the Economy Company.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that the gifts be accepted and a vote of thanks be extended to the donors. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn presented as a gift from Mr. J. A. Mann of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma's forty-seventh birthday cake which depicts the history of Oklahoma. Mrs. Jessie R. Moore made a motion that his cake be accepted and thanks and appreciation extended to Mr. Mann for his gift. This motion was seconded by Mr. George L. Bowman and passed unanimously.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the meeting adjourn. Mr. Thomas J. Harrison seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

W. S. KEY
President

Charles Evans
Secretary

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TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1955

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Baxter Taylor, Oklahoma City — N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City
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TERM EXPIRING IN JANUARY, 1956

Thomas A. Edwards, Cordell — H. Milt Phillips, Seminole
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THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

DR. CHARLES EVANS, *Editor* MURIEL H. WRIGHT, *Associate Editor*

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Winter, 1951-1952

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WHAT EVERY OKLAHOMAN SHOULD KNOW*

By Edgar S. Vaught

Introduction

This article by Honorable Edgar Sullins Vaught, United States District Judge, Western District, should be read by every teacher of history in the Oklahoma high schools to his or her classes. It is succinct, clear and comes from a high source.

Edgar Sullins Vaught came to Oklahoma in 1901 and in March 1902 he was chosen Superintendent of Oklahoma City Schools. He entered the practice of law in 1906 and in a short time became one of the leading members of the Bar of the State. His ability as a writer and speaker became so well recognized over the State and the United States that he was elevated to the position of leader in 1922 of the Lions Club International over all parts of the world. In 1928 President Coolidge appointed him as United States District Judge, Western District, which position he now holds.

Every teacher of history should recognize that this is no ordinary article.

—Charles Evans, Editor

Some years ago, in conversation with a friend of mine from another state, in which we were discussing the relative advantages and disadvantages of the various states, this friend made the remark: "The trouble with you people in Oklahoma is that you have no history. You are too new to have a history." I replied that I thought Oklahoma had a history, but this statement of his agitated me for some time. Partially as a result of his statement, I began to devote more time to the study of the history of Oklahoma and the Southwest with the idea of determining whether or not Oklahoma had a history. To my great astonishment when the history of Oklahoma is fully revealed it becomes an outstanding record of discovery, growth and development of this section of our country—the Great Southwest. In fact, I think I can demonstrate that Oklahoma history is such that, in comparison with that of any of the other states, it will not suffer.

The history of Oklahoma, so far as we know it, begins in 1540 to 1542 when Coronado in his famous search for gold came through Oklahoma from Mexico and thus attempted to extend Spanish dominion. The name Santa Fe is a striking example of the effect of this noted Spanish excursion. Other Spanish names which are existent in Oklahoma are Cimarron, Canadian (from Rio Canada), Rio Mora (for Mulberry), and once, Rio Nutria (for Beaver Creek.) At about the same time, however, that Coronado was attempting to gratify a greedy curiosity, the French were approaching from another direction. The French were great hunters and fishermen and instead of marching across the plains, they resorted to their boats and came up the Mississippi River to the Arkansas and thence by the

* Address delivered by Hon. Edgar S. Vaught November 14, 1945, before the Daughters of the American Revolution, in Oklahoma City.

Arkansas to the present sites of Fort Gibson and Muskogee in Oklahoma. They left their impress and many of the names now existing in Oklahoma were given by the French, such as Fourche Maline, Sallisaw, Dardenne, Poteau and Sans Bois.

The intense rivalry existing between Spain and France in Europe had its influence in the new country across the Atlantic and from this time there was bitter contention as to the ownership of what is now Oklahoma. In 1803, however, Napoleon, because of his misfortune in Europe and his fear that the French possessions in America might be acquired by England or Spain, ceded what was known as, and has since been designated as, the Louisiana Purchase which included all of the French territory west of the Mississippi, north of the Spanish possessions, to the United States.

The Louisiana Purchase in many respects is the most important step in the development of the United States as a nation. Prior to the acquisition of this vast territory by the United States, Spain, and later France, for nearly forty years had blocked the throat—the mouth of the Mississippi River—to the development of what is known as the Middle West. The Mississippi River and its tributaries constituted practically the only means of transportation and that territory lying adjacent to this river and its tributaries was seriously affected by the fact that Spain, and later France, refused to the United States access to the Mississippi through the New Orleans entrance except by special permit.

In 1763, by the Treaty of Paris, France ceded all of the Louisiana territory to Spain and Spain continued to occupy and extend her dominion until the year 1800 when, because of Spain's embarrassing situation with reference to her possessions and her increasing debts due to her wars in Europe, Charles IV of Spain ceded the Louisiana territory back to France, but with the condition that if it was ever again ceded away by France, it should revert to Spain. When, therefore, in 1803 the Louisiana territory was purchased outright by the United States, Spain's friendly attitude toward the United States was not increased in any manner.

Immediately thereafter there was friction between the United States and Spain over the boundary line between their respective possessions. At that time Spain and Mexico claimed possession of all that section north and northwest of Mexico, including what is now Texas, New Mexico, Oklahoma and portions of what is now Colorado, Arizona and California. But the event, in relation to this friction, with which we in Oklahoma are directly concerned, was the signing of a treaty in the year 1819 between the United States and Spain which provided that the Red River should constitute the boundary between their respective possessions. In the same year, 1819, Congress created Arkansas Territory which embraced substantially all of the territory now included in the states of Oklahoma and Arkansas.

In 1820 Congress proceeded to make some provision for the segregation of the various Indian tribes in order that there might be less conflict between the Indians and the whites. Prior to this time what is now Oklahoma was a hunter's paradise. The French hunters and tradesmen, among whom were the Chouteaus, collected vast stores of hides and skins and carried them down the Arkansas River to New Orleans for sale. In 1824 there were more than two thousand hunters in this territory.

In 1832 Congress, pursuing its former policy, provided for a commission known as the Stokes Commission to deal with the Indians in the new territory and to negotiate treaties leading to friendship and more peaceful relations between the government and the Indians. This was a monumental undertaking. When we think of the numerous tribes of Indians which inhabited this section, at least for a portion of the time, we are not only impressed with the magnitude of the undertaking of bringing about peaceful relations, but we learn where many of our present Oklahoma names originated. The tribes that have since occupied this territory include the Senecas, Choctaws, Cherokees, Creeks, Osages, Wichitas, Wacoes, Comanches, Kiowas, Delawares, Quapaws, Seminoles, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Sac and Foxes, Pawnees, Iowas, Kickapoos, Shawnees, Potawatomis, Poncas, Sioux, Otoes and Missouris.

On August 24, 1835, in a meeting held at Camp Holmes near the present site of Lexington, Oklahoma, in what is now Cleveland County, the Stokes Commission and other representatives of the federal government entered into a treaty with the various tribes of Indians which is regarded as the first made by the United States with the wild Indians in Oklahoma. These tribes previously had had contact with Mexico and many of whom for that reason spoke the Mexican language.

President Jackson, shortly prior to this time, had made treaties with the Indians east of the Mississippi, particularly the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, which provided for their transfer from that section to the new Indian Territory, and after Arkansas was admitted as a state in 1836, all of what is now Oklahoma, except the Panhandle, was designated Indian Territory, set apart for tribes from the southeastern states and from Ohio.

This period saw the "Trail of Tears" when the Five Civilized Tribes were forced to leave their homes, the burial grounds of their ancestors and all of those things so traditionally dear to them, in Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Mississippi and Florida and establish new homes in the Indian Territory. It is charitable to say that they were unwilling emigrants. Thousands of them died on the way. Some of the Cherokees escaped to their former homes in the Smoky Mountains. In fact, such a large number refused to come, or escaped, and made their homes in the Smoky Mountains and nearby sections that many years later the

Cherokee Reservation was set apart in North Carolina where a colony of Cherokees now have their homes and schools, and live peacefully.

Many of the Indian tribes had Negro slaves, so in the Civil War the Indian Territory with its various tribes took sides with the Confederacy against the Union.

About 1866 Congress again disturbed the relations existing in Indian Territory. Many thousands of acres of valuable land had not been occupied by the Indians and there was a demand for additional land for white settlement, so other treaties were negotiated (if forceful submission could be regarded as negotiation.) Later all tribes were required to sell their lands to the United States and it was not many years until the United States owned much of what formerly had belonged to the Indians in Indian Territory.

In 1889 Congress, by appropriate act, opened the central portion of the Indian Territory to white settlement and attached to the Territory for governmental purposes certain other sections. The Five Civilized Tribes occupied what after 1889 was known as Indian Territory, but in 1889 when the famous "run" was had and from which date we mark the beginning of Oklahoma as a territory and state, the following counties were organized, to-wit: Logan, Oklahoma, Cleveland, Canadian, Kingfisher and Payne. The Territory of Oklahoma was organized by Act of Congress in May, 1890, in order that there might be some form of government in this new country which had been opened to settlement.

It is not necessary to relate here matters which are well-known to most of my audience—how the people came from every state in the Union, with little or much, as the case might be, to found new homes and help found a great commonwealth. No higher tribute can be paid to the type and character of citizenship than the fact that from April, 1889 to May, 1890, the people in the new Oklahoma Territory existed without any law or any organization of state or county or city government. The only laws in existence were those of the United States and the only officers empowered to enforce those laws were the United States marshals and their various deputies.

After May, 1890, however, the Territory was organized as a government. A governor and other territorial officers were appointed, a legislature was elected, and a form of government was in force in the Territory. The various county organizations had their beginning. Laws governing not only the counties but the cities and districts were enacted. Provisions for schools were made also and the embryonic state had its beginning.

In September, 1891, the United States Government had effected its treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians whereby what is known as

the Sac and Fox Reservation was opened for white settlement and two additional counties were organized, known as Lincoln and Pottawatomie.

In April, 1892, treaties were made whereby the government came into ownership of certain lands in the western part of what is now Oklahoma, known as the Cheyenne and Arapahoe section. This was admitted to the new Territory as six additional counties, namely, Blaine, Dewey, Day, Roger Mills, Custer and Washita.

In 1893, by the treaty with the Cherokees, the government came into possession of what is known as "the strip", which consisted of the northern portion of the present state of Oklahoma extending from the Osage country to the Texas border, a territory larger than the state of Massachusetts. This section was opened to settlement in 1893 under the second "run" and seven counties were formed from this additional territory: Kay, Grant, Garfield, Pawnee, Woods, Woodward and Noble.

In 1901 the Kiowa and Comanche country which had been purchased by the government, was opened to settlement and three additional counties were added to the new Territory: Kiowa, Comanche and Caddo.

There are two additions to Oklahoma, however, which have an unusually interesting history. The Spanish treaty of 1819 provided that the dividing line between the United States and the Spanish territory should be the Red River, running east and west, and the one hundredth meridian, running north and south. The Red River, however, has two forks, one extending in a westerly direction known as the South Fork and one running in a northwesterly direction known as the North Fork. After admission of Texas as a state, in 1845, that territory between the two branches of the Red River was claimed both by Texas, which had organized the disputed territory as Greer County, Texas, and by the United States. This engendered intense rivalry between Texas and the United States and much uncertainty on the part of the occupants of the lands in Greer County. Both the government and Texas stood by their contentions and President Cleveland, in December, 1887, issued a proclamation declaring the disputed lands to be part of the Indian Territory and warning all persons against selling or purchasing any of the land. That was the situation when Congress, in May, 1890, created the Territory of Oklahoma.

In order, however, that this matter might be settled definitely and permanently, the Attorney General of the United States was directed to bring suit in the United States Supreme Court against the State of Texas for determination of the title to Greer County, which turned on the question of whether the North Fork or the South Fork was the stream contemplated in the treaty with Spain in 1819. The suit was filed in October, 1890, and became one of the most

famous suits in our judicial history. In 1896 The Supreme Court, in this case (United States v. Texas, 162 U.S.1), held that the South Fork was the main stream and boundary and, therefore, the area in dispute was part of the United States and thus became part of Oklahoma Territory. In March, 1896, President Cleveland issued a proclamation declaring this area, that is Greer County, to be in a state of reservation until it should be opened for settlement and on the following May, Congress enacted legislation declaring the former Greer County, Texas, to be Greer County, Oklahoma Territory, with Mangum as the county seat.

Another interesting bit of history has to do with what is known as the Oklahoma Panhandle, which is a strip of land approximately 34 miles wide extending 165 miles west of the northwest corner of Oklahoma Territory and lying between Texas and Kansas. By Act of Congress in September, 1850, of the Texas Legislature on November 25, 1850, and by a proclamation of the President of December, 1850, the State of Texas ceded to the United States all claim to the territory west of the one hundredth meridian and north of thirty six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude. This might be explained in another way. Under the Missouri Compromise, slavery was prohibited in all territory west of the Mississippi, except Missouri, and north of the southern boundary of Missouri, which is thirty six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude. When Texas sought admission as a state, that portion of Texas north of thirty six degrees, thirty minutes, was north of the prohibited boundary and slavery could not exist in that section. In other words, Texas preferred to cede that part of Texas north of thirty six, thirty, later known as "No Man's Land", to the United States in order that the remainder of the state of Texas could be recognized as a slave state. For many years after 1850, then, this strip, which we have always known in Oklahoma as the Panhandle or No Man's Land, was occupied as a ranch country. It was not a part of any state and was wholly without law. After Oklahoma Territory was organized, Congress provided that this "No Man's Land" should be attached to Oklahoma Territory and thereafter it was known as Beaver County until statehood. The constitution, in dividing the Territory of Oklahoma into counties, made three counties out of the Panhandle—Texas, Cimarron and Beaver, and they are now three counties in the state of Oklahoma.

The Territory of Oklahoma had a marvelous growth from 1889 to 1907. Her citizens were ambitious for statehood. One group wanted a separate state out of Oklahoma Territory and these were known as the "double statehood group". Another strong group saw the possibilities of developing an even greater commonwealth by uniting the two territories, Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory, into the State of Oklahoma. This engendered much debate and developed intense jealousies on the part of the two Territories. Many ambitious statesmen, believing that two states would furnish more

public offices than one, insisted on two states. In June, 1906, Congress passed what is known as the Enabling Act which provided for the organization of the State of Oklahoma out of the two Territories. News of the passage of this Act was greeted with great enthusiasm in both Territories because the matter was settled once and for all. Members of the Constitutional Convention were elected, as provided by the Act, the constitution was written and adopted, and on November 16, 1907, the new state started on its career as the forty sixth state in the Union.

The history of Oklahoma since 1907 is well known to most of you, and the progressive development of this young state has challenged the attention of the entire nation. According to the 1940 census, we have a population of approximately two and a half million which is in excess of the population of any of twenty six states. From raw prairie country, we have started from the "grass roots" so to speak. We have developed a system of education that is a credit to any state. Our State University, our Agricultural and Mechanical College, our various teachers' colleges and our other higher institutions of learning would be a credit to many of the older states. No state in the Union can boast of more beautiful churches than Oklahoma. Religion has played an important part in our development. Our people as a whole are lawabiding and certainly our citizenship is representative of the best type and character of citizenship in this nation. With approximately two per cent of our citizenship foreign born, we might say that our people are truly American citizens.

The state has gone far commercially. We have great highway systems, factories, manufacturing institutions of various characters, and in recent years, Oklahoma has become one of the greatest oil producing states in the Union.

Oklahoma has taken its place among the leading states as an agricultural state. As a cotton, wheat and corn producer, the state holds a high rank, while pecans, fruits, berries and many other products are produced in abundance.

Nature has done much for Oklahoma. Its climate is ideal with the exception perhaps of thirty days in midsummer. It is a healthful country. In fact, practically everything in Oklahoma has something to command our admiration. Oklahomans should feel proud of their state.

Quit apologizing that you live in Oklahoma, and when you speak of your state, speak of it with a spirit of pride and not with apology. If you prefer to live in another state than Oklahoma, there are plenty of transportation facilities to satisfy your desire. I have long felt that it is much more patriotic, if you do not like a community or state, to move.

Oklahoma has been built by the sacrifices of her citizenship.[1] We have had nothing given to us. The raw prairie and the sod houses have given way to cultivated fields and modern homes and the early day settlers, who endured all character of hardship, today see in the sons and daughters whom they have given to the new state, our leaders in the state, in the church, in education and in the business world. Those of us who have lived in Oklahoma for the past forty years like to think, with pride even though without justification, that we have contributed to the development of our new state and therefore that we are a part of it.

In taking this position I would not leave the impression that I think there is no room for improvement. There are many things which will stand modification and improvement. Our educational system, our methods of agriculture, our government in state, county and city, our penal institutions, our respect for law, our participation in civic enterprises, our attitude toward religious, charitable and other eleemosynary institutions, all will stand a generous review, with such modifications and improvements as an enlightened intelligence will suggest.

So I conclude with this thought, if we knew our state better, its history, its advantages and its possibilities, we would become more enthusiastic Oklahomans and have a greater pride in the state we have helped to build.

[1] Some Suggested Readings: Edward Everett Dale, *Oklahoma: A Story of a State* (New York, 1949); Grant Foreman, *History of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1942); Charles Evans, "The Heritage of the Oklahoma Child," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 4 (Winter, 1944-45); Jesse R. Moore, "The Five Great Indian Nation," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, No. 3 (Autumn, 1951); George H. Shirk, "Peace on the Plains," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1950); Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* (Norman, 1951).—Ed.

HENRY LOWNDES MULDROW

By Charles Evans

It is said that the first impressions are the most lasting. It comes clearly to my memory when I first met Hal Muldrow some forty-five years ago. We were young men entering in upon fields of endeavor which would hold us in close association for almost half a century. As I met him I recognized that as Brutus said of Caesar: "Here was a man with the elements so mixed in him, that Nature could stand up before all the world and say here is a man." He looked the part; some six feet high, broad of shoulders, strong of limb, his sharp blue eyes keen as an eagle's, brow and head moulded for mastery, he stood straight, a handsome figure, courteous, affable, direct, almost to the point of arrogance. One recognized in him that he would make a bold and ardent friend, or a dauntless, unyielding enemy. Through the years I watched his career, I never had reason to change my first impression.

In his last days, when prolonged illness had stripped him of his physical powers, I met him in the Masonic Temple at McAlester. Word had gone around through several hundred Masons that had gathered there that Hal Muldrow was very ill. The leader that through some half a century had shaped the course and developed in the largest measure the plans that had placed the great Masonic Order of Oklahoma in the front ranks among all the states of the Nation, might not be present, but they underestimated his devotion. He entered the corridors of the Temple and I heard him say to some of his friends who had gathered around him: "I would like to lie down; I should not have come, but my love and devotion to Masonry demanded that I make this trip." That night around the banquet table he made his last appeal for and paid his final tribute to the Masonic Order which he held only second to the love and faith of his family. In a few days, he had passed from earth.

Henry Lowndes Muldrow was born in Paducah, Kentucky, October 12th, 1872. His father, Major Robert Muldrow was born in Tibbee, Mississippi, and grew up inheriting all of the blood and traditions of one of the first families of that center of the Deep South. Major Muldrow was honor man of the first class to graduate from Mississippi State University. In a little while, Mississippi called him and he entered the Confederate States Army under General Bedford Forest and served with distinction throughout the entire war. Major Muldrow married Miss Annie Oliver, daughter of Simeon C. Oliver, one of the pre-war governors of the State of Mississippi. With such a lineage and environment it is no wonder that Hal Muldrow always dwelt with passionate love upon his parentage, nourished the traditions of and gave ardent devotion to the South.

HENRY LOWNDES MULDROW

Because of deep resentment toward "Carpetbagism" in Mississippi, the Muldrow family moved to Paducah, Kentucky, in 1870. Major Muldrow died there when his son was only one year old and when Henry Lowndes Muldrow was eleven, his mother moved back to her native state of Mississippi.

Hal was educated in the common schools of Oktibbeha county, Mississippi and the Mississippi A. and M. College, now Mississippi State college. Having won recognition as a competent and capable student he was invited to take a place in the Library of Congress which permitted him to enter George Washington University, and he graduated there with the degree of L.L.B. in 1894.

Hearing much of the inviting new West, which had been accented by the "Great Run" on April 22, 1889, and the setting up of the government at Guthrie, of Oklahoma Territory, May 2, 1890, it is no wonder that his adventurous spirit brought him to the active coal and mining center of South McAlester. He had attached himself to the U. S. Geological Survey which had its Indian Territory headquarters at that point.

It was at this time that he made the greatest decision of his life. He met the daughter of the leading pioneer and wealthy merchant, David Osborn Fisher, Miss Mary Daisy Fisher. Member of a prominent Choctaw family, she was highly educated and beautiful, and on April 12th, 1899 in Tishomingo, he made her his wife.

Just before his marriage, in 1899 the adventurous spirit of this young man was revealed when he accompanied a government geological expedition to Alaska and sighted the final angle measuring the height of Mount McKinley, the highest peak of North America. Young Muldrow's reckoning of the height was never changed. His brother, the late Major Robert Muldrow, led the historic expedition and Muldrow glacier was subsequently named for him.

Soon after his marriage, Hal Muldrow began the practice of law in Tishomingo, but his versatile nature demanded that other fields of endeavor should be explored and he gave much of his time to the real estate business. In 1901, the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, built a branch line from Haileyville through Tishomingo to Ardmore, and he was made townsite agent.

Law, real estate and the railway business did not consume his energies so he entered into the buying and selling of cotton and gravel.

The fine quality of his mind and the loftiness of his purposes were revealed when in 1911 the powers of the new State looked out for a man who could lead in the educational world. The A. and M. College at Stillwater, founded in the very first days of Territorial life (1890), had grown to good proportions, but it did not meet the demands of a territory of 69,000 square miles. So Oklahoma set up

three subsidiary state agricultural colleges at Tishomingo, Lawton and Warner. They invited young Muldrow to take the presidency of the one at Tishomingo. He did the job well, but his aspirations led him into the fields of finance in April, 1912, when he associated himself with the Minnesota Mutual Life Insurance Company to which he gave continuous, efficient and record-breaking service for forty years. In 1942, the President of the Minnesota Mutual revealed Mr. Muldrow as one of the really great salesmen of life insurance in America. He said: "While Muldrow has been relatively inactive for a number of years, he is eighth in volume of personally written insurance in force on the Company's books, and has today the largest policyholder with the Minnesota Mutual,—W. E. Grisso of Seminole."

Desiring a larger, broader and a more central field for his insurance and other enterprises, Mr. Muldrow moved to Norman in 1914. Here, in the center of educational life, the seat of the University of Oklahoma, he began a career that led him into a diversified service to Oklahoma and the Nation that has seldom been surpassed.

A zealous Democrat, there was no field too small nor any council too large in state and national politics which he dared not enter. He was called by the Democratic party to manage two gubernatorial campaigns. He served as a member of the State Democratic Committee and Chairman of the Congressional Committee, both with consumate success.

His children growing up, he was interested in all phases of educational development. He served on the school board at Norman for many years and his indomitable courage, his stern convictions and his incisive thinking placed him in a little while upon the Board of Regents of the State University. With all honor to the competent and efficient men that have served the Board of Regents of the University since its founding, it is fair to say, that perhaps, no one has left his impression so thoroughly upon the growth, organization and power of Oklahoma University, the foremost institution of learning of the State, as has Hal Muldrow. He demanded that the Board of Regents keep away from the President's powers and prerogatives; he further demanded that the Board of Regents resist with all power possible any disposition on the part of any and all officials in the State government of Oklahoma to interfere in the business of the University, professional, financial, and the social order centering in and around the pupil activities of that institution. Said he, "Permit the Executive to be the executive." Because of his fearlessness, his unretreating honor, and his willingness to fight when attacked, he brought to this institution a new life of lofty independance which is wholly necessary to any institution of learning.

In 1925, out of his loyalty to his State and to the University that had honored him, he laid out a program whereby the fathers and

mothers who had given their sons and daughters to the University for character building, might be brought around the central altar from whence the highest ideals of the University issue, once each year. So, Hal Muldrow was the founder of Dads' Day. For twenty-five years, it has been the force that has builded the University in the minds of the people of the State as one of the great institutions of America, a thing of lasting pride and power as no other instrument of practical growth for the University. This "Dads' Day", with its gathering of thousands of family members centering around sons and daughters that had graduated, or were attending the University, has penetrated into the Governor's Office, the legislative halls, into financial councils and into every corner of Oklahoma. Twenty years from the time that "Dads' Day" was organized, Muldrow was made president of the group and held the secretaryship of the Association until 1944, when he was again elected President.

The first and most abiding loves of this man were his family and The Ancient and Accepted Rites of Freemasonry. His activities began as a Free Mason in 1899. He entered into all phases and branches of Masonic life, and in 1908 he became Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Indian Territory. After statehood, when the two territorial grand lodges merged, Mr. Muldrow was honored by being made the first grand master of the Grand Lodge of the State of Oklahoma. He is the only man in all of the Oklahoma Masonic world that has ever received such a tribute. It is recorded that when he had reached the 33rd degree in 1909, he was the youngest Mason in the world holding that degree. He was constantly enlarging the channels of Masonry in the State, and was the first to organize the Red Cross of Constantine in Oklahoma. Perhaps his crowning achievement in his long life's work of fifty years in the Masonic world was to organize in 1930 the Masonic Charity Foundation of Oklahoma, which he served as Executive Secretary until the day of his death. Through this, he brought almost half a million dollars into the Oklahoma realm of Masonic charity, building a $300,000 dormitory on the campus at Norman to assist Masonic orphans. This foundation has increased under his skillful management until finally it embraces a fund of over a million dollars. It was the very substance of his life and he hope to bequeath to his sons, reverence and love for Masonic principles. He has succeeded: two of his sons holding 33rd degree, and the other, 32nd degree. In this connection, Osborn Fisher Muldrow, his oldest son is now one of the foremost in the ranks of the leaders in the Masonic organizations of the State.

John Ruskin said "No man can ride well to any battle without his sword being placed at his side by the hands of some noble woman." This was more than true in the life of this man. Daisy Fisher Muldrow not only blessed Hal Muldrow with children, but gave constantly the faith and love that supported him in every effort

and lifted him to renown. There were five children—four sons and a daughter. His oldest son, Osborn Fisher Muldrow, was born January 12, 1900. He was reared in the atmosphere of the University and of course graduated from that institution. He married Miss Margaret Dannenberg, a daughter of a scion of a remarkable Indian family of the Cherokee Nation. Her great-grandfather, N. D. Dannenberg, occupied high stations in the early pioneer days of the Cherokees. He was the First Worshipful Master of Masonic Lodge 21 of Tahlequah in the year 1850. This Lodge was founded in 1828 in the very beginning days of the entrance of the Cherokee people into the western lands of Arkansas Territory, now a part of Oklahoma, when they were pushed out of Georgia and contiguous states. Osborn Fisher Muldrow entered the business world and has won a leading place in that field. He was President of the Alumni Association of the University of Oklahoma and takes an active interest in all social matters in Seminole, and is a member of the Rotary Club. He has two children—Margaret Ann and Mary.

Mattie Annie Reistle, his only daughter, is the wife of Carl E. Reistle, Vice President and Director of the Humble Oil Company, Houston, Texas, and the mother of four children: Betty Jean, Mattie Ann, Nancy Lee and Carl E. Reistle III.

Henry Lowndes Muldrow, Jr.—"Young Hal" as he is called, also graduated from the University of Oklahoma and followed in his father's footsteps as a leader in the insurance field. However, insurance became his lesser love because his in-born patriotic zeal led him into the service of the Oklahoma National Guard. His genuis for command immediately developed rapid promotion and when the Oklahoma National Guard became the central core of the 45th Division of the United States Army and went overseas in World War II, young "Hal" Muldrow immediately was assigned a pivotal position in that Division. General Ray S. McLain, commanding this Division at the battle of Lazerno Beach when the German forces brought every power to bear in an effort to annihiliate the American army as it attempted to establish a beach head that it might move North in the conquest of Italy, and strike at the underbelly of the entire German army on the South, said in the presence of this writer the following: "Here was a crucial hour in history. Here was another Saratoga, a Gettysburg and a Saint Mehiel. If the Germans would drive the Americans back into the sea, they would shake the very foundations of this world-wide effort of democracy in their fight against tyranny. The 45th Division, with Major Hal Muldrow in command of and directing the artillery, was the very center of all the shot and shell by German land forces, the bombs and straffing from above; men were struck down on all sides, and it seemed that the point of disaster had been reached. I saw Major Muldrow standing up and giving orders that brought in the trenchmen, drivers, cooks and every element of the army and unarmed assistants, and he was the instrument whereby the 45th Division held fast until

the American battleships found their sharper, better range, and the day was won." Today, Hal Muldrow, Jr., is Brigadier General of the United States Army in Korea and in charge of artillery of the 45th Division. General Muldrow is married to the former Miss Claramae Bell, a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Bell, a prominent Chickasaw family of Purcell, Oklahoma.

In this brief sketch of the life of H. L. Muldrow, there is but one deduction that can be drawn from this story by General McLain: that is, that he was so consumed throughout his life by a noble fighting spirit, born of the blood and bone of the "Old South", dignified and ennobled by the pride and devotion to everything American that out of his family training came two sons, who have won distinction in the service of their country.

Perhaps it may be a statement repellent to critics, but since this sort of historical material must constantly keep in mind any influence of good it may have upon the youth and parenthood that may read it, it clearly reveals that the children are the products of their homes.

Alvin Montgomery Muldrow, the third son, made a distinguished record for courage and leadership on the field of battle in World War II and resigned from the Army as Lieutenant Colonel. He is now a wealthy ranchman and farmer and lives in Brownwood, Texas. He married Miss Vera Kennedy of Pauls Valley. They have two children: Hal Kennedy and Alvin Montgomery Muldrow, Jr.

Another son, Lewis Lowndes Muldrow, was born at Norman and died there in 1918 at the age of seven.

It would be wholly unfair in the record of his life story if it were not stated that among the faithful devotees of the Oklahoma Historical Society, no one surpassed Mr. Muldrow. His deep interest in Oklahoma history, he and his good wife being ancestral American and Indian, a very part of the State, and his ability both as a writer and speaker to present the character and growth of this Commonwealth, it was natural that he should be honored by the directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society with a directorship for a period of ten years. He never missed a Board meeting without cause, and his sage counsel and enthusiastic effort to build the Society has assisted in the largest way toward lifting it to an institution whose influence is felt not only in Oklahoma, but throughout America. He set his heart upon building in the library of this Society a special division devoted to Masonic history. He did his work so well that today if the Masonic Lodges of Oklahoma had most of their records destroyed, they could find all of the real historical values of Masonic history in Oklahoma in the library of this Society.

Solemn services were held for Henry Lowndes Muldrow at 2:00, Friday afternoon, May 18, 1951 in the First Presbyterian Church in Norman, Oklahoma. Dr. E. Kenneth Feavor, Pastor, before a large

group of the leading citizens throughout the State, among whom were the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, representatives from the Supreme Court, heads of the departments of state and dignitaries of every Masonic Order in Oklahoma, paid tribute, as follows: "We are gathered today to pay a last respect to a man who has lived and labored among us and made a mark for himself which shall endure as long as memory fails us not. Henry Lowndes Muldrow was a southern gentleman, strong of will, persistent in conviction, steadfast in his loyalties, aggressive toward the things in which he had interest, positive in his beliefs, always on the spot where he said he was, a man who sensed responsibilities and accepted them as sacred obligations upon him. He drew to himself a wide circle of friends. He left some of his fellowmen standing. I have often wondered what it is that makes a man. I have not yet found the answer, but I think I have some strong clues. One, and I put this at the top of the list, is the courage to be oneself. It was impossible to spend a few minutes with Mr. Muldrow without being impressed with the fact that he was an individual who had confidence in himself. He was aware of his dependence upon his fellowmen and deep down he knew that before God, his Creator, he was always a creature. But, acknowledging this dependence he had that kind of human decency which never forgets that a man must be a man to the best of his ability. This he always tried to be. Some disliked him for it. Those nearest to him, especially his own children, rose up to honor him by reason of it. These latter found in him a reservoir of strength and a constant inspiration."

He rests in a Norman cemetery not far from the home and the University of Oklahoma he loved so well. Sunday, September 23, 1951 The Accepted and Ancient Scottish Rites of Free Masonry in the Temple of their Consistory in the Valley of McAlester, under the direction of the Sovereign Grand Inspector General, General W. S. Key, 33rd degree and officers of the Indian Consistory and co-ordinate bodies, together with a class of some two hundred distinguished citizens of Oklahoma receiving the 32nd degree, held in honor of the truly great Mason, Henry Lowndes Muldrow, a solemn requiem. The ceremony was all the more impressive because the tribute as recorded in the Masonic ritual, was read by his son, Osborn Fisher Muldrow, 33rd degree. The Scottish Rite class receiving the 32nd degree at this times, honored themselves and added one more tribute to this remarkable Mason by naming the class "The Henry Lowndes Muldrow Class of the Scottish Rite of Free Masons."

At last, it must be said there has been no attempt to present a eulogy or necrology. It is simply the tracing, the brief outline of the life of a great friend, a man of errors and full of virtues, a man who loved much and hated much that was wrong. Often as we talked together, we agreed that we enjoyed our hates as much as we did our loves. A good father, a loving husband, a patriotic Oklahoman and a genuine American rests well.

EKVN-HV'LWUCE

Site of Oklahoma's First Civil War Battle

*By Orpha Russell**

Historians have been making special research trying to determine the exact location of the first battle fought during the Civil War in what is now the State of Oklahoma.

Chief S. W. Brown, of the Euchee tribe, says that Opothleyahola never entered present Payne County and has two affidavits from very old people who know and can verify the story told to him and the site pointed out to him by persons who made the tragic march north into Kansas with the aged Opothleyahola.

In his youth, Brown drove cattle over a part of the old trail and the spot was pointed out to him by older men who had participated in that first battle between the forces of Opothleyahola and the Confederates. He recalls that the 9,000 who made the march left quite a large strip of land barren and that much of it was still evident during the days he drove cattle over their trail. The better known Coyote Trail crosses Opothleyahola's trail within a stone's throw of the end of the mountain range overlooking Keystone, Oklahoma, approximately twenty-two miles west of the heart of the City of Tulse.

Ekvn-hv'lwuce, as the Indians who made the march north in 1861 described the battle site, signifies "the round end of a mountain," and not "round mountain" nor "round mounds," as has been reported. This interpretation has kept local historians searching for years for natural round mounds, and the Payne County Historical Society has adopted the view that the battle site was determined when they located Twin Mounds west of Yale, in Payne County. The Payne County Historical Society claims that Special Agent John T. Cox's report from Ft. Gibson, dated March 18, 1864, is the sole piece of evidence against their selection of the Twin Mounds location.[2]

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[1] *Ekvnhvlwuce* is pronounced nearly "ekun-hulth'wuche," and literally means "a hillock" or "a mound" (R. M. Loughridge, D.D., *English and Muskokee Dictionary* [Philadelphia, 1914]).—Ed.

[2] This map by John T. Cox indicates the site of the "Battle of Red Fork" (*i.e.*, Round Mountain) north of the Cimarron River in the vicinity of present Keystone, in Pawnee County. Chief Brown's map accompanying this article shows the site of the battle south of the Cimarron about "a ¼ of a mile." This skirmish

Dr. B. B. Chapman of the Oklahoma A. and M. History faculty and Miss Angie Debo offer a copy of a statement by Confederate Creek leaders (1868) as evidence,[3] but the old Indians say a fight between two hostile Indian tribes was fought at the Twin Mounds a few years after Opotheyahola had reached Kansas.

Pieces of broken wagons and metal rims for wheels, offered by the Payne County group, are not conclusive evidence because all first hand accounts of Opothleyahola's march, given to Brown by the participants, said that the group had no wagons; ponies packed what the Indians could not carry on their person. Reports of Indian Commissioners filed during the years 1862 and 1863 confirm these statements.

George W. Collamore's report (April 12, 1862) to William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in Washington, D. C., states in part:[4]

"Agreeably to your request I furnish herewith an account of my recent visit to the loyal Indians, who were obliged to flee from their pursuers (the rebel Indians and Texans) in the dead winter, and who are now encamped on the Neosho River in the southern part of Kansas.

"The battles in which they participated, and which eventuated in their expulsion from their own country, and forced them to seek shelter in Kansas, formed a part of the history of this war. The battle of December last was particularly unfortunate to these people, and the disasters of the defeat left them in the helpless condition I found them. . . . .

"Their march was undertaken with a scanty supply of clothing, subsistence, and cooking utensils, and entirely without tents, and during their progress they were reduced to such extremity as to be obliged to feed upon their ponies and their dogs, while their scanty clothing was reduced to

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between Opothleyahola's forces and the Confederates in 1861 was not in regular battle formation, the fighting having undoubtedly taken place at different points within a radius of two, or even three miles, some south and others north of the Cimarron wherever the Creek allies were encamped in friendly groups. The reports of the skirmish would depend upon the location of the informant and his friends within the radius of the fighting, the general reference of these reports, however, among the Creeks being "*Ekvnhvlwuce*," or the "mound" or "round end of the mountain." This general designation refering to the "battle" with Opothleyahola seems to have been used after the period of the Civil War. The original map by John T. Cox, entitled "Retreat of the Loyal Indians from the Indian Country under A-pothleyahola in the winter of 1861," is in the records of the U. S. Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C. A facsimile of this map appears in Annie Heloise Abel's *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist* (Cleveland, 1915), p. 254. See also notes on the life of John T. Cox by Dean Trickett, of Tulsa, appearing in Notes and Documents "Ad Interim Report on Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51), pp. 492-4.—Ed.

[3] Angie Debo, "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain, 1861," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, No. 2 (Summer, 1949), p. 190.

[4] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Report* 1862 ,pp. 155-58. (Opothleyahola was never in the line of recognized chiefs though he is referred to here as "one of the oldest, most influential, and wealthy chiefs of the Creek Nation." He served as Speaker for the Upper Creek Towns, and was one of the great leaders in the history of the Creek people.—Ed.)

Ekvn-hv'lwuce, "The Round End of the Mountain," near Keystone and South of the Cimarron River, in Tulsa County.

Left to right: William G. Bruner, of the Creek Nation, and S. W. Brown, Chief of the Yuchi

threads, and in some cases absolute nakedness was their condition. Let it be remembered that this retreat was in the midst of a winter of unusual severity for that country, with snow upon the prairie. Many of their ponies died from starvation. The women and children suffered severely from frozen limbs, as did also the men. Women gave birth to their offspring upon the naked snow, without shelter or covering, and in some cases the new-born infants died for want of clothing, and those who survived to reach their present location with broken constitutions and utterly dispirited.

"Thus I found them encamped upon the Neosho River bottom, in the timber extending a distance of some seven miles. Not a comfortable tent was to be seen. Such coverings as I saw were made in the rudest manner, being composed of pieces of cloth, old quilts, handkerchiefs, aprons, etc., stretched upon sticks, and so limited were many of them in size that they were scarcely sufficient to cover the emaciated and dying forms beneath them. Under such shelter I found, in the last stages of consumption, the daughter of Opothleyohola, one of the oldest, most influential, and wealthy chiefs of the Creek Nation."

The writer accompanied Chief Brown and Willie Bruner, a full-blood Muskogee (or Creek), who is said to be over one hundred years old, to the site of the mounds where Opothleyohola's group had dug in for the winter, and remained only one month after the Battle of *Ekvn-hv'lwuce*. An affidavit was secured from Bruner in which he states in part:[5]

"My father, George Bruner, was a Northern soldier. My mother, Annie Bruner, went north with Hopo-thle-yohola and a band of Creek or Uscelarnappee Indians. The Uscelarnappee Indians were allies with Hopo-thle-yohola as brother members of one fire. They had no wagons, and very few had ponies.

"Their first battle took place on the south side of the Arkansas River at the round end of the mountain. The Ekvn-hv'lwuce was the end of the range of mountains ending ¼ mile south of the Cimarron River.

"They built four mounds 2-½ miles below where the Owa-Chartyogee or Cimarron River emptied into the Arkansas River on the north side of the Arkansas, and the mounds were where Hopo-thle-yohola took his stand for a month, sending his women, old men, and children on east where they turned north to camp for some time.

"I played in the round mound hide-outs when I was a boy, and killed four deer on one hunt north of these mounds. Two old full-blood Indians, members of my Locha Poka town lived near the mounds; one Stephen about ½ mile east, and another William Gooden about one mile east.

"Several of Hopo-thle-yohola's men were out hunting when the southern Indian soldiers attacked them and killed several of the men. Later Hopo-thle-yohola followed up with his men and then the BIG BATTLE TOOK PLACE.[6]

"It was mid-winter, and it snowed and sleeted when they took their stand. My mother told me many times about their hardships on that trip."

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[5] Affidavit signed by William G. Bruner, and witnessed on March 17, 1951.

[6] This "Big Battle" was the Battle of Chusto Talasah or "Caving Banks" that took place on December 9, 1861.

Elizabeth Sapulpa, founder of the Indian Methodist Church in Sapulpa, Oklahoma, gave an affidavit that reads in part as follows:[7]

"I, Elizabeth Sapulpa, heard my Aunt Mary Hutka talk about the hardships of the people going north in the time of the Civil War. She lived with me and I built a little home for her in my yard so she could be near me and I could care for her in her declining days until her death. She was grown woman (at the time of the Civil War) and all she had was the clothes she had on and a pair of Turtle Shells that she danced with and when they were removed back to their homes in the Indian Territory she brought the Turtle Shells back with her.

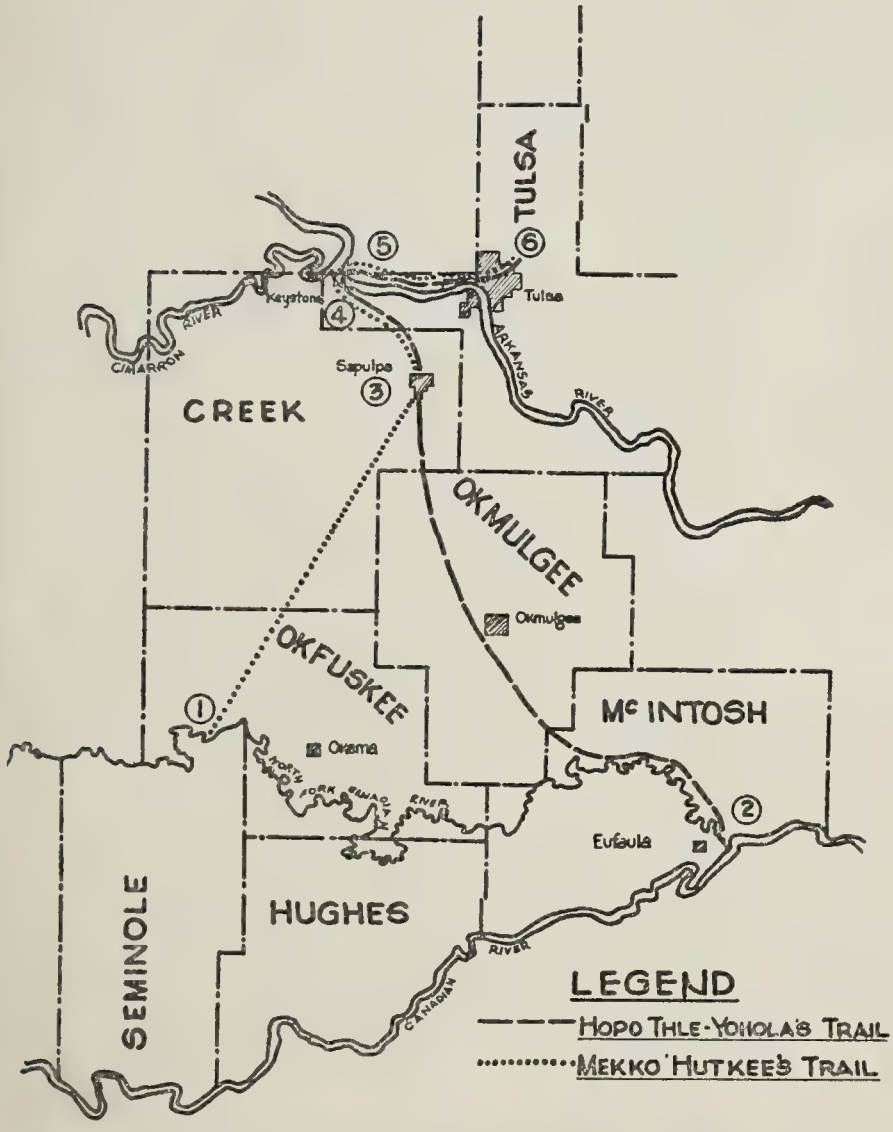
"Some had ponies to ride and those that didn't have ponies trudged along on foot and Aunt Mary Hutka was one of many who didn't have a pony.

"Hopo-thle-yahola was the leader of the many different Indian tribes that went north. When they got to what is now Keystone (the Indians call it Red Fork) there was a battle and some were killed. There was a man of the Ussellarnoppee Tribal Town by the name of Nokas-Ho-Lo-Thla that crossed the Arkansas River where Red Fork or Cimarron River empties into the Arkansas River, with women and old people and children for their protection. For shelter he and his men dug four big caves and rounded the earth up.[8] That was later called Round Mountain battle between the south and north."

Brown says that Mekko-Hutkee's camp was north of Eufaula and his group were allies of Opothleyahola. Mekko-Hutkee's group started marching north toward Kansas earlier than the aged Opothleyahola, who was waiting for all loyal Indians from all tribes to assemble. Nokas-Ho-La-Tho, a soldier that led the Uscelarnappee clan, was in Mekko-Hutkee's group that followed the old Indian trail to a natural ford just below where the Cimarron empties into the Arkansas River. Threatening bad weather—sleet, snow and bitter cold—forced

[7] Affidavit signed by Elizabeth Sapulpa, and witnessed by Joseph J. McCombs and Susanna Sapulpa, July 24, 1951.

[8] Colonel Cooper's report, as Commander of Indian Department, First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, C.S.A., states that his forces found Opothleyahola's camp near the North Fork abandoned but followed the retreating Creeks until November 19th, when some of the latter were seen, and a few prisoners taken. "From those prisoners information was obtained that a portion of Hopoethleyahola's party were near the Red Fork [*i.e.*, Cimarron] of the Arkansas River, on their route towards Walnut Creek, *where a fort was being erected* [italics added here], and which had for some time been their intended destination in the event of not receiving promised aid from Kansas before being menaced and attacked." (Report of Douglas H. Cooper, Colonel, C. S. Army, Commanding Indian Department, dated from Fort Gibson on January 20, 1862, in *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. VIII, p. 5). It seems that the phrase "on their route towards Walnut Creek" was used by Cooper parenthetically, and his statement "a fort was being erected" apparently referred to the "four big caves" and the mounds of earth built up by "Mekko-Hutkee's" men. The reader should bear in mind that the prisoners were reporting to Cooper's forces what was being done by the Creeks "near the Red Fork of the Arkansas River." These are important data since they indicate that Opothleyahola's forces had primarily planned to concentrate within the Indian Territory near the Kansas line but were precipitately routed and took flight to Kansas following the Battle of Caving Banks on December 9th, and their still later defeat at Chustenalah on December 26th.—Ed.



EUCHEE CHIEF S.W. BROWN'S VERSION
Drawing By C.L. Faith

Map Showing Route of the "Loyal Creeks" North in 1861: (1) Opothleyahola's Camp [Roro-Culka or "Fish Pond"]; (2) Mekko-Hutkee's Camp; (3) Old Indian Marker; (4) Ekvn-Hv'lwuce, "The Round End of the Mountain"; (5) Mounds erected by Mekko-Hutkee's group; (6) Site of the "Battle of Caving Banks" on Bird Creek, in 1861.

them to "dig in" for protection, and in the process of digging in, mounds of dirt were piled high near their caves or trenches.

Brown believes those mounds have confused historians too long, and that the "round mounds" for which Miss Debo and Dr. Chapman have been searching were not natural mounds, but mounds thrown up by Mekko-Hutkee and Nokas-Ho-La-Tho as they dug in for protection from the elements.

Chief Brown's father, So-Pathla, who was elected chief of the Euchees in 1867, had just returned from New Mexico late in 1861 when Opothleyahola sent a messenger asking him to come to Roro-Culka, meaning "Fish Pond", about ten miles northwest and five miles south of what is now Okemah, Oklahoma, on North Fork of Canadian River, to interpret a letter. Roro-Culka (Hluhlo-Kulka) was one of the forty-four tribal towns that constituted the Muskogee (or Creek) Nation. The older Chief Brown, an orphan son of a fullblood Euchee mother and a young lieutenant in the United States Army, had been reared and educated by a missionary who gave the boy his own name, Brown. The youth was well known throughout the various tribal towns and often acted as an interpreter.

When the youth reached Opothleyahola's camp he found a letter from President Abraham Lincoln, soiled from much handling. He twice read the letter to Opothleyahola's group of 3,000 Indians. President Lincoln asked Opothleyahola to remain neutral. He explained that the war in which his people were engaged was not an Indian war, but one between the northern states and the southern states.

The now aged Opothleyahola had pledged his allegiance to the United States after the battle of Tohopeka or the "Horse Shoe" on Tallapoosa River in Alabama in 1814, a pledge he kept until death. He told his people he would remain neutral in the war between the northern and southern states. A skirmish with Colonel McIntosh's group followed and all Opothleyahola's town arbors were burned. (Daniel N. McIntosh, of the Creek tribe, had been made a Colonel in the Confederate Army.)

Opothleyahola with around 9,000 followers, including Creeks, Seminoles, Chickasaws, Quapaws, Euchees, Keechis, Caddoes, Ionies, Delawares, Wichitas, Cherokees, two white men, George Sofley and William F. Brown, who were married to Euchee women, and a few Negroes who claimed to be free because their master had joined the Southern Confederacy, started their march toward Kansas where they hoped to secure arms and supplies to enable them to return to Indian Territory and recover their property. Wishing to remain in neutral territory the loyal old Creek leader marched north over a worn Indian Trail to an Indian marker, now in the heart of Sapulpa (named for Cypulpv of Cussetah Town). Old-timers described the marker as from ten to twelve feet high and about four feet square with pictures

on all four sides: the sun on the east, a buffalo head on the west, a two-horned snake on the south, and a wild goose on the north. The late Thomas F. Meagher, authority on early Indian Territory history, believed this marker had been built by the Osages as a guide post for all Indians, and that the so-called "Battle of Round Mountain" was fought near this marker in the southwest corner of Tulsa County. But, children of those who made the march were told, by their parents, that the group marched northwest of the marker and that the main body had reached the "round end of the mountain" before they were overtaken by the Confederates.

After this battle, Opothleyahola's warriors joined their women and children, who had already joined Mekko-Hutkee and Nokas-Ho-La-Tho, across the river, and camped for almost a month before moving down the north side of the Arkansas River.

The Loch-Poka Indians, living where Tulsa now stands, joined Opothleyahola's group, known as the Tuckabahtchi, as they moved toward Bird Creek. So-Pathla (Chief Brown's father) recovered from illness in time to join them in their most decisive battle, near Turley on Bird Creek, known as Chusto Talasah or "Battle of Caving Banks" December 9, 1861. This site and fifteen Confederate graves have been marked by the Tulsa Historical Society of Tulsa's Central High School, under the leadership of Mrs. Louise M. Witham. The inscription on the marker reads:

" 'The Battle of Caving Banks' was fought December 9, 1861 between 1,500 Texas and Indian cavalrymen under Confederate Col. D. H. Cooper and 2,500 Loyal Creeks and Cherokees enroute to Kansas with Chief Opothle-Yahola.

"The struggle centered around a log house near the tip of the Horse Shoe Bend in Bird Creek west of this point. 15 Confederate dead are buried on this battle field; many others lie in unknown graves.

"—Marked by the Historical Society of Central High School and the Tulsa Indian Women's Club, April 15, 1945."

After the engagement at Caving Banks, So-Pathla went to Mayesville to enlist in the First Indian Home Guards in the Federal Army, and was pensioned as acting captain, retired. Chief Brown has an old tin-type of So-Pathla made the day he was discharged from active duty. So-Pathla's group, known as Company K, was composed entirely of Euchees. He wrote all discharges for the remaining members, May 31, 1865, and was the last of that group to die, February 21, 1935.

Other testimony regarding Keystone as the site of the first Civil War battle in what is now Oklahoma was given to Brown years ago by the following persons no longer living: Sak-Ka-Senney (Little Bear), Ko-Ka-Lathloney, Co-Pat-Cheney, Checo-Tet-Ho-Ney (Pulling in the Water), and Seber-Talocco. All told Brown that their first skirmish with the Confederates did not amount to much and that Opothleyahola only lost three men at the round end of the mountain."

Sin-Co-Hah, a great-uncle of Chief Brown's, died later during the march, but not before he had an opportunity to discuss the battle with Brown's father, So-Pathla, who joined the group before their battle near Tulsa.

Seber-Talocco, also known as Nocus or Nokos Harjo, was buried in 1911 in the old Indian cemetery at the southeastern edge of Sand Springs in a small plot fenced for preservation by the late Charles Page.

Chief Brown and Elizabeth Sapulpa would like to see a marker placed at *Ekvn-hv'lwuce,* the "round end of the mountain" overlooking Keystone, Oklahoma, because they are positive that is the place the first battle of the Civil War in the Indian Territory occurred.

TWO HISTORIC INDIAN BURIALS FROM PITTSBURG COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

*By Charles Bareis**

Early in January of 1951, Mr. W. O. Moody discovered and excavated two historic Indian burials on his farm which is located on Gaines Creek four miles east of Canadian, Oklahoma, in Pittsburg County.[1] The two burials were found while cultivating a field in the northwest section of Mr. Moody's farm and were located only a short distance from Gaines Creek.[2] The presence of flint chips, arrowheads, wattle and pottery sherds suggests a village site. This site has been designated as Ps-28 in the University archaeological survey. The discovery was subsequently investigated by Dr. Frank A. DeLaMater of McAlester who reported it to Dr. Robert Bell of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. Dr. Bell obtained the skeletons and associated material for laboratory analysis and reconstruction. Both Mr. Moody and Dr. DeLaMater are to be commended for preserving this material.

Although both burials were apparently in a flexed position, Burial No. 2 had the additional characteristic of having both arms extended outward away from the body. The burials were reported as being found ten to twelve inches beneath the surface in small graves about two feet by three feet. Burial No. 1 was orientated in a north-south direction with the skull directed south and facing west. Burial No. 2, located approximately seventy feet south of Burial No. 1, was orientated in the same manner, but the skull faced east. An ash

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* Charles Bareis is a graduate student in the Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, Norman. He expresses grateful acknowledgment to Dr. Robert E. Bell and Dr. Karl Schmitt, of the Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, for their aid in the preparation of this report.—Ed.

[1] This area in present Pittsburg County is within the boundaries of the former Choctaw Nation organized under written constitution adopted by the Choctaw Council in 1834. From the organization of counties in the Choctaw Nation in 1850 to Oklahoma statehood in 1907, the region was in Gaines County, Mosholatubbee District, Choctaw Nation. The Chickasaw purchased the right of settlement among the Choctaw, in 1837. From this date to 1855 when the Chickasaw located and organized their own government as a nation farther west in present Oklahoma, Gaines Creek was a part of the eastern boundary of the Chickasaw District, Choctaw Nation.—Ed.

[2] "This site was recorded by an archeological survey made of the Gaines Creek area in the summer of 1950 by Mr. Leonard Johnson. It is located on the east side of Gaines Creek in the northwest quarter of Section 3, Township 8 North, Range 16 East. At the time of the survey, Mr. Johnson labeled the site as Creek with a question mark, thus indicating the uncertainty of identification." —Letter from Dr. Robert E. Bell, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma, dated October 18, 1951, addressed to Muriel Wright, Oklahoma Historical Society, in reply to an inquiry with reference to the location of this Indian burial site in Pittsburg County.

lense near the skull suggests that a fire had been burned at the grave. Apparently the burials were in an excellent state of preservation when they were first exposed by Mr. Moody, but, due to an overnight freeze, considerable breakage resulted, which necessitated laboratory restoration before a determination of age and sex could be made. Cultural materials were associated with both burials.

Burial No. 1

A preliminary investigation revealed an incomplete skelton. The bones of Burial No. 1 responded well to cleaning except for areas in the pelvis, the sacrum, and left clavicle. Rodent action or gnawing marks were observed on the shaft of the right ulna. For a general statement on condition of the bones, it may be said that practically all of the bones revealed erosion at points of articulation. A more thorough analysis of the bones after cleaning and restoration revealed that some were incomplete and others missing.

Since many of the bones of this skeleton were missing, and because many of the bones which were present still contained damaged areas, even after restoration the aging and sexing of this burial proved to be relatively difficult.

In attempting to age this burial, several characteristics of both the skull and long bones were evident. In the skull, the sagittal, coronal, and lambdoidal sutures all were beginning to close, indicating an age of at least twenty-six years. Even though a considerable section of the two nasal bones was missing, the area which was present revealed that the two nasal bones were beginning to close. The third molar teeth had erupted, which would correlate with the above named sutures of the skull with respect to age. On the long bones, all of the epiphyses were closed, which would indicate a minimum age of at least twenty-one years. The pelvis, although quite incomplete, indicated an age of about twenty years. Considering all of these areas, and making allowances with respect to the erosion on the long bones, an age of twenty-six to twenty-eight years has been assigned to this skeleton.

In attempting to determine the sex of this burial, the difficulties increase because at many points where outstanding sexual characteristics usually occur in skeletons, we find that Burial No. 1 reveals either a broken or missing bone or an eroded surface. Also, there are only a few characteristics which are definite enough to classify. I would classify this skeleton as a delicate male, based on the following characteristics: The obturator foramen is a triangular oval on both sides of the pelvis. The pelvic opening appears heart-shaped. The sub-pubic angle appears narrow, even though it is damaged in the pubic area. The ischial spines are bent inward toward the midline. The mastoids are long and moderately large. The long bones are large, rather rugged, and have a tendency to appear flat rather than rounded.

Of the six cultural items found in association with Burial No. 1 none can be dated exactly. A china saucer which required no reconstruction was present. It is designed with flowers around the rim, and a weakly discernible potter's mark could be identified. A matching china cup, broken in excavation, was also recovered. The cup was void of any discernible potter's mark. However, it is possible to note that the cup is of the handleless variety. Additional material recovered included a broken tablespoon minus the handle, an iron pipe tomahawk head, a broken piece of tin, and an old style wine bottle. The broken spoon, iron pipe tomahawk, and small piece of tin were all deeply corroded and covered with rust. The old style wine bottle was in excellent condition. However, the bottom appeared to be scratched and abraded from use to such an extent that the bottle would not stand perfectly flush upon a flat surface. The remains of a woven fabric is still adhering to the flat blade of the iron hatchet.

Burial No. 2

A preliminary investigation of this burial revealed that it also was incomplete and was damaged to a greater extent than Burial No. 1. Some animal bones were also mixed in with Burial No. 2, and some teeth present may be those of a deer. Most of the animal bones were badly broken and damaged. The skeletal material responded well to cleaning but also revealed the characteristic erosion at all points of articulation on the long bones; however, erosion was not strictly limited to the long bones. The pelvis in particular was badly damaged. The right ilium was broken in four separate sections, and even reconstruction did not restore it anywhere close to the original form. As in Burial No. 1, some bones were incomplete and others were missing.

Because of considerable damage to this skeleton, especially in the pelvic area, sexing and aging again presented a difficulty. The sutures of the skull all appeared to be open, indicating an age no older than twenty-two. No third molar teeth were present. On the long bones, all of the epiphyses appeared to be fused except on the right and left femurs. At the proximal ends of these two bones, faint traces of the epiphysis could be detected. This would indicate an age of about seventeen. On the pelvis, breakage has obscured a thorough analysis, but the epiphyses here are also closed, which would indicate an age of about eighteen or nineteen. Taking the previous data into account, an age of seventeen to nineteen has been assigned for Burial No. 2.

Determination of sex on Burial No. 2 had to be attempted without the advantage of a complete pelvis. In the skull, the eye orbits were not characteristically sharp, a trait which may be found in female skulls. However, a U-shaped palate was present, and the mastoids were moderately large, revealing a male feature. On the long bones, areas for muscle attachment were rather pronounced.

Indian Burial No. 1: (3 and 5) China cup and saucer, (6) glass bottle, (8) iron pipe-tomahawk. Burial No. 2: (1) McIntosh Roughened pottery sherds, (2, 9 and 10) pieces of china ware, (4) clay trade pipe fragment, (7) bone handled knife, (11) tin cup, (12) iron object.

They appeared large and relatively flat, rather than rounded in cross section. The sacrum was rather long but did not curve inward abruptly. Even with these male characteristics, the skeleton still presented a female appearance in some characteristics. For example, weak nuchal lines were present on the occipital bone in the skull, and the inion was weakly developed. In the pelvis, the greater sciatic notch appeared more obtuse than narrow. Considering the total number of characteristics, Burial No. 2 has also been classified as a delicate male.

The cultural material in association with Burial No. 2 was more varied than the material associated with Burial No. 1. Twenty broken pottery fragments were recovered, and they are characteristic of the type of pottery made by the Creek Indians in the historic period. This pottery ware has been designated as McIntosh Roughened by David J. Wenner and examples have been illustrated in the literature by Schmitt and Quimby.[3] One tin cup was present and was rusted over its entire surface. Five pieces of iron of varying shapes were present. Two bone-handled table knives were present, and the blades of the knives were deeply corroded. Additional material included two pieces of burned bone, two broken pieces of glass, one small piece of charcoal, five small pieces of clay wattle, a small broken section from the base of a cup, bowl fragment of a small clay pipe, and eleven small pieces of broken chinaware. One piece of broken china has been worked into a circular disc and reveals a characteristic potter's mark which can be traced to European origin. The remaining ten pieces of china were fragments of flat plates or saucers having a simple blue pattern around the rim.

Discussions and Conclusions

These two historic Indian burials add to our information concerning recent historical burial customs in Oklahoma. They are also of interest because both native-made pottery sherds and historic white trade materials occur in the same grave.

The circular piece of chinaware from Burial No. 2 and the saucer from Burial No. 1 contain a potter's mark which can be identified. The china was made by the Davenport company located at Longport, Stradfordshire, England. This company started manufacturing chinaware in 1793 and continued to make it until 1882.[4] Since one potter's mark contains the figure 44, it is probable that the specimen in question was made in 1844.

The assignment of a date to the iron pipe tomahawk, bone handled table knives, tin cup and broken pieces of glass is impossible

[3] Schmitt, Karl, "Two Creek Pottery Vessels from Oklahoma," *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. III, Nos. 1-2, May 1950, p. 4.
Quimby, G. I., and Alexander Spoehr, "Historic Creek Pottery from Oklahoma," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 15, 1950, pp. 249-251.

[4] Honey, E. B., *Old English Porcelain*, 1946, pp. 248-280, McGraw-Hill Book Co., London.

except to suggest that a date in the latter half of the 19th century appears most reasonable. The old style wine bottle is certainly not of recent make, and the worn surfaces on the base suggest that it had been used for a great many years. The bottle contains no pontil mark which suggests it was made some time after 1850.

The data from these burials becomes more meaningful when compared with Swanton's ethnological data on Creek burial customs.[5] For example, the Creeks are reported to have built a fire over the grave and tended it for four days after burial. The presence of ashes, pieces of burned bone, and charcoal with Burial No. 2, suggests the fire building practices mentioned by Swanton.

Another similarity to the ethnographical literature is revealed in the grave goods associations. Swanton cites Roman, who states that the dead were buried in a sitting position, and were furnished with a number of grave goods such as, a musket, powder and ball, a hatchet, pipe, a looking glass, etc.[6] The cultural material in association with Burials No. 1 and 2 was equally as prevalent, and contained some of the items mentioned by Roman: namely, a tomahawk, and a section of a pipe. The sitting position mentioned by Roman, would be interpreted by anthropologists as referring to the flexed character of the burial.

In addition, it is known that when the Creeks buried their dead, coffee was put in a cup placed over the left shoulder. Burial No. 1 contained a china cup, and Burial No. 2 contained a tin cup, each of which may have been used to perform this practice. Even the wine bottle associated with Burial No. 1 may have some significance. Swanton quotes Hitchcock who says, "If a man dies from drunkenness, a bottle of whiskey is buried with him, as they say that, dying from liquor, he will want a dram when he awakes in the other world."[7] The individual from Burial No. 1 may not have died from drunkenness, but this does not mean that he was adverse to taking a drink now and then.

Considering the nature of both burials, distance from the surface, position, and associated cultural material, it is reasonably certain that both individuals were buried at about the same time period. This would be between 1850-1890. A final statement by the author would conclude that, although the data is not decisive, it appears reasonable to assign the burials to the Creek Indians.[8] This gives us basic evidence of Indian burial customs for the latter part of the 19th century.

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[5] Swanton, J. R., "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," *Bureau of American Ethnology*, 42 Annual Report, 1924-25, pp. 388-398.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 392.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

[8] Some notes on the history of the Gaines Creek region in Pittsburg County will be found in the *Appendix* at the end of this article, contributed by the Associate Editor (M.H.W.) at the request of Dr. Robert E. Bell, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology, University of Oklahoma.

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4. Swanton, J. R., "Social Organization and Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy," *Bureau of American Ethnology*, 42 Annual Report, 1924-1925, pp. 388-398.

APPENDIX

The anthropological report by Charles Bareis, on the apparently Creek Indian burial site calculated to have been made in the comparatively late period of Oklahoma Indian history, 1850 to 1890, within a part of the Choctaw Nation now included in Pittsburg County, raises some interesting questions on the history of the Indian tribal groups that were neighbors—Chickasaw and Creek—in the Gaines Creek region. The Canadian River two miles north of this recently discovered burial site was the boundary line between the Choctaw and the Creek nations, and any Creek settlement south of this boundary would have been a matter of approval by the Choctaw General Council. Up until 1855, the status of any Indian tribal group other than Choctaw within the Choctaw domain would have been recorded by law of the General Council. Acts can be cited whereby even the status or the rights of citizenship of certain Chickasaw families were established by the Choctaw Council before the Chickasaw established their own nation in 1855.

From 1838, Chickasaw settlements extended along Gaines Creek in the general region where the Indian burials are located (east of the City of Canadian) and on south to Brushy Creek and eastward along the main roads toward present Red Oak. A number of the prominent Chickasaw family of Colberts and their relatives lived in these settlements. It is known from the records of anthropology and of history that Chickasaw burial customs were nearly the same, if not identical, with those of the Creek in the late period of their history in the 19th Century. There was a very conservative, clannish Chickasaw group, many of them full bloods, who observed the old tribal customs late in the history of the tribe. Pitman Colbert, an outstanding leader among the Chickasaw after their removal to this country, advocated and upheld strict observance of the old tribal ways and customs, a far-reaching influence that held even in modern times. His granddaughter, a woman of fine character who was enlightened and modern in her ways, requested a short time before her death a few years ago that certain of her personal treasures be buried with her like "the old time Chickasaws."

Any Creek Indians that may have located on Gaines Creek in the Choctaw Nation after 1850 doubtless were closely associated with or related to the Chickasaw in this region. Some of the Colberts married in the Creek Nation where they were known as influential citizens after the period of the Civil War. Likewise, the McIntoshes and the McGillivrays prominent in the Creek Nation married among the Chickasaw before the removal to the Indian Territory. One of the four districts (politico-geographic) in the Chickasaw Nation back in Mississippi was called McGillivray's (or McGilbery's) District for its leader.

One John McGilbury of the Creek Nation was allowed citizenship, and thereby settlement in the Choctaw Nation, by a special act of the Choctaw

Council, approved October 11, 1849. (This family name is found spelled variously in different Indian tribal records: McGilbery, McGilberry, McGilbray, McGilbra, McGillvray, McGillivray). John McGilbury seems to have settled in the east central part of the Choctaw Nation, probably within the present limits of Latimer County. Some persons of this family name, registered on the Choctaw rolls, selected their land allotments before statehood a few miles south of Red Oak in Latimer County. It should be added that the Chickasaw and the Choctaw had the right to settle within either nation in selecting their lands in severalty. In general, enrolled Choctaw and Chickasaw selected their allotments near where they had lived, someone in a family alloting the old home place to keep the improvements there—houses, barns, fenced fields and pastures. Available records in the history of the Gaines Creek region do not show a Creek settlement there.

A recent check of allotment records and other related data has revealed that a number of the Indian citizens who selected their allotments of land in the Gaines Creek region in present Pittsburg County, within a radius from two to eight miles of the burial sites in question, were descendants of the Colberts, and one of these allotees, according to available records, was a grandson of Pitman Colbert. These burials might have been made by refugees from the Creek Nation that located temporarily near the Chickasaw on Gaines Creek as Confederate allies in the time of the Civil War, though most, if not all, Indian refugees from the nations to the north located far south in the Choctaw Nation, on Red River. It is logical and quite probable that these Indian burials were of individuals who were closely identified with the Chickasaw by inter-marriage, if not purely Chickasaw.

—Muriel H. Wright

OUR DEBT TO THE IROQUOIS

*By J. F. Page, Ph. D.**

Had it not been for a confederacy of eastern Indians we perhaps would not exist to-day as an English-speaking nation. From that group of tribes, known as the Six Nations, we also derived many of our agricultural patterns, and uses of foods and drugs.

The six Iroquois tribes, known as Mohawks, Onondagos, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras,[1] neighbors of the early Americans, occupied the Mohawk Valley, between the Hudson River and Lake Erie. Though, perhaps never numbering over fifteen to eighteen thousand, the influence of this confederacy among Red men was such that its orders were obeyed from Lake Ontario to Chesapeake Bay and from the Delaware River to beyond the Ohio. This Federation of Iroquois tribes was founded upon high ideals of peace and brotherhood, and was designed to embrace ultimately all of humanity. In these respects it may be regarded as a prototype of the League of Nations and of the United Nations.

The league was organized before the arrival of English people to our shores, theoretically about the middle of the sixteenth century. It was then composed of five independent peoples of Iroquois stock;[2] the sixth tribe, or Tuscaroras,[3] joined the Confederacy in 1715. These tribes were cemented into a union with the sanctions of law, custom, and religion. The League was given an Indian name meaning the Great Peace, a sacred term to the Iroquois. The council of fifty peace chiefs who administered it were priests. It met once a year at Onondago, the League capital, and at such other times as emergency might demand, to promote internal peace, or conduct foreign relations. The story of two foundling heroes of the Confederacy,—Deganawida, the man of legal mind, and Hiawatha the peace-loving hero, practically constituted the Iroquois Bible. These Indians believed in a Great Spirit who cared for his people and who desired that they care for each other. They treasured his precepts in a way that would put most Christians to shame. With peace among themselves and security

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[1] Some descendants of bands of these Indian tribes belonging to the Iroquoian linguistic stock are among the Indian citizens living in Ottawa County, Oklahoma. The Cherokee, the largest tribe of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, are of the Iroquoian family, and formed its southern branch that waged war with the Northern Iroquois in very early times. (See Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* [Norman, 1951]).—Ed.

[2] Frederick Webb Hodge, *A Handbook of the American Indians North of Mexico*, Bur. of American Ethnology, Bulletin 30, 2 volumes (Washington, 1911). —Ed.

[3] *Ibid.*

from their enemies, and with their confederacy built around the great ideal of human brotherhood, the Iroquois, if left unhampered by the whites, would likely have built a commendable civilization.

In the struggle between England and France, the English colonies of America were fortunate to have the support of the Iroquois tribes. Had it not been for this fact, it is wholly probable that we would to-day be a French-speaking people. Governor Dougan of New York stated, in 1687, that the Five Nations were a bulwark between his people and the French, with their Algonquin allies. George Chalmers called the Five Nations the "impenetrable fence around the northern colonies," and James Logan, Secretary of Pennsylvania, in a letter to William Penn, said, "If we lose the Iroquois, we are gone".

Iroquois sympathy for the English colonists was probably not a matter of personal likeability but came from the fact that they were natural enemies of the powerful Algonquins and their allies. Such enmity grew out of their geographic location, since the Iroquois, living between the American colonies and the Indian tribes of the interior, were always on the alert to secure the traffic in furs between these tribes of the west and Albany, rather than let it be diverted by the French to Montreal. For nearly a century the Iroquois were in almost continuous warfare with the French and their chief allies, the Algonquins. They blocked the path of these foes to the West, by way of the Great Lakes, and hence, their fur trade with Indian tribes of the interior. They also ravaged unceasingly French and Algonquin territory. These powerful champions of the colonies, too, stood in the way of French and Algonquins to prevent their attack on New York, by controlling the only two feasible routes by which such attack could be made, from the Great Lakes by way of the Mohawk River, and from Canada through Lake Champlain and down the Hudson River. Since their own country abounded in beaver, and they were favorably located to control lake routes, the Iroquois were prepared to furnish the Dutch of New York on profitable terms, with pelts, the product that became the mainstay of the colony.

The Iroquois, cultivated extensive fields of maize, and administered the government of their communities in dignified councils. In general, they ordered their lives in a way that was easy for Seventeenth Century Europeans to adopt, and had much more influence on our colonial ancestors than we give them credit for today. Their confederacy served as a model for, and an incentive to the federation of the thirteen colonies later, and subsequently to their transformation into the United States of America. Benjamin Franklin wrote that it would seem strange "that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous, and who cannot be supposed to want an equal understanding of their interests." Thus, the organization of a group of tribes in the stone-age culture seems

largely responsible for the Articles of Confederation and later the Constitution of the United States of America.

Our early agricultural patterns, many of which are still extant, were borrowed in large part from the Iroquois, who surpassed all their neighbors in agriculture. In clearing the land, these Indians belted the trees, then the next year, after these were dead and dried, they burned and charred them sufficiently deep to make chopping easy.

The practices of planting four or five kernels of corn in hills about three feet apart, of putting bean, squash, or pumpkin seed in maize hills, of testing seed and germinating it in water, hoeing earth up around the growing stalks, and of using husking pins of wood, were employed by the Iroquois before the colonists made use of them. Hanging of ears of corn, to be used for seed, with their pendant husks braided together; building cribs, elevated on posts, to keep the contents dry and protected from rodents; making corn-husk mats; taking the hard outer shell off maize kernels with lye, made from wood ashes,[4] and having husking bees, were borrowed from these tribes by the colonists. Eastern Indians, notably the Iroquois, contributed to American colonists the use of mixed dishes of beans, maize, and meat; the stirring, and cooking of meal and water into "mush" the delicacies of corn bread, "Johnny cake", popcorn, corn on the cob, sassafras tea, maple syrup, mushrooms, and hominy, the names, hominy and succotash having been derived from them. The Iroquois cultivated tobacco for smoking purposes, and as pipe makers, excelled in the number and quality of their products.

The Iroquois were among the tribes that contributed these medicinally-used herbs; ginseng, sassafras root (as a blood purifier), Indian poke, sweet flag, Indian turnip, white oak bark, slippery elm, wild ginger, goldenseal, cherry bark, winter green, bloodroot, sumac, May apple, and many others.

The Six Nations, who had so faithfully fought with the English against their American foes, unfortunately did not understand why the American colonies should revolt against their English king. The rebellion violated the principles of the Great Peace. Hence, during the American Revolution, they, for the most part, fought with England. It was that conflict which furnished our unhappy memories of them since as true barbarians they were cruel to foes. Under the leadership of the noted Joseph Brant,[5] they devastated the fields and burned the homes of the colonists, slaughtering and scalping many of them, including women and children. In this connection it is well to remember that the Puritans offered scalp premiums, as

[4] This method of preparing corn was that employed by other great agricultural tribes among the Woodland Indians living east of the Mississippi River.—Ed.

[5] W. N. P. Dailey, D. D., "Sir William Johnson, Baronet," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1944), pp. 164-75.

early as 1637. Later, in 1755, General Braddock guaranteed his soldiers five pounds for every enemy scalp. Incidentally, Mr. Brant, a Mohawk, who had been educated in the Indian missionary school at Lebanon, Connecticut, and who translated the Gospel of Mark into the Mohawk language, moved in the highest circles of English nobility and gentry.

The Iroquois were so greatly reduced in number and prestige by defeat, when the colonists won the war against England, that they never again became a force in American affairs. Many of them moved to Canada. To-day an Indian village, named Onondago, on the outskirts of Syracuse, commemorates the great Iroquois confederacy that served as teacher, model, and protector to our colonial ancestors.

SOME FIRSTS IN LINCOLN COUNTY

By Hobert D. Ragland

Special tribute was paid the pioneers of Lincoln County in the sixtieth anniversary of the Old Settlers' Day of Lincoln County held on September 7, 1951. Many of them who have had a part in the making of the county are still living, and were present for this memorable occasion when "Some Firsts in Lincoln County"[1] reviewed the early history and recalled experiences of the first settlers here. Lincoln County is one of the first carved out of Oklahoma's first opening of Indian reservation lands to white settlement, in 1891.[2] The land now included in this county had belonged to or had been claimed by different nations and Indian tribes before its organization as a part of Oklahoma Territory in this same year.

Prior to 1763, both Spain and France laid claim to the country included in the Louisiana Purchase, of which Lincoln County is a part. Coronado, the first white man to cross what is now Oklahoma, gave Spain the first claim to the territory. The French explorer Robert de La Salle who explored the Mississippi river, was one who gave France a claim to the territory. By the Peace of Paris 1763, which followed the French and Indian War, France surrendered all her claim of Louisiana, to Spain.[3] By the treaty of San Ildefonso, 1800, Spain ceded the land to France, and on December 20, 1803, France sold it to the United States.[4]

Though no tribe of Indians inhabited the land of what is now Lincoln County (according to available records) prior to 1800, it was claimed by the Osages. In 1825, they surrendered their claim to

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[1] An address, from which this article was adapted for publication in *The Chronicles*, was prepared by the Rev. Hobert D. Ragland, Pastor of the First Methodist Church of Chandler, Oklahoma. Mr. H. C. Brunt, of Chandler, the general supervisor of the celebration on the Old Settlers' Day of Lincoln County, in September, 1951, has a register of the signatures of old settlers of Lincoln County, since September 21, 1921. An interesting account about Mr. Brunt is given in the *Chandler-News Publicist*, Thursday, September 4, 1941, Section Two, p. 8.

[2] "The first opening of Indian lands was on September 22, 1891, and included the Iowa, the Sac and Fox, and the Potawatomi-Shawnee reservations . . . . Two counties were formed from this area and were designated County A and County B. Also, Logan, Oklahoma, Cleveland and Payne counties were enlarged by strips of land added to each. In the general election in 1892, people in the two new counties voted for county officers and for county names. County A was named "Lincoln County," and County B, "Pottawatomie."—Muriel H. Wright, *Our Oklahoma* (Guthrie, 1919), pp. 258-59.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 54. Most of Oklahoma, including Lincoln County, was a part of the Province of Carolina, that extended "from sea to sea." granted by King Charles of England, in 1663, to the Earl of Clarendon and the Duke of Albemarle and their associates.—*Ibid.*, p. 53.

[4] Victor E. Harlow, *Oklahoma, Its Origins and Development* (Oklahoma City, 1950), p. 62.

all land in what is now Oklahoma from the western border of the Arkansas territory to the One Hundredth Meridian, to the United States.[5] By treaties of 1825, 1826, 1832 and 1833, the United States ceded all of the old Osage lands between the South Canadian river and the Cherokee Outlet (a strip of land extending across the northern part of what is now Oklahoma) to the Creek tribe of Indians.[6] By a treaty of 1866 which followed the Civil War, the Creeks gave up the western half of their land to the United States to be used as homes for other tribes of Indians.[7] By the terms of a treaty dated February 18, 1867, part of the Creek cession (the eastern part of what is now Lincoln county, and other small portions of Payne and Pottawatomie counties) was in due time assigned the Sac and Fox Indians for a reservation.[8] By an executive order of August 15, 1883, a reservation including the northwestern part of what is now Lincoln county was set aside for the Iowa Indians, and a reservation including most of the southwestern part of what is now Lincoln county was set aside for the Kickapoos.[9]

The oldest settlement in what is now Lincoln county was the Sac and Fox Agency, located some five miles south of Stroud, Oklahoma. This settlement consisted of the agency and Mission School established for the Indians under the supervision of the Quakers. The first agent was Thomas Miller, a Quaker, appointed by President Grant. The Agency was established in 1870 soon after settlement of the Sac and Fox Indians on their new reservation.[10] It was abandoned in 1919,[11] and all legal papers and other property were transferred to the Shawnee Indian Agency south of Shawnee.

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[5] Charles J. Kappler, compiler and Editor, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Vol. II, pp. 153-56.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 151-53, 188-91, 247-49, and 285-88, respectively. The Seminoles by treaties of 1832 and 1833 accepted land jointly with the Creeks (*ibid.*, pp. 344-345). Eight years later the Seminole tribe received that portion of the Creek domain between the North and South Canadian rivers (Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* [Norman, 1932], p. 324, f.). Only a small portion of Lincoln county (*i.e.*, about one section of land in the southwestern part of the county) was in the Seminole Nation.

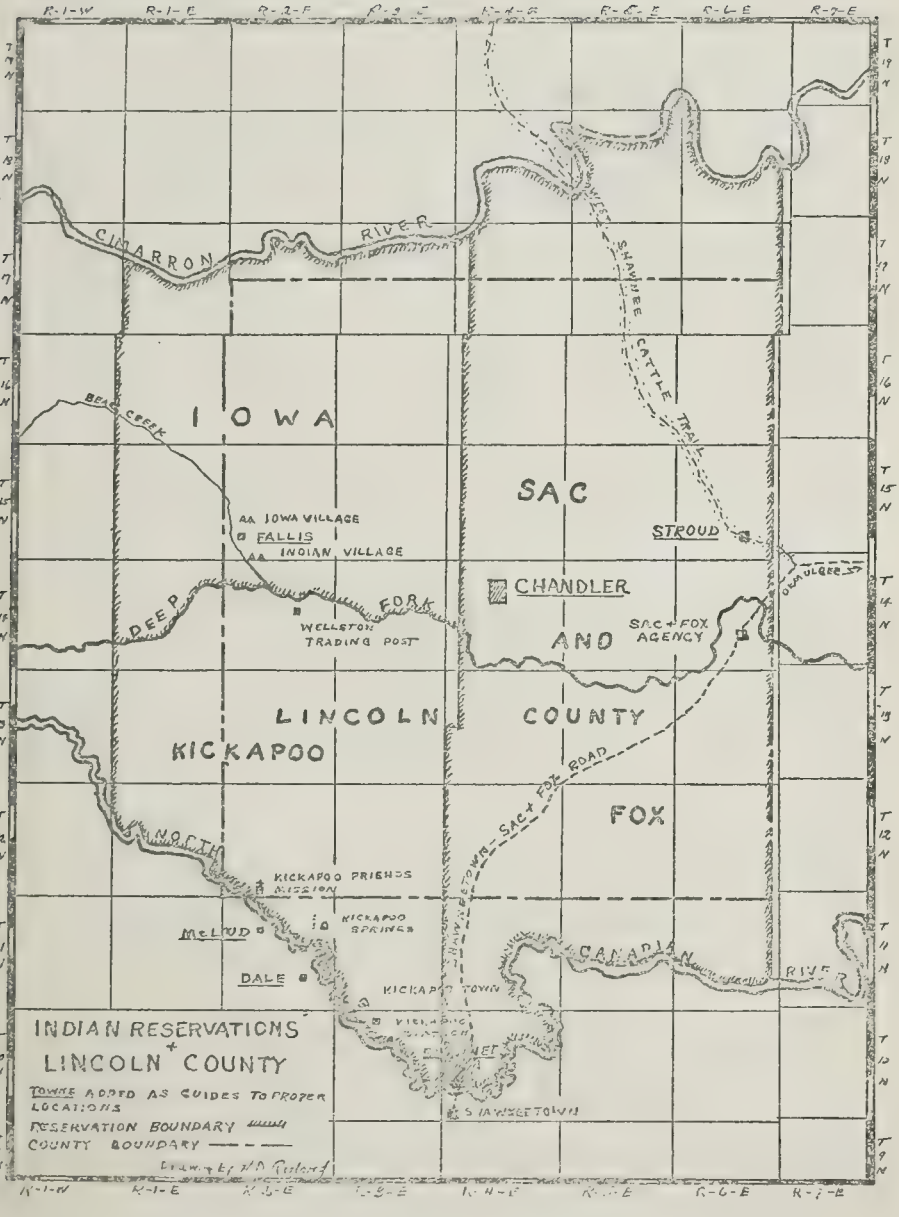
[7] Kappler, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 714-19. The Seminoles surrendered the western part of their nation the same year (*ibid.*, pp. 694-700).

[8] Kappler, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 732-37.

[9] *Ibid.*, I, pp. 843, 844. The Iowas were located on their reservation between the years of 1880 and 1883. The Kickapoos were located on their reservation in 1874 and the years following. The extreme southwestern corner of what is Lincoln county was a part of the reservation assigned the Potawatomi Indians, 1867 (*ibid.*, II, pp. 748-52).

[10] *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1870, p. 269. The Sac and Fox arrived upon their new reservation in December of 1869.

[11] *Sac and Fox-Sub-Agency Files*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. In a letter from the Department of Interior, E. B. Merrit, assistant Commissioner of the Office of Indian Affairs to Ira C. Deavers, superintendent of the Shawnee School, at the Shawnee Agency, dated June 21, 1919, authority was given to close the agency as of July 1, 1919.



Historic Sites on former Indian Reservation Areas in Lincoln County, Oklahoma

Another early Indian settlement was at the Iowa Village, a place which was about one mile northwest of present Fallis, Oklahoma.[12] An Indian village was also located about one and a half miles south of Fallis, and is shown on early maps as the "Indian Village." It was in existence in 1871, when the land in that section was surveyed.[13]

Historical records state that the oldest white settlement was the Wellston Trading Post, established in 1880 by Christian T. Wells. It was located on a spot in the southwestern part of what is now the townsite of Wellston, Oklahoma.[14] The post was sold to D. Turner who ran it until 1889 when the business was sold to S. E. Dewees. After the opening of the Iowa reservation in 1891, the affairs of the post were taken over by the little town of Ingram located about one mile northwest of the present town of Wellston.[15] After the opening of the Kickapoo Reservation in 1895, Mr. Thomas D. Craddock, on April 27, 1898, laid out a townsite south of Deep Fork, which was given the name of Wellston (named for the old trading post).[16]

Prior to 1873, the firm of Rankin and Gibbs established the first store in what is now Lincoln county. The store was at the Sac and Fox Agency, on a spot that is now the center of State Highway No. 99, just four and three quarter miles south of Stroud.[17] Alexander Rankin, one of the firm, was later permitted to trade with the Indians of the Agency at Shawneetown and Kickapoo Springs. Kickapoo springs were about two miles northeast of McLoud, Oklahoma. Hiram Gibbs another member was later connected with the Whistler, Pickett, and Company, a trading firm at the Agency. Another trading firm was the Conklin, Grimm and Company, consisting of Edgar L.

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[12] "Interview with Clyde Stanley Hyde," *Indian Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection, Vol. 85, pp. 439-440. It was at this village that the Cherokee Commission met to make agreement with the Iowas to take allotments. The village was located in sections 19 and 20, Township 15 North, Range 2 East of the Indian Meridian.

[13] *Township Plat Book* (Lincoln County, Chandler, Oklahoma). This volume is in the County Clerk's office. This Indian Village is shown on the plat to be in the southwest corner of Section 32, Township 15 North, Range 2 East of the Indian Meridian.

[14] "Wellston Old Trading Post," *The Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), Sunday, April 23, 1930, Oklahoma City Section, Col. 4, p. 39.

[15] *Farm Directory of Lincoln County*, 1918, p. 78. A few copies of this directory are still in existence. Mr. H. C. Brunt of Chandler, Oklahoma, has a copy.

[16] "Wellston Derived Name From First Post Trader," *Chandler News-Publicist*, for Tuesday, September 4, 1941, Sec. 3, Col. 4, p. 1. See also "Interview with Joseph C. Dewees," *Indian Pioneer History*, Foreman Collection, Vol. 83, pp. 186-188.

[17] *Field Notes, Subdivision Lines*, of Township 14 North, Range 6 East, reading north between sections 21 and 22. A set of these field notes is in the County Surveyor's office of Lincoln county, Chandler, Oklahoma. There is also a set in the Law Library at the State Capital, Oklahoma City. The township plat for this township shows the location of the store. On October 26, 1874, John R. Pickering, agent at the Sac and Fox agency, placed an order amounting to $891.65 with this firm for supplies to be freighted to the Kickapoos who had just arrived from Mexico. See Martha Bunting, "The Mexican Kickapoos," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 1, (March, 1933), pp. 706-07.

Conklin, Philip C. Grimm, Aloys Grimm, Jr., John B. Charles, and Peter Hoffman.[18]

In April 1872, the first school in what is now Lincoln County was established in the unfinished dwelling of the physician at the Sac and Fox Agency. Twelve pupils (girls and boys equally represented) were enrolled. Joel Willis was the teacher and Elizabeth Willis, matron.[19] In 1873 or 1874, a small brick one-room building was built to accommodate the little school.[20] This was enlarged in 1892 by the addition of a two-story frame structure to the south end of the little building.[21] In 1873 of 1874, a three-story brick dormitory was built a few feet west of the school building.[22] Both boys and girls boarded here at first. A frame addition was added in 1875.[23] In 1892, a girl's dormitory, a two-story frame structure, was built east of the school.[24] All these buildings were abandoned in 1919, when the affairs of the Agency were transferred to the Shawnee Agency.

The first religious organization in what is now Lincoln County was maintained by the Quakers at the Sac and Fox agency. Religious services were held at the Mission School. There was also stationed at the agency a Baptist missionary by the name of William Hurr, an Ottawa Indian.[25] He built a little church building at the agency which was still in existence in 1880.[26] This was possibly the first church building to be built in what is now Lincoln county. Other mission churches were later established among the Iowas at the Iowa Village and the Kickapoos.[27] The Friend's mission church

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[18] "Whistler Material, Section X, and Conklin Grimm and Co." *Sac and Fox-Traders*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

[19] "Report of Joel Willis to Agent," *Sac and Fox-Sac and Fox School Files*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

[20] *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1874, p. 28, *Sac and Fox-Buildings-Files*, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. See also Field Notes *op. cit.* The little school was located in the southwest quarter of Section 22, Township 14 North, Range 6 East. Only a portion of the walls of the building are standing today (1951).

[21] *Sac and Fox-Building-Files, ibid.* This building burned a few years ago.

[22] *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1874, p. 231. This building is still standing but in a delapidated condition (1951). A picture of the original building is in the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City.

[23] *Annual Report, ibid.*, 1875, p. 284 f.

[24] *Sac and Fox-Buildings-Files, op. cit.* This building also burned a few years ago.

[25] *The Chandler News*, Friday, December 10, 1897. The reports of this minister were included in the agent's reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at different times.

[26] *Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, ibid.*, 1880, p. 93. I have a picture of this little church. It was built from proceeds of the Baptist Association. The building was a frame structure and stood just north of the agent's building. The parsonage stood just south of the church and was built of logs.

[27] *Annual Report, ibid.*, 1890, pp. 202, 203, 1892, p. 264. The report of agent Samuel L. Patrick to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1892 contains a very interesting report of Miss Elizabeth Test, field matron among the Mexican Kickapoos. She gave a very interesting description of the domestic life of the Kickapoos at that time.

Old Store, First Building Erected at Sac and Fox Agency.

Sac and Fox Agency, School House in 1875.

Wellston Trading Post about 1890. S. E. Dewees and Family.

located in the southwestern part of the county is probably the oldest church building in Lincoln county. The Quakers (Friends) maintained headquarters at the Friend's church located at the Shawnee Agency. This little church building is still standing, and is used by the Pottawatomie County Historical Society.

On October 25, 1875, the first post office was established in what is now Lincoln County. It was located at the Sac and Fox agency and Mrs. Minnie M. Howard was the first postmistress.[28] The post office at Wellston was established on September 25, 1884, with Christian T. Wells as first postmaster.[29] The post office at Chandler (the third established in Lincoln County) was established on September 21, 1891, with William L. Harvey as first postmaster.[30]

The land now included in Lincoln County was first surveyed into townships and sections during the years 1870-75. Township plats were made, and it is from these that we get much information about the early history of this section of the state.[31]

The first trail to cross Lincoln county was the West Shawnee Cattle trail which was a branch of the Shawnee Cattle trail which had its origin in Texas near the Civil War period. The trail started in southern Texas, passed what is now the city of Dallas, entered the Indian Territory south of Durant, and split just north of the city.[32] The western trail entered Lincoln County between Meeker and Prague. It bore a northerly direction past the Sac and Fox Agency, went through what is now Stroud, and bore a northwesterly direction east of Kendrick, and west of Avery.[33] The trail went on north to the railroad town of Junction City, Kansas.[34] Over this trail, thousands of head of cattle were driven before its abandonment in 1870 when the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railway was built across the eastern part of the Indian Territory. Traces of the trail were still visible when the government survey was completed in this section in 1875.

The first road to cross what is now Lincoln County was the Shawneetown-Sac and Fox Road. This road was cut soon after the establishment of the agency to transport supplies to the Shawnee and Potawatomi Indians at Shawneetown. This road entered what

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[28] George H. Shirk, "Early Post Offices in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 243.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 244.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

[31] *Township Plat Book*, Lincoln County. This plat book is in the office of the County Clerk, Chandler, Oklahoma.

[32] Edward E. Dale, *Oklahoma, The Story of a State* (Evanston, 1949), p. 208.

[33] The course of this trail is shown on the Township Plats of Lincoln County, and the map of *Indian Territory* 1876, Department of the Interior, General Land Office. A copy of this latter map is in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City. The writer has also traced the course of the trail across Payne county.

[34] Dale, *op. cit.*, p. 209, map.

is now Lincoln county at a point almost exactly where State Highway Eighteen does at the present. It went in a northeasterly direction, passing about one and one half miles east of Meeker, one and one half miles east of Payson, four miles west of Arlington, and on to the Agency.[35] Another trail went from the Agency to Okmulgee and later to Sapulpa.[36] Other trails connected the Iowa and Kickapoo settlements with the Agency. After the opening of the Unassigned Lands in 1889, roads were cut connecting the agency with Guthrie and Oklahoma City.

The Oklahoma City-Sapulpa branch of the Frisco was the first railroad constructed across Lincoln county. The 103 miles of the road were completed in December, 1898.[37] The first passenger train to enter Chandler was on September 5, 1898.[38] The two Oklahoma City men, who were prime promoters of the line. were the late C. G. Jones and Henry Overholser. Other railroad lines built across parts of the county during the years 1902, 1903, 1904, were the Santa Fe, Rock Island, Missouri, Kansas and Texas, and the Fort Smith and Western.[39]

As has already been mentioned, a number of roads were cut across Lincoln county prior to statehood. None of these can be classed as public supported highways. As far as known, the first road to be classed as such was the "Ozark Trail." This highway crossed the county at approximately the same course as the present U. S. Highway No. 66.[40] At present another super highway, the "Turner Turnpike," is being built across the county. It will cover most of the distance between Oklahoma City and Tulsa. The route is almost the same as that of the old "Ozark Trail" across Lincoln County. It was not the first toll concern for the County. In an early day there was a toll bridge west of Chandler known as the "Babbs Crossing."[41] A fee of twenty-five cents was charged for crossing the bridge.

After the opening of the Sac and Fox, Iowa, and Shawnee and Potawatomi reservations for settlement by white people, the land

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[35] *Township Plat Book*, Lincoln County.

[36] See Field Notes, *op. cit.*, on true line north between sections 13 and 14.

[37] James L. Allhands, "History of Construction of Frisco Lines in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. III, No. 3 (September, 1925), pp. 232, 233.

[38] *The Chandler News*, Friday, September 9, 1898.

[39] See copies of *The Chandler News* for these years. The issue for Thursday, March 12, 1903, reports that the Santa Fe road had been completed to a point about three miles from Sparks, Oklahoma. The issue for Thursday, July 16, 1903, reports that the Choctaw (Rock Island) track layers were about eight miles from Chandler. By August 27, 1903, they had reached Chandler. The issue of the paper for September 10, 1903, reports that the first train on the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas R. R. had reached Tryon from Oklahoma City. The editor of the *Chandler Publicist*, Friday, January 22, 1904, reports that regular mail service had been established on the Fort Smith and Western line.

[40] The route of the "Ozark Trail" is shown on maps of Lincoln County, issued about 1920.

[41] "Interview with Clyde Stanley Hyde," *op. cit.*

was divided into two counties designated as "A" and "B" until the people at the first general election could vote for a name.[42] At the election in county "A", the Populists chose the name of Sac and Fox (named for the principle Indian tribe), the Democrats chose the name Springer (named for William Springer, a member of Congress from Illinois), and the Republicans chose the name of Lincoln (named for Abraham Lincoln). The Republicans won by a majority and the County was named Lincoln.[43]

The Lincoln County officials first had their offices in a business building before the first courthouse, a two-story frame structure, was built on the courthouse square. This frame building was demolished by the tornado of 1897 and another frame building was built in its place, or the old one was rebuilt. This building was torn down to make way for the present building which was built in 1907. The first jail was a stockade affair built on the southwestern corner of the square.[44]

The first county officials of County "A" were appointed by Governor George W. Steele, on October 12, 1891. They were as follows:[45]

Sheriff	Claud F. Parker
Probate Judge	W. M. Allison
County Attorney	P. P. Hillerman
County Clerk	G. A. Colton
County Superintendent	M. D. Losey
County Surveyor	Charles Cunningham
County Commissioners	C. H. DeFord
	Wylie H. Blakemore
	W. N. Warren

At the first general election held in November 1892, the citizens of County "A" elected the following officials to serve as the first elected officers of Lincoln county:[46]

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[42] Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of The State and Its People* (New York, 1939), Vol. 2, p. 555.

[43] *The Chandler News*, Friday, November 11, 1892. The election was held on November 8. The votes cast for the county officials and the name of the County are recorded in the *Record of County Commissioner Proceedings*, Vol. I, pp. 97-120. This volume is in the County Clerk's office, Chandler, Oklahoma.

[44] The corner stone of the present courthouse was laid in 1907. A picture of the old plank structure after the tornado of 1897 is in *The Lincoln County Republican* (Chandler), September 24, 1941, p. 4. I have a picture of the courthouse which was razed to make way for the new structure. I also have a picture of the old stockade jail.

[45] *The Chandler News*, Saturday, October 17, 1891.

[46] *Ibid.*, Friday, November 11, 1892. The letter following the county official's name represents his party. All the first officers were Republicans except two. N. McKimmey, Surveyor, was a Democrat, and C. A. Kelso, Commissioner from the first district was a Populist. A picture of these first elective officials is in *The Chandler News-Publicist*, Thursday, September 4, 1941, section one.

County Treasurer	D. W. Ulam (R)
Sheriff	Claud F. Parker (R)
Probate Judge	W. H. Mason (R)
Register of Deeds	Thomas J. Taylor (R)
County Clerk	J. B. Underwood (R)
County Attorney	J. W. Crawford (R)
County Superintendent	M. D. Losey (R)
Surveyor	N. McKimmey (D)
Coroner	Smith Rhea (R)
Commissioners, 1st District	C. A. Kelso (P)
2nd District	Benoni Rea (R)
3rd District	Jacob Amberg (R)
Name of County	Lincoln (R)

In 1918, Lincoln County had the distinction of having more banks than any other county in the state. There were at that time seven national and fourteen state banks in the county. The pioneer bank of the County was the Union National Bank of Chandler. It had its origin at the Sac and Fox Agency in connection with the trading firm of Hoffman, Charles and Conklin, and was first known as the "Bank of Hoffman, Charles, and Conklin." It was moved to Chandler on September 22, 1892, chartered in 1897, and changed to the Union National Bank, in 1902, with a capital stock of $50,000. Mr. H. C. Brunt, the present President, has been connected with the bank since 1892.

The First National Bank of Chandler was organized in 1894 as the Lincoln County State Bank, by F. E. Hoyt and O. B. Kee. A few years later, Hugh M. Johnson, late of Mississippi, purchased the business and took out a national charter, thus establishing Lincoln County's first national bank.[47]

The first newspaper in Lincoln County was *The Chandler News* which made its appearance in 1891, with Mr. C. E. Hunter as editor. Other newspapers established but later combined with *The Chandler News* were the *Sac and Fox Warrior* (1892) *The Chandler Democrat* (1893), *The Lincoln County Telegram* (1897), and the *Inland Printing Company* (1902). *The Chandler News* combined in 1912 with the *Chandler Publicist* (1895), to make the present *Chandler News-Publicist*. The other paper of Chandler is *The Lincoln County Republican* which was first called the *Chandler Tribune* prior to its purchase by Mr. L. B. Nichols in 1919.[48] Other papers in the county were established at Stroud, Davenport, Tryon, Fallis, Wellston, Meeker, Agra, and Prague.

The first townsite in Lincoln County was Chandler which was opened to settlers by a run on September 28, 1891, six days after the opening of the reservations. It was a government townsite first surveyed as the County Seat of County "A." On November 9, 1891, Judge William Allison, Probate Judge of the county (after having

[47] *Farm Directory, op. cit.*, pp. 18-23. See also *The Chandler News-Publicist*, September 24, 1941, p. 4.

[48] *Chandler News-Publicist*, Thursday, September 4, 1941, section 2, p. 6.

paid four hundred dollars for 320 acres, or the east half of Section 9, Township 14 North, Range 4 East, received a patent for the townsite.[49] He appointed a commission consisting of Thomas L. Bradwood, farmer and stockman of Beaver county, R. R. Carlin, real estate dealer of Guthrie, and A. M. Fowler, farmer in the western part of County "A", to have the townsite surveyed into blocks and lots. This commission employed S. B. Robertson as surveyor, who completed his work soon after December 2, 1891.[50] The townsite was set aside for public use by Judge Allison on February 4, 1892.[51]

Chandler was named for George Chandler, an early day Judge of a Southeastern Kansas Judicial District, who later served as a member of Congress and was appointed as Commissioner of the General Land Office, in Washington D. C.[52]

On May 20, 1892, Chandler was officially organized. Upon that date, the citizens of the town elected the following ticket:[53]

Clerk and Assessor		B. F. Hardcastle
Treasurer		J. C. Fletcher
Marshal		A. D. Reynolds
Justice of the Peace		W. H. Mason
City Health Officer		Dr. Harriman
Trustees	1st District	G. W. Schlegel
	2nd District	J. C. Monforte
	3rd District	A. D. Wright
	4th District	W. T. Belford
	5th District	J. A. Mitchell

Chandler became a city of the first class on April 8, 1901. J. F. Collar was the first mayor.[54]

The Wright Drug Store was the first store in Chandler. It was first housed in a tent at a camp south of the Chandler townsite where the people had gathered waiting for the opening of the town, following the survey which had not been completed. Immediately after (or during) the opening, the store and tent were moved to the present location, near the northwestern corner of Block Sixty-Three, facing Manvel Avenue.[55]

On October 4, 1891, the first Sunday after the opening of the townsite of Chandler, the Reverend A. E. Thompson, a Presbyterian minister, preached the first sermon in Chandler. This was in the De

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[49] *Miscellaneous Deeds*, Book I, p. 6, County Clerk's Office, Chandler, Oklahoma.

[50] *The Chandler News*, Saturday, November 28, 1891. See also the Plat Book of towns and cities of Lincoln County. This was the second survey of the town. A former survey had been made by the United States Surveyors to enable people to secure lots to file on. The first survey was completed on September 28, 1891.

[51] *Miscellaneous Deeds, op. cit.*, p. 6.

[52] *Farm Directory, op. cit.*, pp. 18-23.

[53] *The Chandler News*, May 20, 1892. See also *Farm Directory, op. cit.*

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Chandler News-Publicist*, Thursday, September 21, 1939.

Ford tent which was spread on the courthouse square.[56] On the same day, the Reverend W. W. Buchanan, a Congregational minister organized a church, the first in Chandler.[57] The first building for church purposes was erected by the same Congregational Church on the northeastern corner of Block Sixty-One, or where the City Hall is now located.[58] Other early churches organized in Chandler were the Methodist, December 1891;[59] the Episcopal, July 4, 1892;[60] the Presbyterian, August 3, 1892;[61] the Baptist in 1894;[62] and the Christian church. The Catholic church was established soon after the County was organized. Other churches established in Chandler were the Church of the Nazarene, the Church of God, the Assembly of God, the Church of Christ, and the Friends Church.

The early settlers of Lincoln County have been meeting for a number of years upon special occasions. Members of the National Guard met very early. However, it was on September 21, 1921, that the first Old Settlers Day was launched. Since that time a register has been kept of the signatures of the old settlers who attended. Mr. A. D. Wright, the first to sign the register, had come to Chandler before it was opened to settlement. He had, however, gone to Guthrie to get some drug supplies for his tent store when the townsite was opened. His drug store was the first established in Chandler.[63]

There are many other "firsts" of Lincoln County which we do not have space to give. From the story recounted here, we can see the hand of progress in the county. May she continue to have many more "firsts" in the years to come. May we of the younger generation continue to carry on the work of making splendid history which the early settlers have begun.

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[56] La Vanche Bruce, *History of the First Presbyterian Church* (Chandler, Oklahoma). This is a paper written by Miss Bruce and is on file in the Presbyterian church of Chandler.

[57] *The Chandler News,* October 24, 1891.

[58] *Ibid.,* Friday, February 6, 1892. Mr. H. C. Brunt and other early settlers of Chandler attended church in the building.

[59] Rev. E. S. Stockwell, *The M. E. Church* (Chandler, Oklahoma). This history is both recorded in Book I of the Church Register on file in First Methodist Church, Chandler, Oklahoma, and in the files of the Board of Trustees of the church.

[60] "Episcopal Church was Organized by few Communicants," *Chandler News-Publicist,* Thursday, September 4, 1941.

[61] La Vanche Bruce, *op. cit.*

[62] "'Baptists make up Large Group," *Chandler News-Publicist,* Thursday, September 4, 1941. The history of some of the other churches of Chandler are in this same issue of the paper.

[63] A. D. Wright, *High Points In The Life of A. D. Wright, Chandler, Oklahoma, Son of William Halsted and Eliza Wright, Beekman, Dutches County, New York.* This is an autobiography of Mr. Wright and contains much reliable data on the beginnings of Guthrie and Chandler. Mr. Wright made the run in 1889 and secured a lot in Guthrie.

TEXAS FEVER IN OKLAHOMA

By J. Stanley Clark

Oklahoma ranks ninth among states in the sale of cattle, an industry that has made and broken almost as many fortunes in the state as oil. This region, with areas where cattle fatten on water and grass from limestone subsoil, attracted ranchmen from the time of its earliest settlement. Herds owned by members of the Five Civilized Tribes multiplied, and by 1860, cattle raising was the principal industry in the Indian country. But Spanish Fever, more commonly known as Texas Fever, proved a persistent foe that destroyed herds and fortunes of Indians and inter-married citizens, intruders and interlopers, and, long after statehood in Oklahoma, continued its ravages and sporadic outbreaks as the greatest menace to the cattle industry.

Outbreaks of Texas Fever occurred in Kansas during the years preceding the Civil War, and Proslavery and Free-State members of the territorial legislature united in passing restrictive legislation on the importation of southern cattle. The first state legislature, 1861, prohibited such cattle from entering the state. Losses among native stock were equally as severe in Missouri and Arkansas. Vernon County, Missouri estimated the loss there amounted to $200,000 in 1858.

Settlers in the border states formed vigilante committees to turn back southern cattle brought north. They knew that along the routes of travel occurred the greatest amount of infection from Texas Fever and beliefs current then, before the germ theory of diseases, persist now. It was believed that cattle could simply pass leisurely over a road or prairie, "feeding as they move along and without remaining for any length of time on any portion of ground they traverse, leave behind them sufficient poison to destroy all cattle which continue to feed on it."

Sore feet where matter formed and was left on the ground, the odor left by grazing cattle, breath blown against weeds and grass, slobber or froth drooling from their mouths were the commonly attributed agencies of contagion. The most learned investigator announced, however, that "It is not the breath, nor the saliva, nor cutaneous emanations which are charged with the poisonous principle but the feces and urine," and in his scientific report he wrote that "the tick theory has acquired quite a renown during the past summer; but a little thought should have satisfied anyone of the absurdity of the idea."[1] Gamgee believed that southern cattle become affected

[1] Report of Prof. John Gamgee on the Splenic or Periodic Fever of Cattle, page 88, 118-123 in *Report of Commissioner of Agriculture* on the Diseases of Cattle in the *United States*—House Executive Document, Serial 1430 (Washington, 1871).

from the nature of the soil and vegetation on which they fed, and from the water drunk, and retained the poison for three or more months.

A few of the practical cattlemen who utilized southern ranges for breeding purposes and northern ranges for fattening beef cattle, who were engaged in the annual movement of cattle in increasing numbers shortly after the Civil War, believed that the cattletick by some means unknown was the carrier of Texas Fever. Experiments conducted by the Bureau of Animal Industry in 1889 showed conclusively that the disease could be produced by ticks hatched artificially in the laboratory without the presence of Southern cattle.[2] How to destroy the tick became the cattlemen's major problem.

A national quarantine law was placed in the statute books, and rigid regulations passed for the holding of southern cattle in quarantine, confining them to designated trails, and not permitting them to mix with native cattle. Shipment by railroad came under proper inspection. Rigorous sanitary rules were prescribed for stockpens and cattle cars. Some cattlemen thought feeding sulphur to cattle would cause ticks to drop off. Others advocated applying with a large brush a mixture of 75 parts cotton seed oil and 25 parts kerosene at intervals of two weeks. Some used a spray having an oil base. A more satisfactory preventative was found to be pasture rotation. Owners of small herds found it profitable to pick off the ticks by hand. It was not, however, the old bloodstuffed tick but its child, the baby tick, often overlooked, that was the carrier.

Experiments were finally conducted with dipping vats. R. J. Kleberg in 1888 constructed the first vat in the South, in Nueces County, Texas. He used a two per cent solution of chloro-naphthalene Vats for local use were first installed in Oklahoma on the Pomeray ranch near Pawnee in Oklahoma Territory, and at Wewoka in the Seminole Nation. At Noble, near the southern border of Oklahoma Territory, a vat was placed in operation on October 22, 1898 for the dipping of cattle entering the Territory from Texas. Cattle were driven into the vat containing five feet of oil and water. The oil covering the top 42 inches was considered sufficient to kill the ticks. This vat, built by the Oklahoma College Experiment Station at a cost of $210, was used in the dipping of thousands of head of cattle. With strict quarantine laws on the statute books of the Oklahoma Territory and the Indian nations and with financial aid from the Federal government, plans were formulated for the dipping of all livestock in the quarantined areas.

From the first dipping inspectors met local opposition. County officials refused to prosecute violators and public opinion was slow

[2] "6th and 7th Annual Reports of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the years 1889 and 1890", page 80. (Washington, 1891) and "8th and 9th Annual Reports of The Bureau of Animal Industry, 1891-1892, pp. 236-251 (Washington, 1893).

in seeing the urgency of tick eradication. This attitude was expressed by one of the inspectors:[3]

"If a man steals a fifteen dollar pony the whole community will follow him to Arkansas and then want to hang him when he is caught; but a man will drive a bunch of ticky cattle across a quarantine line and spread the fever through a whole township and destroy several thousand dollars worth of cattle, yet no one will give information to an inspector or other officer of the law because they do not want to interfere with anybody's business or incur the ill-will of a neighbor."

Although some control over the spread of Texas Fever was effected in Oklahoma Territory and the Indian nations passed laws against trespassing, Indian agents held and advised the Indians that their tribal laws could not be enforced against citizens of the United States. The Secretary of the Interior, E. A. Hitchcock, likewise held that the Oklahoma City Live Stock Sanitary Commission had no authority whatever in the Osage nation and that quarantine lines there were void. He held that such a line would interfere with leasing the Indian land to cattlemen.[4] Local vats were established in Indian Territory, however, and cattle dipped in oil. It was estimated ten barrels of crude oil could be used in dipping 100 cattle.

The Oklahoma Live Stock Sanitary Commission met at Guthrie, and issued a warning to those parties who were guilty of violating the quarantine laws. The Oklahoma Territorial Supreme Court sustained the conviction of H. P. Croffe who drove infected cattle from Oklahoma County across the quarantine line into Canadian County "in the dead hour of the night, and he selected this time evidently because he felt he would not be detected."[5]

Arsenical dip replaced crude oil in the vats by 1910, and it was recommended that cattle be dipped every fourteen days until ticks were completely destroyed. During 1909-1910 inspectors supervised the dipping of over 483,000 cattle shipped from Texas to points in Oklahoma. In 1917 over 700 vats were in operation and 2,859,151 cattle were dipped and inspected, through 25,513 square miles or 53 per cent, of the infected area had been released from quarantine since 1906.[6]

The Oklahoma statute relating to dipping was repeatedly attacked in the courts, and despite charges that spraying or dipping cattle would seriously affect livestock and cause cows to give less milk, the act was upheld. Sheriffs had the authority to dip cattle and

[3] Thomas Morris, "Quarantine Conditions in Oklahoma", 136-140, in *2nd Biennial Report of The Oklahoma Territory Board of Agriculture*, 1905-1906 (Guthrie, 1906).

[4] *Guthrie Daily Leader*, September 5, 1905.

[5] *H. P. Croffe v. C. M. Cresse*, 7 *Okla.*, 408; Stillwater *Advance*, December 26, 1901.

[6] *2nd Biennial Report* of *Oklahoma State Board* of *Agriculture for years* 1909 *and* 1910(Guthrie, 1910); and *Annual Report of Oklahoma State Board of Agriculture* for 1915; 1917.

assess costs to the owners; railroads were expected to exercise ordinary care in dipping cattle in transit, such as allowing cattle to drink water before dipping; the Corporation Commission had power to regulate dipping charges made by railroads. In the most rigorous testing of the constitutionality of the law, the District Court at Ada, Pontotoc County, refused an application for an injunction to restrain the Pontotoc County Commissioners from co-operating with the dipping program. The decision of the Supreme Court sustained the lower court, admitting that "a few cattle out of thousands dipped in Pontotoc County died—but we do not understand nor has it been contended that the dipping of cattle will prevent death. You might as well contend that a railway company should be enjoined from the shipping and transportation of livestock because occasionally one is killed or dies in transit."[7]

Underlying feelings of resentment against the "dipping law" soon flared into secretive but violent means of opposition. Outbreaks occurred in most of the counties in Eastern Oklahoma and in all the southeastern counties through a ten year period beginning in 1915.

Here, the Socialist Party, which had shown its greatest strength in the gubernatorial election of 1914, was strongest. Its proposals of social and economic reform were considered menaces of anarchy by the more conservative-minded majority. Here "The Working Class Union" became prominently identified with suspicious reform, with its advocates seeking lower interest rates, which resulted in members being declared menaces to good government. Here, too, was localized the "Green Corn Rebellion" in 1917, the opposition of a few miserable draft-dodgers to the Selective Service Act, magnified and made infamous by newspaper publicity; while in several counties active Anti-Dipping Associations were formed by sincere-minded citizens.

The Anti-Dippers attracted all who opposed the dipping campaign. Where active county organizations were set up, the Association would go on record against dipping while members used their influence in persuading County Excise Boards to withhold appropriations necessary for the purchase of the dipping fluid and the construction of vats. Most frequent grounds of complaint were: Regulations requiring dipping at intervals of fourteen days were too burdensome; too much time was required in driving stock to and from the vats; discrimination by State or Federal inspectors that allowed some herds to miss dipping periods while other owners were held strictly accountable to the fourteen-day rule; ignorant inspectors permitted cattle to be injured by improper dip mixtures; the absurdity of cleaning up one county at a time which often resulted in

[7] *Correl* et al v. *Kroth* et al, 62 *Okla.* 137-138; *Midland Valley* v. *State*, 35 *Okla.* 672; *Missouri, Kansas* and *Texas Railroad Co.* v. *Williamson*, 75 *Okla.* 36; *Beaman* v. *Board of County Commissioners*, 25 *Okla.* 673; *Lewis* v. *Stine*, 127 *Pacific* 396.

one herd separated from another only by a barbed wire fence going dip-free, or, in Southeastern Oklahoma, a region of range law, dipped and undipped cattle were allowed to intermingle unhampered by imaginary county lines.[8] One old fellow in Okfuskee County, owner of a few head of cattle, who opposed dipping said:[9]

"I'm 72 years old and have seen a lot of ticks. It ain't the tick, the thing that is causing fever is our grass. If we burn off the grass we will get rid of it. You take a cow-brute with the fever and turn him in with well cow-brutes and the well cow-brutes will take the fever, ticks or no ticks. This here dipping kills our cattle. You take that stuff in that vat. Sometimes its too strong and the cow-brutes get it into their system and die. They jump on each other and get some hurt. We have to drive them here and back home and they get too hot, and our milk cows dry up when they are dipped."

Strongest opposition came from farmers who owned only one cow or, at most, very small herds. Cattlemen with larger herds raised to ship to marketing centers co-operated because of the higher market value of tick-free cattle. Regulations required that livestock shipped from quarantined regions be dipped before shipping, again at the yards, and if not dipped at home, twice in the receiving pens, whereas, cattle from tick-free regions were placed in separate pens and sold at once. The Bureau of Animal Industry estimated that a 1000 lb. animal heavily infested with ticks would lose as much as 200 pounds of blood a year and experiment showed that a tick-infested steer which weighed only 730 pounds gained 285 pounds in two months when freed of ticks after being dipped in an arsenical solution.[10]

The small farmer was unimpressed by statistics that showed Oklahoma farmers "in the quarantine area fatten cattle ticks at an annual cost of $50,000,000., and there is no market for ticks." He cared less for the information that cattle ticks reduced the milk yield 1½ to 3 quarts per day or that the average price for a tick-bitten hide was 50¢ to $1.25 less than for a tick-free one. The one-cow man was not interested in a market and his indifference toward dipping turned to resentment particularly when neglect of his crop, or some act of God pointed toward a crop failure that would assure loss of his mortgage-ridden cow. Dipping appeared to him only as an unnecessary gratuity performed for his mortgagee.

Opponents to dipping finally resorted to violence. Operating at night singly or in small numbers, charges of dynamite were set off, completely destroying vats. Six vats were thus destroyed in McIntosh County during the summer months of 1915. One of the dynamiters, Will Ogden of Texanna was later tried in the county court, declared guilty of blowing up the vat on the Dorsey farm and sentenced to six months in jail and fined $250. A year later

[8] *Indian Journal* (Eufaula), August 27, 1915; *Ada Weekly News*, July 22, October 28, 1915; *Latimer County News Democrat* (Wilburton), May 30, 1919.

[9] *Farmer-Stockman* (Oklahoma City), June 25, 1916.

[10] *Daily Oklahoman*, September 17, 1916.

Tom Pratt declared to the Muskogee county attorney that his crime had weighed on his mind to such an extent that he could not sleep, and confessed that he set off dynamite that destroyed the McLain vat in that county the previous year.[11]

Although a short educational campaign was made in Pontotoc County, including placards nailed to posts advising stockmen of the necessity of dipping cattle, opposition became violent in 1915. Twenty vats were under process of construction, and eight were placed in use early in September. Soon thereafter when the vat at Abbot's store was destroyed with dynamite, Sheriff Bob Duncan offered a reward of $50. for information which would lead to the arrest of the guilty parties, and a like sum for evidence to convict anyone who later on might damage a vat. This did not deter lawless opponents, however. A month later the vat near Bebee was destroyed; the one at Maxwell was partially destroyed, and in November the vat at Abbot's store, recently repaired, was again blown up.[12]

Public opinion in Pontotoc County generally favored the enforcement of the dipping law but opponents won a strong advocate when J. W. Correl, well-to-do farmer, applied for a writ of injunction from District Judge Tom D. McKeowen to restrain the county commissioners and the State and Federal inspectors from enforcing the dipping law. Correll believed that injury had been caused to scores of heads of cattle from improper dipping solutions. He also charged that the act of the state legislature that permitted county commissioners to appropriate money for dipping vats and solution was illegal. The hearing attracted county wide attention and the courtroom was filled with farmers and ranchers to hear Judge McKeowen rule that his court could not take jurisdiction. Correll was arrested immediately afterwards for refusing to dip his cattle and, although he could have made bond, he refused to do so and was committed to jail. Officers then dipped his cattle and sold one of his steers, as provided by state law, to pay the expense of driving the herd to and from the vat, at $1.00 per head.[13]

Law-abiding citizens of the county were aroused by the amount of opposition to the dipping campaign and there was much loose talk in ascribing opposition to the Socialists, the Working Class Union, and Anarchists. Concern was heightened on December 13 when I. R. Gilmore, county commissioner, lost his barn, three mules, 1,000 bushels of corn, 800 bales of hay, 1,000 bushels of oats, 4 tons of cottonseed, a wagon, a buggy, harness and other farm property by a fire of unknown origin. But it seemed more than coincidence that on the same night Commissioner V. S. Malone's barn burned, and an attempt was made to burn the home of Harry Krath, the third com-

[11] *Indian Journal* (Eufaula), August 27, September 24, 1915; February 4, 1916; Muskogee *Times-Democrat*, October 23, 1916.

[12] *Ada Weekly News*, July 22, September 23, October 28, November 11, 1915.

[13] *Ibid.*, October 28, 1915; Correll *et al* v. Kroth *et al*, 62 Okla., 137-138.

missioner. Governor Robert L. Williams offered a $200. reward for the arrest of any of the arsonists but none was apprehended.[14]

With the county commissioners assailed both by word and in print, with two of them losing barns by fires of incendiary origin, with the *Ada Weekly News* threatened with dynamite, the sheriff and county attorney warned against dipping violation prosecutions, and the court clerk and editor of the *Star-Democrat* advised to keep quiet about dipping irregularities, tension increased. But when a would-be assassin fired a load of buckshot at County Attorney Bullock, barely missing his aim, many of the more intelligent opponents of the dipping law renounced their opposition.[15]

A more intensive educational campaign produced better results when the new dipping season began in April. No more vats were destroyed and at the end of the 1917 dipping season, Pontotoc County was placed above the quarantine line.

Trouble, meantime, centered in the Cherokee Hills embracing Adair, Cherokee, and Sequoyah counties. Early in April, 1916 stockraisers met at Riders school-house in Cherokee County and protested against the laxity in the administration of the dipping laws; some observed the law, others ignored it. Dipping inspectors were not always in attendance at vats to help the stockmen. Vats were improperly filled with weakened solutions. J. J. Johnson of Moody stated that he placed a captured tick in the solution where it remained four hours then fished it out and placed it on a board where it shook off the solution and walked away!

After six vats were destroyed in Cherokee County and two in Adair County, the county commissioners decided to abandon eradication. On May 20, Frank M. Gault, President of the State Board of Agriculture, came to Tahlequah, seat of Cherokee County, and addressed one of the largest crowds ever gathered on the courthouse lawn.

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[14] *Star-Democrat* (Ada), December 14, December 17, 1915. The following week Arden L. Bullock, County Attorney, and Bob Duncan, Sheriff, received anonymous warnings, which both officials ignored. Copies of the letters appeared in the *Star-Democrat*, December 24, 1915:

"Mr. Bullock, Co-Aty.
if u dont go dam slow tryin
to catch the ones that blue up the vats
& burnt barns ul get what malone & gilmore
got & worse. Ur to dam smart.
Commite"

"Sherif duncan
u better let up on dippin cases or get out of offis. we aim to run
things to suit us and ul get whats coming to u if u interfer".

[15] Bullock, an early riser, had gone into his kitchen and struck a match when, hearing a slight noise at the kitchen window, he blew out the match and stepped back just before a shot-gun was fired about three feet from the window-sill, scattering shot through the space where he stood five seconds before. Bloodhounds were rushed to Ada from Holdenville yet the would be assailant escaped by horse-back. *Ada Weekly News*, January 6, 1916; *Star-Democrat* (Ada), January 7, 1916.

But the Anti-Dippers were in the majority and refused to follow the suggestions of Gault who reasoned and pleaded with them and finally threatened to use the state militia.[16] Governor Williams did not call out the State Militia but Gault warned all railroad companies not to accept any cattle for shipment from these counties unless the owner had a permit from a Federal, State, or County inspector that showed the last dipping date of the cattle and that they had been dipped regularly.

The Anti-Dippers were not intimidated. That night the Horn vat near Stilwell, seat of Adair County, was destroyed and on Monday night, May 22, the West vat, two miles west of Stilwell, the Lyons vat, eight miles south, the Fletcher vat, four miles south, and the Greasy Creek vat, twelve miles south of Stilwell, were completely destroyed. On the night of May 21, the vat at Gideon in Cherokee County was destroyed. In the early morning hours of June 3, a vat near Cookson community, another at the home of Levi Cookson, a third at Duke's Chapel, and a fourth at the home of Tuxie Ballard were completely destroyed.[17]

Little was accomplished during the summer months. Legislators from the counties persuaded Gault to appoint Pete Bagby, part Cherokee Indian, as inspector in charge before the dipping season opened in 1917. Bagby understood the people of the region. He corrected abuses that had previously existed and had no trouble enforcing the dipping law. In November, the southern half of Adair County was released from quarantine, and by October of the next year, only isolated regions in Cherokee and Adair Counties remained under quarantine.[18]

Sequoyah County, however, long remained the trouble spot over tick eradication in Oklahoma. Vats, built in 1915, were little used that year or the next, and in 1916 the county commissioners failed to appropriate money to pay inspectors the next year. The sheriff's force could not enforce the dipping law; vats were dynamited, suspects arrested and acquitted. Deputy-sheriff P. M. Avant was shot by Tom Martin when attempting to arrest him for refusing to dip his cattle. Public opinion opposed dipping. Although the state council of defense and the county councils early in 1918 issued pleas that the dipping of livestock was not only patriotic but a conservation measure toward winning the war, the attitude of Anti-Dippers in Sequoyah County remained unchanged. Vats were destroyed, bloodhounds from Ft. Smith were used in tracking suspects, arrests were

[16] *Cherokee Democrat* (Tahlequah), April 19, May 3, May 17, 1916; *Tahlequah Arrow*, April 29, May 20, May 27, 1916; *Sequoyah County Democrat* (Sallisaw), May 5, 1916.

[17] *Tahlequah Arrow*, May 27, June 3, June 10, 1916; *Westville Record*, May 19, 1916; *Standard Sentinel* (Stilwell), May 18, May 25, 1916.

[18] Statement of D. B. Collums, September 9, 1941. Collums represented Adair County in the Sixth Legislature session of the Oklahoma House of Representatives, 1917-1919. Also *Standard Sentinel* (Stilwell), November 8, 1917; October 17, 1918.

made, but no convictions obtained.[19] An intensive educational campaign was followed the next year. Vats were referred to as "canals to prosperity"; farmers were instructed of greater milk yields from cows freed from ticks; stockmen generally were urged to dip their cattle so that their animals would convert their food into flesh and milk and not into blood-sucking ticks. Again they were urged to place the county above the quarantine line so their cattle could be sold anywhere in the United States on equal terms with other cattle.

The Sequoyah County Livestock Association pledged itself to help clean up the county and offered a $500 reward for the arrest and conviction of anyone who destroyed vats in the county. But dynamitings continued and the Anti-Dippers gained adherents in August when physicians attributed the death of Calvin Taylor, Cameron, to poison from dip solution that burned him on the leg. The county excise board passed by one vote the resolution making a one mill levy to raise $9,000 to aid in tick eradication while the Board of County Commissioners passed a resolution on August 18, asking the United States Department of Agriculture to recall Dr. R. T. Fisher, the federal inspector in charge of tick eradication.[20]

Trouble broke out again when dipping operations were renewed in April, 1920, but was localized in three townships in the northeastern part of the county. D. W. Shamblin, of Long, was sentenced to pay a $100 fine and serve 30 days in jail for abusing Inspector Joe Sheehan. Two weeks later the Sadie vat was destroyed; the next week-end the Harrison vat was dynamited. Six other vats were destroyed in rapid order. John A. Whitehurst, President of the State Board of Agriculture, ordered a strict quarantine of the district, and urged Governor J. B. A. Robertson to declare martial law over the area and provide sufficient soldiers to place two on guard at each vat by night, and one by day.[21]

Governor Robertson began an investigation and promised to send troops if he found they were necessary. This prompted Bob Kidd, outspoken editor of the *Poteau News* to comment: "Sequoyah County will be put under martial law to protect the dipping vats. It would be much cheaper for that county to gather the criminals up and give them a good dipping in ammonia and gasoline. It's usually the fellow who isn't acquainted with baths who blows up vats—he's a public nuisance and the quickest way to suppress him is the cheapest to the taxpayers."[22] But the threat of martial law was sufficient. County officials and members of the livestock association co-operated in the

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[19] *Sequoyah County Democrat* (Sallisaw), September 7, 14, October 19, December 14, 1917; May 3, 1918; Latimer *County News-Democrat* (Wilburton), August 2, 1918.

[20] *Vian Press*, March 21, May 30, July 11, August 8, 1919; *Sequoyah County Democrat* (Sallisaw), June 20, July 11, August 8, August 22, 1919.

[21] *Sequoyah County Democrat* (Sallisaw), April 30, May 14, May 28, 1920.

[22] *Poteau News*, May 27, 1920; Vian *Press*, June 4, 1920.

drive for tick eradication. The county was released from quarantine in November and, with the exception of a temporary lapse in December, 1921, remained above the quarantine line.[23]

Backed by the Oklahoma Council of Defense, there were more than 5,000,000 cattle dippings in Oklahoma during 1918; in September, over 400,000 cattle were dipped in the quarantine area.

On December 1, an additional 9,200 square miles were released from quarantine, leaving only the counties in Southeastern Oklahoma subject to the dipping law. With the exception of the difficulties experienced in Sequoyah County, the Latimer County Anti-Dipping Association brought out the strongest opposition to the campaign. Members objected to bureaucratic treatment, to alien inspectors and to methods of law enforcement. They justifiably protested that their cattle mingled on the open range with cattle of Pushmataha County to the south, still under quarantine, but where no attempt was being made toward tick eradication. Much Latimer County land was owned by non-taxable Indians, and the fear was expressed that the county-wide levy for defraying the costs of eradication would fall unjustly upon property owners who owned no livestock.

Despite these protests fifty-one vats were built and dippings began in April. Within the first week, the Goat Hill vat was blown up and two weeks later the M'Geowen vat was destroyed! The Anti Dippers convened May 4, and passed resolutions against dipping but they also voted to pay a reward of $100 for the arrest and conviction of anyone who damaged or destroyed a vat. Sheriff John Shaw and his deputies, meantime, were kept busy driving cattle owned by the Anti-Dippers to the vats. Much excitement was manifested when District Judge E. F. Lester issued a temporary injunction May 12, that released to S. A. Clawson his cattle which had been dipped by Shaw and impounded as a guarantee for the cost of driving the herd to and from the vat. On May 26, this case was heard by Judge Lester in a crowded court room at Wilburton. He found that the rules and regulations of the State Board of Agriculture in regard to the quarantine line were not definite enough but decreed when the boundary line was more clearly established stockowners would be compelled to dip their cattle.[24]

The Anti-Dipping Association met at Lutie on June 1. In attendance were John A. Whitehurst, President of the Board of Agriculture, Jim Roach, member of the Board, E. L. Edmundson, Livestock Inspector of Oklahoma, and other advocates of dipping. Whitehurst explained that the Board of Agriculture had accepted Judge Lester's decision and that the quarantine lines had now been re-established and all would be required to dip their livestock. A

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[23] *Sequoyah County Democrat* (Sallisaw), November 19, 1920; November 25, 1921.

[24] *Latimer County News Democrat* (Wilburton), May 9, 16, 23, 30, 1919.

period of discussion followed, and as the result of complaints made, Whitehurst later made concessions to the Anti-Dippers. W. S. Dickerson, inspector, was replaced by Pete Bagby. Will Brown of Wilburton and Jack Cutler of Red Oak were added to the enforcement personnel as "range riders and trouble men." They were to investigate all trouble and differences arising between vat inspectors and cattle owners, to test dipping fluids, and investigate alleged injuries from dipping. They also assisted stockmen who needed help in locating and driving their cattle to the vats.

Some of the Anti-Dippers, however, renewed their opposition. On Saturday night, June 28, the M'Geowen, M'Gee, King, and Younish vats in Buffalo Valley were dynamited, making a total of nine destroyed since dipping began in April. Bob and Rich Johnson and Ed Henning of the Peachland Community refused to dip their cattle. When deputy sheriffs drove their herds toward a vat on July 2, the Johnson Brothers and Henning, armed with rifles, suddenly appeared from a woodland, disarmed the officers, then took possession of their cattle. In the fracas Deputy Sheriff Simon Atoka was struck by a rifle and suffered a broken arm. Sheriff John Shaw and deputies returned to Peachland and arrested the malefactors, July 4. They were taken to the Pittsburg County jail, McAlester, for safe-keeping because of a rumor that Anti-Dippers had threatened to release by force any members placed in the Wilburton jail. About twenty other dip-resisters were brought to Wilburton but released upon their promises to co-operate in the tick eradication campaign.[25]

Discouraged by local opposition, Bagby, livestock inspector, resigned and O. E. Barber of Rogers County was appointed to the vacancy. The Board of Agriculture, meantime, began rebuilding the destroyed vats and renewed pleas for co-operation. But on Wednesday night, July 23, the vats at Stringtown, Panola, and Goat Hill were dynamited. Bloodhounds from the state pentientary, McAlester, led officers to the men who destroyed the Stringtown and Goat Hill vats.

Edmundson warned that no more vats would be replaced at state expense, and Sheriff Shaw announced through the county paper that all cattle were going to be dipped, regardless of the number of vats dynamited. He pointed out that the destruction of the vats worked a hardship upon stockmen who were then forced to drive their cattle and horses to other vats.

But public opinion remained apathetic. When the Latimer County jury adjourned in August without returning a bill against any of the dynamiters, Carlton Weaver, Editor of the *Latimer County News-Democrat* brought forth a scathing front page editorial headed

[25] *Ibid.*, July 4, 11, 1919.

"Shall Latimer County Be Surrendered to Outlaws." He noted that:[26]

"Within a few months nearly twenty vats have been blown up—yes, while the Grand July was in session, a vat was destroyed in Latimer County while the sun was shining. The outlaws have become so bold that they do not even now choose darkness to perform their deeds of anarchy. There is a reason for this. These outlaws know that they have the sympathy of a large number of so-called law-abiding citizens, and that others, who deplore their conduct, are too cowardly to declare war on them. . . . . The government is not going to rid the entire United States of the fever tick and permit a few outlaws and weak-kneed fellows to make permanent a ticky piece of earth to deface and disgrace the Republic."

Dipping proceeded, nevertheless, and on October 1, the northern part of the county was released from quarantine. The campaign was renewed in April, 1920, to clean up the remaining section and again opposition was encountered and vats destroyed. Through the dipping season of 1919 and by mid-summer 1920, twenty-five vats were destroyed. The county paper carried repeated notices of sales of livestock by the sheriff to pay for enforced dippings.

The Anti-Dipping Association announced early in February, 1920, that it was going to enter politics and try to gain control of the county government. At its annual meeting held at Lutie May 9, however, the Association failed to nominate candidates for county offices. Opposition centered against the sheriff and county attorney, the officers who had been most active in enforcing the dipping law. Both incumbents sought renomination in the Democratic primary, which would have assured their re-election. Both were defeated.[27]

Most of the Latimer County citizens, though, concurred in the published letter of Jefferson Hatubbee:[28]

"A Choctaw on Dipping"

"Damn, me got one cow, have to dip every fourteen days to kill two ticks. Inspector says good for cow but hell on tick. Cow, she is ducked, damn good thing, she swim to get out live. Tick cause heap trouble. Inspector say, soon kill all of 'em so cow get fat on grass and so hide it bring more money. White man at Peachland say to me, join Anti-Dip club. I say to him what hell use, dip before, dip now, dip next time, Anti-Dip club no help last time, what hell use, cow she be dipped just the same.

"I come Thursday, see Indian Agent, he say for Indian dip just like white man, tick no good, he say. I guess I dip, kill two ticks dead as hell. This hell of a country white men make."

The quarantine was lifted November 15, and except for isolated herds quarantined during the next six years, Latimer County was declared free of the fever tick.

The Oklahoma Legislature appropriated $83,000 in 1921 to help the remaining southeastern counties under quarantine to eradicate

[26] *Ibid.*, August 8, 1919.
[27] *Ibid.*, February 13, May 14, June 18, 1920.
[28] *Ibid.*, May 14, 1920.

the tick. Three hundred vats were built in Choctaw, Pushmataha and LeFlore Counties but little was accomplished before 1922. The open range and the Ouachita Mountains with heavily timbered slopes made the tasks more difficult and opposition flared here as elsewhere among the owners of small herds. Vats were dynamited; a few cattlemen refused to dip their stock. J. B. Wells, inspector in Pushmataha County, had his horse shot and killed at a dipping vat near Clayton. When Tom Ludlam, cattle raiser in LeFlore County, found that his cattle had been dipped despite his objections and were being held to pay for the dipping fee, he forced Deputy Sheriff J. M. Wilkerson, at the point of a gun, to get out of bed at midnight and release his cattle. Down in Choctaw County where there was better organization among the Anti-Dippers, four vats were destroyed in June, and six during the next month. The Anti-Dippers made an unsuccessful attempt to defeat Sheriff Ben Fitzgerald for re-election. District Judge G. M. Barrett late in June granted a temporary writ of injunction to W. H. Willis, J. M. Messer, E. Perryman, and others to restrain Inspector Pat Malone, from dipping their cattle. Argument was heard July 15, by Judge Barrett before an overflow crowd of stockmen and farmers interested in the outcome. Judge Barrett dissolved the injunction and ruled that all must comply with the law. The Sheriff was charged to make compulsory dippings where necessary at the owner's expense.[29] Some more trouble was experienced with the Anti-Dippers during the remainder of the dipping season but, in October, the western part of Choctaw County was released from quarantine. Malone estimated the release of the west side would affect 14,000 head of cattle, increasing their value $140,000.

Opposition centered during the next season in the southeastern part of the county, a region near McCurtain County where tick eradication had proven to be ineffectual and enforced dippings were not uncommon. Four vats were destroyed here during the last week in June. Only twelve of the eighty vats constructed in Choctaw County were in use in 1924; nine of these were in the southeastern part of the county. The quarantine was finally lifted from the county in 1925 but a few isolated herds were subject to periodical dippings during the next three years.

McCurtain County, bordering Arkansas on the east and Texas on the south, was the last trouble spot in the tick-eradication campaign. There were 174 vats constructed by the State at a cost of $30,000 during 1919, 1920, and 1921 but little more was done. In 1920, petitions of protest against dipping circulated in the county. In order to create a more favorable public attitude, the McCurtain County Cattlemen's Association met at Valliant in mid-September

[29] *Antlers American-News Record* May 31, 1920; September 28, 1922; *Albion Union Advocate*, March 24, 1922; Hugo *Husonian*, May 27, June 3, July 8, July 15, July 22, 1920; Tom Ludlam v. State, 29 *Okla. Criminal Reports*, 420-423 (1925).

and passed a resolution favoring tick-eradication. But Anti-Dippers continued to protest, some opposed the chosen inspectors as incompetent, some thought there was greater danger of the cow being eradicated than the tick, while others did not approve of spending public money for private benefit, and advocated the construction of private dipping vats. Cattlemen knew, however, that they were being penalized for raising stock under quarantine. They found their cattle selling in the slaughter pens from $7.00 to $10.00 less per head than cattle from tick-free counties.[30]

The county excise board refused to make a levy to cover the cost of dipping fluid so lobbyists from McCurtain, LeFlore, Pushmataha, and Choctaw Counties succeeded in getting the State Legislature to pass an emergency appropriation that took care of dipping costs until July 1. Dipping began in McCurtain County in May, supervised by local men appointed as inspectors who were acquainted with the stockmen. However, the board of county commissioners was not favorably impressed with the results obtained. When members of the Livestock Association circulated a petition to get the excise board to vote the necessary levy, they were unable to obtain sufficient signatures. This forced dipping back to a voluntary basis. Only a few ranchmen were interested enough to dip their cattle during the summer months.[31]

The dipping campaign was renewed in 1923, with pledges of co-operation from county officials and members of the Live Stock Association, but the Anti-Dippers still resisted. Six vats were destroyed near Bethel, five in one night in early April. Others were dynamited during the summer months until eleven were destroyed. Bloodhounds were unable to track down the guilty parties.[32]

There was no dipping in 1924 because the county commissioners felt that the majority of the people in the county opposed the work. No levy was made for the following year. County commissioners felt that the people should have the opportunity to vote on the proposal but this was never effected. During the next two years dipping was resumed, and stockmen generally were disappointed when the quarantine was not lifted. Much discontent was expressed, too, when the Bureau of Animal Industry required that dippings continue at twenty-eight day intervals during the winter months. An indignation meeting was held by prominent citizens at the courthouse in Idabel, December 31, 1927 in protest against this provision. Lawyers promised to prepare papers free of charge for any who might have stock seized; Sheriff J. R. Jones withdrew deputy commissions from all range-

[30] *Valliant Tribune*, September 22, 1920; *Broken Bow News*, September 24, October 15, 1920; *Idabel News*, September 30, 1920.

[31] *Ibid.*, January 27, March 24, July 21, September 15, 1921; *McCurtain Democrat*, (Idabel), June 2, 1922.

[32] *McCurtain Gazette* (Idabel), April 11, 1923, and June 21, 1923; *Antlers American*, August 23, 1923.

riders. Harry B. Cordell, President of the State Board of Agriculture, spoke in Idabel and Broken Bow on January 21, urging better co-operation with the State and Federal program.[33]

Dipping was resumed at fourteen day intervals in April, and stockmen were promised the quarantine would be lifted at the end of the season if they complied. The Live Stock Association redoubled previous efforts in assisting in the work. They were prompted by the fact that Congress passed the Crisp bill, effective May 1, which provided that no cattle could be shipped interstate from a quarantine area that did not have a systematic program of eradication.

On December 1, 1928, McCurtain and the contiguous portions of Choctaw, Pushmataha, and LeFlore Counties were released from quarantine. Sixty-one of Oklahoma's seventy-seven counties were under quarantine in 1907 at statehood. The work of eradication had been handicapped by ignorance, failure of disinfectants, political bickering, lack of co-operation between federal, state, and county agencies, by untrained agents, by the failure of juries to convict violators, by too small an area eradicated at one time, and by the "free range" law of southeastern counties which made it impossible to dip all the cattle in unfenced areas at fourteen-day intervals. Until 1935, one or more counties occasionally had infected herds that were quarantined and dipped, but no county was again placed under a blanket quarantine. Texas Fever no longer takes its annual toll. It would be impossible to estimate the incalculable benefits to Oklahoma from the elimination of this threat, from the protection afforded purebred cattle, and from the up breeding of native stock.

[33] *McCurtain Gazette*, January 4, 14, 18, 25, 1928.

EARLY HISTORY OF WEBBERS FALLS

By Carolyn Thomas Foreman

The first officially commissioned American explorers who travelled past the falls in the Arkansas River, which were later named for the Cherokee Indian, Walter Webber, were Lieutenant James B. Wilkinson, of the Second United States Infantry, and the five enlisted men who accompanied him.

In 1806, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike was sent to explore the headwaters of the Arkansas River, his assignment including exploration of the headwaters of Red River, all an unknown region at that time. Lieutenant Wilkinson accompanied this expedition to the Great Bend of the Arkansas River, in the present state of Kansas, where he separated from the main expedition, under Pike's orders, and made a hazardous descent of the Arkansas with his party of enlisted men, in two canoes, one cut from a cottonwood tree, and the other, contrived from four buffalo skins and two elk skins.

Wilkinson and his men took their departure on October 28, and were soon enduring a journey filled with hardships because of rain, snow and lack of food. They passed the mouths of the Verdigris and the Grand rivers on December 27, and noted the vast quantities of cane which covered the fertile river bottom below that point. Two days later, they passed the falls in the Arkansas, now known as Webbers Falls, which Wilkinson recorded as "a fall of nearly seven feet perpendicular."[1]

"Wilkinson's Report on the Arkansaw" (letter dated from New Orleans, April 6th, 1807, to General James Wilkinson, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Army) is in *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike,* Elliott Coues, Editor (New York, 1895), Vol. II, pp. 539-61. Coues' editorial footnote (16) on page 558 of this volume makes this statement: "Between the Illinois and Canadian rivers, on the E. side of the Arkansaw, opposite the mouth of Elk cr., is a place called Webber's Falls, with reference to the falls of which Wilkinson speaks." (Recent studies point out that Elliott Coues' involved commentaries on the Pike *Expeditions* published in two volumes, in 1895, are obsolete and not fully reliable. Pike's original papers, maps and charts were lost for one hundred years, having been confiscated by Spanish authorities in 1807 and taken to the archive of the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, in Mexico City, where they were unnoticed until discovered by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, in 1906. At the request of the State Department, these original papers were sent to Washington, in 1910, where they remained unrecorded, and again the same as lost, until special search was made by the Adjutant General's office and they were found in the Archives Division in Washington, in 1927. *Zebulon Pike's Arkansaw Journal,* "Interpreted by His Newly Recovered Maps," Stephen Harding Hart and Archer Butler Hulbert, Editors [Denver, 1932], gives a map based on "Map of the Interior of Louisiana" by Anthony Nau, which shows the name "La Cascade" at the site of present Webbers Falls, on the west side of the Arkansas in the Oklahoma region.—Ed.)

[1] Grant Foreman, *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest* (Cleveland, 1926), pp. 20-1.

Steamboats on the Arkansas River at Webbers Falls, in the Early 1880's.

Thomas Nuttall, the English naturalist, saw these falls in the Arkansas River though the rock ledge was much lower than when Lieutenant Wilkinson noted them. Nuttall left Fort Smith on July 6, 1819, in the boat of Joseph Bogy, a French trader, to ascend the Arkansas. He passed the mouth of the Canadian, and four miles farther the Illinois which he described in his *Journal*,[2] "About four miles above the Canadian, we passed the river Illinois, on the right, a considerable stream of clear water, as are all the other rivers flowing into the Arkansas from the north. A few miles from its mouth, its banks present salt springs similar to those of Grand river, and scarcely less productive. . . . ." Nuttall also described the falls in the Arkansas River:[3]

"About four miles above the Illinois, we came to a cascade of two or three feet perpendicular. In endeavoring to pass it, our boat grounded upon the rocks, and we spent several hours in the fruitless attempt to pass them, but had at last to fall back, and attempt it again in the morning, which we then (on the 13th) effected by the assistance of the wind without much difficulty. . . . . At this season, in which the water is far from being at its lowest ebb, no boats drawing more than from 12 to 18 inches of water, could pass this rapid without lightening, and it appears to form one of the first obstacles of consequence in the navigation of the Arkansa."

This rock, known as Webber's Falls black argillite, was used by the prehistoric Indians to make their stone spades and hoes. Argillite is as black as coal and it is composed of a combination of lime, clay and silica. It takes on a beautiful polish and implements made from it were better than those made of chert as it was tougher and not so brittle.[4]

The earliest description of Walter Webber is found in Nuttall's *Journal* when the naturalist visited the Cherokee on April 9, 1818, who were living in the present state of Arkansas, "along the hills of the Dardanelle, which border the right bank of the Arkansas river. . . . . Mr. Walter Webber, a metif, who acts as an Indian trader, is also a chief of the nation, and lives in ease and affluence, possessing a decently furnished and well provided house, several negro slaves, a large, well cleared, and well fenced farm; and both himself and his nephew, read, write and speak English. . . . ." The botanist remained at Webber's until April 20th when he departed in a pirogue

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[2] Thomas Nuttall, *Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1905), pp. 232-33, and Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-8.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 37-8. The falls are caused by a ledge of hard rock extending across the Arkansas River.—Charles N. Gould, *Oklahoma Place Names* (Norman, 1933), p. 96. (The falls noted by Lieut. Wilkinson as seven feet high in the Arkansas, in 1806, are now a mere riffle that can be seen some distance upstream from the bridge on U. S. Highway #64, at Webbers Falls.—Ed.)

[4] Joseph B. Thoburn, "The Prehistoric Cultures of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September, 1929), pp. 226-7.

with two French boatmen in order to proceed to Fort Smith.[5]

Walter Webber was a half-brother of David Brown who was educated at the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut and at Andover. Brown's Indian name was A-wih and he was born in Wills Valley, Alabama. He was a fine Hebrew scholar, translator and served as clerk of a delegation of Cherokees to Congress. He was greatly mourned when he died at Creek Path, Georgia, on September 15, 1829.[6]

Webber conducted a store at his home on the Arkansas five miles above Illinois Creek (in the present Arkansas) where the Indians were able to buy the goods they needed at a cheaper price and better quality than goods to be had at the government factory at Spadra Bluff.[7] "In 1824 his store burned with a loss of $10,000; he had then 'amassed considerable wealth by his industry and enterprise.' "[8]

During the warfare between the Cherokees and Osages when the Western Cherokees (later known as "Old Settlers") lived in what is now Arkansas, Walter Webber is said to have killed a Frenchman by the name of Joseph Revoir on June 24, 1821. Joseph Revoir was a trader associated with Colonel A. P. Chouteau. He was a son of a French father and an Indian woman and a member of the Osage tribe. The trading post was on the location of the present Salina, Oklahoma and the trader was living there with his family when a war party of Cherokees led by Walter Webber killed him.[9]

When the United States decided to assign lands to the Cherokees living on the Arkansas River, in present Arkansas, paving the way for the removal of all the tribes from their home in the east, a treaty was concluded with the Osage Indians for lands in Western Arkansas and in northeastern Oklahoma, on which the Cherokees were to be peaceably located. The Osages refused to vacate the area, and continually harassed the immigrants, so that the Cherokees decided to settle the matter and declared war against the Osages. After organizing a body of warriors they marched to the vicinity of Claremore and engaged the Osages in a battle which is known in history as the "Battle of Claremore Mound." The Osages retreated from their village and took a stand on top of the mound, but they were defeated and retreated across the Verdigris River to the big bend of

[5] Nuttall, *op. cit.*, p. 240, fn. 7. There was a large settlement of Indians on the north side of the Arkansas River opposite Dardenelle. The place was called The Galley. "There was a half breed Indian storekeeper at the Galley in 1819, and another half breed, Walter Weber (*sic*), lived at the foot of the Dardenelle Hills." Josiah H. Shinn, *Pioneers and Makers of Arkansas* (Little Rock, 1908), pp. 222, 223.

[6] Robert Sparks Walker, *Torchlights to the Cherokees*, (New York, 1931), pp. 154-55. David Brown lived for a long time among the Western Cherokees in Arkansas and clerked in the store of his half brother, Walter Webber.

[7] *American State Papers*, "Indian Affairs," Vol. 2, p. 329.

[8] *Arkansas Gazette* (Little Rock), March 9, 1824, p. 3, col. 1.

[9] Grant Foreman, *Indians & Pioneers* (New Haven, 1930), p. 61.

the Arkansas where the Cherokees engaged them in a second fight where they were again defeated. John Drew related that more Osages were killed in the second fight than at Claremore Mound.[10]

Webber is next found at Nicksville, in Lovely County, a village on the west side of Sallisaw Creek thirteen miles above its mouth in Oklahoma. Webber established his trading post there after the Cherokee treaty was made in 1828, but two years later he disposed of the site to the Commissioners of Foreign Missions who located Dwight Mission there when it was removed from Arkansas.[11] The place was originally called Nicksville for General John Nicks of Arkansas, and Webber appropriated the group of buildings Nicks had owned when this part of the country was declared to belong to the Cherokees by the treaty of 1828.[12]

The issue of the *Arkansas Gazette* for July 14, 1821, contained an account of the murder of Joseph Revoir by Walter Webber at a settlement on Grand River above Union Mission. The news was taken to Little Rock by some one aboard a steamboat that arrived from Union the previous week. Webber was at the head of a band of Cherokee warriors. Major Bradford dispatched Interpreter Joseph Duchassin to the Osage village to investigate the affair.

On August 28, 1821, D. Brearley dispatched a letter to the editor of the *Arkansas Gazette* from the Cherokee Agency, denying that Webber had murdered Revoir. Brearley stated that the killing was part of the war raging between the two tribes of Indians:

"Revoir, who is stated to be a Frenchman, was part Indian, I believe Osage, at least he acknowledged himself to belong to them. It is not true that any white people were killed or threatened; even the wife (who is white) and children (Indians only view the progeny from the mother) of Revoir, were not injured. Nor is it true that Major Bradford had dispatched a person to the Osage village on that account."

During steamboat days on the Arkansas River, boats made rapid progress upstream but when the water was low the small steamers were unable to pass the falls and they were sometimes towed over the riffle by a long rope and a yoke of oxen owned by a man of the name of Thornton living in the vicinity of Webbers Falls who charged five dollars for his service.[13] "The Devil's Race Ground," shallow rapids 17 to 20 miles below Fort Gibson, and Webber's falls made navigation above them impossible at any stage other than high water. In some seasons the lowest stage of the river was in January, February and March.

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[10] Nannie Lipe, *As I Recollect* (Pryor, Oklahoma), 1947, pp. 12, 13. The above account was given to DeWitt Clinton Lipe by John Drew.

[11] *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest, op. cit.*, p. 66.

[12] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier* (Norman, 1933), p. 311.

[13] Muriel H. Wright, "Early River Navigation in Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March, 1930), p. 73.

Chief Takatoka and nine other Cherokees met in council at Webber's on February 10, 1820, and prepared a memorial to the Indian superintendent, demanding that the Osage be compelled "to pay for the furs stolen and surrender for atonement as many warriors as they killed of the Cherokee" on Poteau River in February, 1820.[14]

Osage Chief Clermont sent a message to Walter Webber in May, 1821, saying that he wished for peace, that he wanted to avoid injuring the white people whose homes lay between the two tribes; he proposed an armistice of three months to allow the Cherokees to decide whether they wished peace or were determined to fight. The fact was that the Osage were not able to invade the Cherokee country because of lack of ammunition, besides, "they were poor and miserable and sick of the war." The Cherokees pursued the fighting with renewed vigor and returned to their settlement with the scalp of Joseph Revoir and his fourteen horses.[15]

In an attempt to avert further hostilities Colonel Matthew Arbuckle in company with the Cherokees Walter Webber, Black Fox, and James Rogers on September 15, 1824 visited Clermont's Town, but they accomplished nothing as the Osages complained that the Cherokees had injured them since the treaty was made.[16]

A description of Webber, his wife and his home is found in *A Report to the Secretary of War . . . . on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, 1822, page 74). This account, taken from Captain Bell's Journal of his tour to the Rocky Mountains, was dated September 22, 1820:

> " . . . . his place is beautifully situated on a high bluff upon the bank of the Arkansas river, secure from inundation, and is the great thoroughfare of travellers from the Missouri, to the country south of the Arkansas, above the Cadrons. Webber is tall, well-formed, dresses in the costume of the whites, is affable, and of polite manners. . . . . His wife is a large, fleshy woman, a full-blooded Indian, dressed in every particular like a genteel, well dressed white woman. She attends diligently herself, to all her domestic concerns, which are conducted with the strictest order and neatness. She also spins, and weaves, and has taught these arts to her domestices. Her black servant acted as our interpreter, in conversing with her husband. We dined with the family. Their table was handsomely prepared, with China plates, and corresponding furniture. The food was well cooked and served up after the manner of well bred white people; and Mrs. W. did the honors of the table in a lady like manner, with ease, and grace, and dignity."

Dissatisfied with the boundary between their land and Arkansas Territory, in February, 1823, the Cherokees sent a delegation made up of Walter Webber, Black Fox, James Rodgers, and John McLamore to Washington where they demanded of Secretary Calhoun that a

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[14] *Indians and Pioneers, op. cit.*, pp. 85-6.
[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 115-17.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-50.

survey be made showing the western outlet promised them by the government.[17]

General Matthew Arbuckle dispatched a letter to Lieutenant and Acting Adjutant General E. G. W. Butler, Western Department, Cincinnati on November 4, 1826 stating: "Rogers the Interpreter for the Cherokees & Drew a half breed Cherokee who accompanied him to this post Cantonment Gibson a few days since, acknowledged that there had been dancing & rejoicing when the scalp of the Osage who was killed by Dutch a Cherokee last summer, arrived, but decided that the dancing & rejoicing had been general throughout the Nation."[18]

At a council held by the Cherokees in February, 1827, they decided to send twenty or twenty-five warriors to make another attack upon the Osages near Union Mission. They planned to kill one man to even the score between the tribes. This would satisfy them and they would be willing to make friends with their former enemies. Walter Webber overtook the war party at Fort Gibson and with the influence of Captain Nathaniel Pryor, succeeded in preventing them from making the attack.[19]

John Rogers, Walter Webber, and George deVal addressed a message to "The Chiefs and Warriors of the Osage Nation" on February 9, 1827, from Fort Smith, expressing their desire to have the difficulties between the tribes settled. The Cherokees had ordered a general meeting at their agent's as soon as possible and they had prevailed upon their mutual friend Captain Nathaniel Pryor to go to the Osage Nation to council with them on the subject. The three Cherokees declared that they had no further claims against the Osages as they had complied with the terms of the Treaty of 1822; they wished to come to a lasting peace, to bury the tomahawk and become neighbors and friends—"that when we meet, we can smoke together and shake hands as Brothers."[20]

After part of the Cherokee tribe had settled in Arkansas Territory, their laws, "Entered by request of the old Chief, John Jolly," and signed by Walter Webber, Black Fox, Too-cho-wuh, and Spring Frog. . . . are bound up with the rest.[21]

In 1828 the Principal Chiefs of the Western Cherokee Nation were Major Jolly, Black Coat and Colonel Webber, according to George Vashon, agent for the Western Cherokees, who wrote on

[17] National Archives, Office Indian Affairs, Retired Classified Files: Calhoun to Miller, March 4, 1823, Office Indian Affairs, "Letter Books," Series I.E. 396.

[18] National Archives, War Department, Adjutant General's Office, Old Files Division 97-A-26. Cant. Gibson.

[19] *Indians and Pioneers, op. cit.*, pp. 241-42.

[20] National Archives, Office Indian Affairs, Retired Classified Files. 1827 Cherokee West. Gen. E. P. Gaines & Others.

[21] J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West; or, Five Years in the Territories* (St. Louis, 1873), pp. 411-12.

October 17, 1832, to Secretary of War Lewis Cass concerning the settlement of claims arising from the Cherokee treaty of 1828: "One of the Cherokee traders (John Drew) stated that he once had a list of the particular claims which the stipulated sum was exclusively applicable to the payment of . . . . therefore deem it my duty to recommend that the files of the department be examined. . . . ."[22] Indian agents who were later removed.[23]

When Sam Houston arrived among his old Cherokee friends in the West in March, 1829, he visited Chief John Jolly near present Webbers Falls and the mouth of the Illinois River, and he became interested in complaints of the Indians. In December, Houston arrayed in Indian costume accompanied by Walter Webber and John Brown, went to Washington to make charges against some of the

Sam Houston was present at the Cherokee Agency on the north side of the Arkansas River, above Fort Smith, during the payment of the annuity to the Cherokees in October, 1829, and on October 21, he was officially adopted as a member of the tribe, and a certificate was given to him. The document was signed: "Cherokee Nation, Illinois. Walter Webber, his mark, President Comm. Aaron Price, his mark, Vice President. Approved. John Jolly, his mark, Principal Chief."[24]

In December, 1829, Webber and John Brown accompanied General Sam Houston to Washington. They arrived there January 13, 1830, and Houston created quite a stir when he appeared clad in turban, leggins, breech-clout and blanket.[25]

When Webber settled at the falls in 1829 he appropriated a large amount of livestock belonging to a white man named Benjamin Murphy who had been living there. Senator Sevier (of Arkansas) was unsuccessful in his attempt to get a bill through Congress to compensate Murphy.[26]

From Baltimore, March 30, 1830, Walter Webber addressed a letter to "My Dear Friend" (name not given):[27]

"I have concluded to write to you and tell you something that I consider to be of great importance to me, you are aware that I wish to purchase some hard ware in pittsburgh and that I have not the funds with me sufficient to enable me to make such purchases as I wish, and if you or any other Gentlemen in Washington can let me have a Letter of introduction

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[22] *Document* 512, *Correspondence on the Subject of Emigration of Indians*, Washington, 1835, Vol. 3, p. 500.

[23] *Indians and Pioneers, op. cit.*, pp. 283-84; Marquis James, *The Raven*, A Biography of Sam Houston, (New York, 1929), p. 92.

[24] *Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest, op. cit.*, pp. 182-3.

[25] *Ibid.*, 184.

[26] *U. S. House Report No.* 549, Twenty-fifth Congress, second session; Grant Foreman, *Indians and Pioneers*, New Haven, 1930, 264, note 31.

[27] National Archives, Office Indian Affairs, Retired Classified Files, 1830 Misc. Col. W. Webber (Applicant for position).

to any Merchant in Pittsburgh I think it would be of great service. if I can get such a Letter I want it forwarded immidiately to me at Pittsburgh it will have time to overtake me there. as I shall stay there until thursday.

"My Dear Friend when I was in Washington Mr. Jackson of New York stated that there had been a report in the War Office relative to my character, that I was a bad man, dishonest, or, rather that I was a rogue, if you please find out who it is that reported my character in such collors and let tell? me the person when I see you, and I also request of you and Colo Rector & Mr. Person Brearley who I hope know my character either to be good or bad, and what ever you or they know of me, whether honorable or Dishonorable, I wish you to say it to the Gentlemen to whom my character was reported, as being dishonorable, and what ever your statements may be, relative to my standing let it be good or evil. I will rest satisfied with the belief that you would not say or state any thing more than your knowledge of mens characters . . . . Walter Webber."

The reply to Webber's request came promptly on April 1, 1830 from "W. City" and read as follows:[28]

"The undersigned have been acquainted with Colonel W. Webber, and know well that he has always maintained a high standing in the Cherokee Nation, and that he does so at this time. He is one of the most influential men in the Nation; is counsellor to the Principal Chief, and that he has been opposed by the Party Headed by the late Agent DuVal, and that this hostility arises as they believe from the circumstance of his being a Merchant, and DuVal's being also engaged in Mercantile business. They will add that Colonel Webber is a clever man in their estimation.

"W. L. Rector
"Sam Houston

"Genl. Jno. H. Eaton
Secy of War

"Westn Cherokee Nation, Agent's Office Septbr 28th 1831

"Vashon to Secy. of War, Explains reason for discharging Capt. James Rogers as interpreter. Rogers' brother-in-law, John Drew, 'a keen Cherokee trader' had transferred to DuVal & Carnes between 5 and 7 thousand dollars of certificates due Indians for improvements abandoned in Arkansas—showing no assignments from the original claimants and refusing to furnish any, and Drew held several thousand dollars more "which he obtained from the principal Chief Major John Jolly' the rightful claimants to which asked 'me not to settle with him for.'

"Chiefs then, on June 2, 1831, in letter written by Sam Houston, signed by John Jolly, Prin. Chief, and Black Cat, Second Chief, witnessed by John B. Carnes and Sam Houston, ask that Rogers be reinstated. . . . ."

Another prominent and interesting citizen of Webber Falls was Narcissa Chisholm Owen. Her grandfather, John D. Chisholm, was one of the leaders in the western movement in 1819. Her parents were Thomas Chisholm and Melinda Horton Chisholm. In her *Memoirs* Mrs. Owen wrote:

"Mother told me that when she moved from lower Arkansas to the present country, at Webbers Falls, about 1828, there was really a beautiful fall, nearly or quite across the whole of the Arkansas River, about three or four feet in height. The June rise of 1833 came with such terrific force and such a quantity of water that the falls were entirely buried in sand, and the flooding of the country made it very unhealthy there afterward."

[28] Indian Office, "1831, Cherokee West, George Vashon Accounts, Certificates."

Narcissa Chisholm a descendant of the celebrated Cherokee chief Occonostota, was born at Webbers Falls in the large home of her father, Thomas Chisholm, on October 3, 1831. Mrs. Owen's mother was Melinda Horton of white blood. Chisholm, after the birth of Narcissa, moved from Webbers Falls to Beatty's Prairie.[29]

Captain George Vashon, Cherokee agent, reported to the Indian Office that he had seized three barrels of whiskey from James Carey and twenty-nine from Walter Webber, both Cherokees. Whisky could not be legally introduced into the Indian country, but the red men could not understand why they were prohibited from drinking liquor as the white men did.[30]

When Dwight Mission, first located in Pope County, Arkansas, was moved to the west side of Sallisaw Creek the Commissioners for Foreign Missions bought from Cherokee Chief Walter Webber a collection of log buildings which had comprised his trading establishment.

On January 17, 1834, the Cherokee chiefs John Jolly, Walter Webber, and Black Coat wrote to Captain George Vashon, Cherokee agent, demanding to know if after "providing a Country for the home of all of the Cherokee people, are we to be overrun and put down in our own country by those who never bore any part of our troubles? we hope not."[31]

Walter Webber was deeply interested in the education of Cherokee children and an able supporter of the mission high up on Sallisaw Creek near what is now Lyons. The mission, called Fairfield, was a branch of Dwight Mission which was removed from Pope County, Arkansas in 1829. The mission was directed by Dr. Marcus Palmer and by 1832 the school had thirty students. The next Christmas Dr. Palmer planned a little celebration for his Cherokee friends, but Walter Webber sent him word that he intended to have a Christmas party at his home and that he expected the pupils and Dr. Palmer to attend. This entertainment proved to be an immense affair attended by between 150 and 200 and lasting several days. Webber furnished all the food and other refreshments.[32]

Dr. Palmer wrote of Walter Webber in a letter which appeared in the *Religious Standard*: "This man . . . . has a good mind, is dignified, and may be considered as a leading chief in the nation. . . . . His wife, a woman highly respected and beloved . . . . was received

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[29] Notes by Hon. Robert L. Owen concerning his mother, *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (Autumn, 1945), p. 299.

[30] Grant Foreman, *Advancing the Frontier*, Norman, 1933, 26, note 26.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[32] Grant Foreman, "Notes of a Missionary Among the Cherokees," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (June, 1938), p. 171. For an extended account of the Christmas party see "Fairfield Mission," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *ibid.*, Vol. 27, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 379-80.

with others, into . . . . the church, at our place in October last . . . . . When the anxious were invited, the chief was the first to present himself, and about forty others followed his example. . . . .''

Dr. Marcus Palmer of Fairfield Mission wrote an interesting letter addressed to the Reverend E. S. Ely, which appeared in the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indians' Advocate,* Saturday, May 18, 1833 in which he said:

"I have just returned from one of the most interesting meetings we have ever had in the nation. We had concluded to have a meeting on Christmas day at our house, provide a dinner, give a general invitation to our Cherokee neighbors. . . . . But before the appointment was made public, our chief, Col. W. Webber, sent me notice, that he had made arrangements for a meeting on Christmas at his house, and had sent round invitations to all his friends, and that it was his wish the meeting should be continued for two or three days in succession.

"This was a most welcome message from our chief, and we gladly complied with his wishes. This man is of the family of David and Catharine Brown, has a good mind, is dignified, and may be considered as a leading chief in the nation; and he has long been the subject of united, and I trust fervent prayer. His wife a woman highly respected and beloved, became serious near a year ago, and having given very satisfactory evidence of piety, was received with eight others, into fellowship with the church, at our place, in October last. The decided piety of his wife I suppose, was the means of arresting his attention to the subject of religion; and now we are permitted to rejoice with trembling, in the hope that he is a vessell of mercy, and that his talents and influence will be consecrated to the cause of Jesus. . . . .

"There were perhaps, 100 or 300 persons present, all comfortably and handsomely provided for by the chief. . . . . When the anxious were invited, the chief was the first to present himself, and about forty others followed his example. It was a most affecting sight. They were nearly all full-blood Cherokees and numbers of them, persons of distinction and importance in the nation.

"Beside the chief, there sat among the anxious, one who for years, has been regarded as the principal warrior in the nation; and it is not three months since he came home at the head of a war expedition, bearing the *dreadful trophies* of his victory. . . . . Two of the oldest and most competent native brethren, successively addressed the anxious, with an appearance of deep feeling, each concluding his remarks with the significant ceremony of shaking hands with them. . . . ."

Many of the wealthy Cherokees owned slaves and stringent laws were passed regulating their conduct. At Tahlonteeskee the home of John Jolly, on December 3, 1833, it was resolved by the National Council that slaves were not permitted to own any property; if they did not dispose of it within six months they forfeited the property to their owners. The Light Horse were empowered to carry the law into effect:[33]

"Resolved Further, that if a slave or slaves are caught gambling or intoxicated, or if they should in any way abuse a free person, he, she, or

[33] J. B. Davis, "Slavery in the Cherokee Nation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. II, No. 4, (December, 1933), pp. 1064-65.

they (negroes) shall for either of the above offenses, receive sixty lashes on the bare back for each and every such offense to be inflicted by the Light Horse. Approved:

John Jolly
Black Coat
W. Webber
Chiefs."

When the subject of removal of the Cherokees from the East was first broached, the western members of the tribe objected to receiving the immigrants on the land which they declared belonged to them. They held that it had been set aside for them by the treaty of 1828, and they had no intention of dividing with their eastern brothers.

Cherokee Agent Vashon induced the "Old Settlers" to enter into a proposed treaty with the eastern members of the nation on February 10, 1834, at the Cherokee Agency which was located on the Arkansas River near the mouth of the Illinois. The document was signed for the western Cherokees by John Jolly, Walter Webber, and Black Coat. The treaty provided for increased annuities and larger holdings of land for the western Indians if they were to receive the immigrant Cherokees.[34]

Walter Webber lived near Fairfield Mission, and he was the chief supporter of the teachers and the school through many difficult days. He was an intelligent Indian, and as he did not know much English he kept his accounts in Cherokee. His fields, strongly fenced, and well cultivated showed him to be a skillful husbandman.[35]

The Reverend Thomas Bertholf, a prominent member of the Methodist Church in the Cherokee Nation, was admitted to full connection at the Conference in 1834. He was assigned to "Missions and Schools," at School No. three, Canadian District, near where is the present Webber Falls. The next year having been ordained a deacon he was placed in charge of the Cherokee Circuit.[36]

Chiefs John Jolly and John Brown of the Arkansas Cherokee Nation on December 14, 1836, addressed a letter to "Our Father the President of the United States," stating that "having noticed by a Late treaty entered into between the United States and Cherokees East of Mississippi, Certain articles which in our opinion is prejudicial to our best Interests and happiness for the future" they had concluded to send a delegation consisting of John Looney third chief, John Drew, Joseph Vann, Aron (*sic*) Price and Dutch, "who will come before you with great humility make known to you

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[34] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), p. 249.

[35] American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Report* for 1834, 110; *Advancing the Frontier*, *op. cit.*, p. 313, note 3.

[36] Charles R. Freeman, "Rev. Thomas Berthholf, 1810-1876," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XI, No. 4 (December, 1933), p. 1022.

our feelings relative to the treaty mentioned. . . . we hope that you will receive them into favor and protection. . . . .''[37]

John Gunter, a son of the original John Gunter, a Welchman who arrived in Alabama about 1750, came to the West from Alabama with the Old Settlers and settled at Webber's Falls where he ran a store. He was the owner of a steamboat which plied between Cincinnati and Webber's Falls. He died aboard his boat, a victim of small pox about 1838, and was buried below Morrilton, Arkansas.[38]

In a letter written in Washington, April 10, 1838, Lewis Ross stated: ''The Small Pox . . . . is raging among the whites in the State & it will no doubt reach the Cherokees. . . . . John Gunter died of that fatal disease on board a steamboat ascending the Arkansas River above Little Rock.''[39]

A bill was before Congress in 1838 for the relief of Benjamin Murphy,[40] who claimed his property had been ''taken and destroyed by the Cherokees.'' Commissioner of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring wrote to Lewis Cass, secretary of war concerning the matter on February 11, 1832, saying,

" . . . . that by the treaty of May, 1828, with the Cherokees, the United States ceded to them certain lands, and agreed to have the lines of the cession run without delay . . . . and to remove immediately after running the said lines, all white persons from the west to the east of a certain line, and to keep them from the west of said line in future. The depredation complained of, was committed about the middle of December, 1828, on the west of said line and within the ceded territory."

Murphy's claim against the Cherokee Nation was presented to Captain George Vashon, agent, who in turn placed the claim before the Cherokee Council. The claim was as follows:

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[37] Grant Foreman Collection.

[38] *As I Recollect,* by Nannie Lipe, "History of the Lipe Family," (Pryor, 1949), p. 3.

[39] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "John Gunter and His Family," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly,* State Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Vol. 9, No. 3 (Fall Issue, 1947), pp. 412-51.

[40] Agent Montfort Stokes compiled a list of men who had been granted licenses to trade in the Cherokee Nation during the years 1837, 1838. This list, dated August 12, 1838, gave the name of trader, securities and place designated for trade:

Name	Securities	Place
Thomas G. Murphy	T. E. Wilson	Webbers Falls
Stephen D. Saxton	S. Mackey	
	J. Mackey	Webbers Falls
David McClelland	G. J. Raines	Widdow Webbers
Telemachus Berner	J. May	
	T. E. Wilson	Below Webbers Falls

"To hogs taken by the nation, say five hundred and twenty-one, at $6 per hog,	$3,126.00
To 137 head of cattle, say $7 per head,	959 00
To one yoke of oxen,	80 00
To 65 bushels of corn, say	60 00
To cattle drove off, say 50 head, at $7	350 00
	$4,575 00

John Linton, justice of the peace, appeared for Murphy, and stated that the council did not deny Murphy's hostile treatment, nor his having been ordered away by their chief, but went on the ground, that Murphy had sold his stock to a Joseph Blair, who resided among the Indians. It was denied that Murphy had sold his stock, but that the Indians had used it, that he saw a number of Murphy's cattle in a chief's pen. Blair said he was afraid to speak out for fear of being tied up and whipped by the Indians. J. Vann, president of the National Cherokee Council at Tolluniskee, November 4, 1831, wrote to Captain Vashon that it had been proven to the council that Murphy had conveyed his stock to Blair . . . . to sell the stock in any manner that he saw proper, and to claim it as his. Chief Black Fox ordered Murphy to gather his stock and leave the nation within a certain number of days, in consequence of his marking other people's stock, as had been proven to the council; and that Murphy's stock was considered as intruding on Cherokee lands.

In Pulaski County, Arkansas Territory, October 8, 1831, Dudley D. Mason, justice of the peace, testified John Murray, after "being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God," deposed that sometime in December, 1828, that he left Lovely Purchase, near the falls of the Arkansas River in company with Benjamin Murphy, who had resided with Murphy, at or near the falls, from the proceeding April; that when Murphy removed from the falls, he left his stock; that when he and Murphy returned in February to remove the stock they found some cows and calves penned where Murphy had formerly lived, and a half a mile further a Cherokee of the name of Thornton had the oxen in his possession. He agreed to buy the cattle and hogs and the two men agreed on a price. Some Indians told Murray, "that Webber, a Cherokee chief, or his people, had killed a great many of Murphy's largest, fattest, and best hogs . . . . and that Webber's people had drove off a great many of Murphy's cattle upon the head of Illinois. The Cherokee Indians turned the cattle out of the pen . . . . and came to the house where the deponent and Murphy were, and stated that if they did not go away and leave the cattle and hogs, that they would kill this deponent and Murphy. . . . ." And this deponent believes they would have killed him, had it not been for the interposition of Captain B. L. E. Bonneville, of the United States troops, stationed at Cantonement Gibson; that Murphy had to fly to secrete himself to save his life.

In the deposition of James McDavid, Crawford County, Territory of Arkansas it was stated that he moved up to the mouth of

Illinois River with Cherokee Indians as he had been appointed blacksmith for the nation; that Murphy had removed and left his stock and he saw a large number of cattle running in the prairies; that Webber, as soon as the Indians drove Murphy off from the Illinois, came to him "and got a branding-iron made with the letter W. and went on marking and branding cattle; that this deponent was informed by Webber's stepson, that they marked and branded twenty-five head of Murphy's cattle in one day. . . . ."

Joseph Blair, wheelwright deposed that in 1829, he arrived at the mouth of the Illinois River with the Cherokees; that Benjamin Murphy, who had settled in the neighborhood, had already removed, but he and John Murray returned to drive away his stock; they staid at Blair's house collecting the cattle and hogs. While collecting his stock, "William Thornton, a Cherokee, and clerk and agent for Walter Webber, a Cherokee chief, stuck up an advertisement on the door of John Jolly, principal chief, forewarning Murphy from driving away his stock, or any person or persons from trading for it." Murphy continued his collecting when a considerable number of Indians gathered at Blair's house, and made an assault on Murphy, who made his escape by the interposition of Mrs. Blair, and scenes of blood were prevented by Captain Bonneville. Murphy returned to Blair's home in the night and solicited him to take care of his stock or to sell them. Early the next morning Blair went to see about the stock and found about seventy head of cattle in Webber's pen. Webber forbade Blair from meddling with them, alleging that he had a small debt against Murphy, which he had bought from one Choteau (*sic*); Blair offered to pay Webber the amount of the debt, which Webber refused to accept:[41]

"This deponent states that Murphy had about three hundred head of hogs, which run in the cane bottom, between his house and Webber's; also a large quantity up in Illinois; also a considerable gang near the Sulphur springs, and a small gang below General Jolly's; that this deponent saw a great many of these hogs marked in Walter Webber's mark, both before they drove Murphy away and afterwards; and in other Indians' marks; and while he continued striving to save them, he saw Indians killing and packing them away."

By request of the Cherokee chiefs John Drew was appointed interpreter from April, 1838 to July 1, 1838. He left the old Cherokee Nation December 5, 1838, in charge of a party of 231 emigrants but there were only 219 living when they arrived in the West on March 18, 1839.[42] Drew was one of the Western Cherokees who signed the Act of Union between factions of the tribe on August 23, 1839. He was also a signer of the constitution, drafted by William Shorey Coodey, on September 6, 1839 at Tahlequah. John Drew married

[41] House of Representatives, twenty-fifth Congress, *second session, Report No.* 549, 1-10.

[42] *Indian Removal, op. cit.*, p. 311.

Maria Rogers, a daughter of Charles Rogers and a grand daughter of John Rogers. She belonged to the "Blind Savannah" clan.[43]

In 1839 Josiah Gregg outfitted a trading expedition at Van Buren, Arkansas. He had thirty-four men in his party and they transported $25,000 worth of merchandise which they expected to trade with the Mexicans. Their fourteen wagons were hauled by mules and oxen and they were armed with two swivels or small cannon. Gregg ascended the north side of the Arkansas River, which they crossed at Webbers Falls, and continued on up the north bank of the Canadian. There must have been quite a stir in the village when the Gregg outfit landed there.[44]

Webbers Falls was one of the places visited by Colonel Ethan Allen Hitchcock when he was sent by the government to investigate affairs in the Indian Territory in 1841. He boarded the steamboat *Exchange* at Fort Smith on December 15, 1841 for Webbers Falls, at the mouth of the Illinois, and landed there (seventy-five miles above Fort Smith) on December 18. Of the place he wrote: "This is a very fine site belonging to the Cherokees." Hitchcock proposed to take the land route from Webbers Falls to attend a council at Tahlequah. At Tahlequah on December 19 Colonel Hitchcock wrote:[45]

"I rode yesterday from Webber's Landing after 10 A.M. to John Ross' by 5 P.M. 35 miles along the west bank of the Illinois. . . . . At 12 M. I came to Webber's Salt Well, saw a few Cherokees, a woman washing, men idle, ... Webber not at home. Makes salt, obtains water from a well some 30 ft. only deep. . . . ."

The following is a newspaper story from Ft. Smith:[46]

"The people of Webber's Falls, Cherokee Nation, awoke one Spring morning in the year 1842 to find themselves abandoned by their slaves. Not a negro could be found on any of the farms in the bottom or in the surrounding neighborhood. At that time there were several hundred of them there or thereabouts. Joe Vann alone had brought out from Tennessee, two years before, more than two hundred of them and settled on

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[43] *Memoirs of Narcissa Owen* 1831-1907.

[44] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma*, Norman, 1942, pp. 70-71.

The *New York Commercial Advertiser* of April 19, 1849, copied an article from the Van Buren [Arkansas] *Intelligencer*, March 17, which related that along Josiah Gregg's route of 1839 "a well traveled and passable road leads direct from Van Buren to Webbers Falls; and from the Falls is a good road leading to the military road from Fort Gibson to Camp Holmes."

[45] Grant Foreman, Editor, *A Traveler in Indian Territory* (Cedar Rapids, 1930), pp. 62, 63, 65. The Webber salt works were on the old military road about seven miles above the present town of Gore, Oklahoma, and 1½ miles west of Illinois River on Salt Branch.

In 1849, hundreds of "gold seekers" on their way to California used the Webbers Falls road to North Fork or to Fort Gibson. Two of the large companies of emigrants, the Washington City Company and the Empire Company were loud in its praises, and it was predicted that the road would become more popular than any of the other routes.—Grant Foreman, Editor, *Marcy & the Gold Seekers* (Norman, 1939), p. 39.

[46] *Fort Smith Elevator*, Fort Smith, Arkansas, Feb. 5, 1897, p. 7, col. 6.

the rich alluvial lands of that section of the nation. The owners were for a time in a state of consternation. Men rode about the adjacent country to ascertain what had become of the runaways. In a short time it became apparent that they had abandoned their owners and when the trail was found the conclusion arrived at was that they were seeking to escape from bondage by making a desperate effort to reach New Mexico.

"How these ignorant people came to learn of such a country was never known. The presumption was that some renegade Mexican had imported the information that far away over the setting sun was a country where slavery did not exist and was not tolerated by law.

"The plot of the fugitives seemed to have been closely kept, as no one had heard or entertained the least suspicion of its existence.

"When it was definitely known the courts [course] the runaways were pursuing, Jown Ross, then principal chief, was informed of the fact and national assistance asked for. Chief Ross acted at once by commissioning and authorizing Capt. John Drew to raise a sufficient force to pursue, overtake and bring back the fugitive negroes, but as it required several days to gather his force and secure transportation for necessary supplies, the Captain found himself a long way behind the runaways, who were making all the speed they could to reach their haven of refuge and freedom. In this they were not destined to succeed.

"In [it] appeared that in their ignorance of the direct and most practicable route to New Mexico from the point of their departure, they had directed their flight too much to the north. and when overtaken were found wandering on the Salt Plains on the south side of the Arkansas River, in a state of bewilderment, and starving. Men, women and children were scarcely able to drag themselves along and were overjoyed on the approach of their pursuers, whom they regarded rather as friends come to rescue them from death from starvation than as task masters certain to drag them back to bondage. Capt. Drew gave them liberally from his supplies, and allowing them a day or so for rest and recuperation, brought them back safely to the Falls.

"Many of us in those days had heard from hunters and trappers of the Salt Plains, and if ever there was a doubt entertained of their existence, the Captain dispelled that doubt by bringing back with him a cube of about fifteen inches of fairly good salt.

"It is doubtful at this day whether there are many yet alive who participated in this affair, to verify the foregoing statement, as in the course of inexorable nature the most of them are now sleeping quietly 'in the blind cave of eternal night.'

"E. R.

"Burgevin, I. T. January 29, 1897"

In 1843, the Creek agent notified the commanding officer at Fort Smith:[47]

"From sources entitled to credit, I have learned that there are large quantities of whiskey now being brought up the Arkansas river above Fort Smith in canoes, pirogues, etc., much of which I have no doubt comes into the Creek nation where it is sold out in small quantities, in such manner that I have no power to see or control it. Whenever the waters admit steamboats to navigate, large depots of whiskey are made at Van Buren and Fort Smith.

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[47] National Archives. Office Indian Affairs. J. L. Dawson to Col. Wm. Davenport, July 10, 1843.

"When the Arkansas above these points is too low for canoes of large size to navigate it, the whiskey is sent in wagons by the 'Whiskey Road,' a retired way which leaves the military road about six miles from Fort Smith, and runs to the mouth of the Illinois, where there is generally another depot from which it is distributed on the Canadian among the Creeks and among the Cherokees. I have seen on this road at low water, a half dozen wagons of whiskey at one time. . . . ."

Joe Vann is said to have been the wealthiest citizen of the Cherokee Nation. He owned a handsome two-story brick house at Springplace, Georgia, built about 1799, and when he removed to the West he duplicated the house near Webbers Falls. During the Civil War Federal Troops burned his home. Vann owned a plantation of five or six hundred acres and three or four hundred slaves. He operated a steam ferry across Illinois River, and during the high water in 1844, he ran the ferry boat to his house and tied the boat to the fence. He was famous as the owner of a fine race horse named Lucy Walker and a steamboat of the same name.[48] The boat blew up and burned on the Ohio River, in 1843, with a great loss of life. The owner was among the dead and his body was never recovered.[49]

Mr. R. P. Vann related that during the Civil War, John R. Vann, Bob Hanks, Junie Smith, Bill Vann, Walter Agnew and some Choctaw Indians helped to sink a steamboat in the Arkansas River below Webbers Falls. The boat was loaded with supplies for Fort Gibson. They mounted some cannon on a sand bar and shot into the hull of the vessel until it sank. The men went out in boats and carried away the goods. Most of the men belonged to Watie's command.[50]

An agreement was entered into on September 27, 1844, between Captain E. M. Balenander, assistant quartermaster United States army, and John Drew by which the latter was to furnish the Quarter Master's Department at Fort Smith with 5,000 bushels of good merchantable corn, and 1,000 bushels of clear oats at the public cribs at or near the New Works. Delivery was to begin on or before the fifteenth of October and continue until the first day of February, 1845. The corn was to be delivered in the ear and free of husk, unless otherwise specially agreed upon by the parties. Drew was to be paid fifty-five cents for "each and every bushel of corn" and forty cents for each bushel of oats delivered. Payment was to be made when

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[48] It is said that the colts of his mare brought five thousand dollars each. His sidewheeler ran between Louisville and New Orleans with a crew of his slaves. Under command of Captain Halderman, of Louisville, the steamboat ascended the Arkansas River to Webbers Falls to transport the cotton crop of Vann and Lewis Ross. When the boat reached Louisville Captain Halderman resigned and Vann took command. —Muriel H. Wright, "Early Navigation and Commerce along the Arkansas and Red Rivers of Oklahoma," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March, 1930), pp. 73-4.

[49] "Reminiscences of Mr. R. P. Vann, East of Webbers Falls, Oklahoma . . ." as told to Grant Foreman, September 28, 1932, *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. II, No. 2 (June, 1933), pp. 838-39.

[50] *Ibid.*, pp. 843-44.

half of the grain was delivered. The United States reserved thirty-three per cent until the whole contract was completed.[51]

From the Cherokee Agency, November 26, 1844, Agent P. M. Butler addressed Colonel R. B. Mason at Fort Gibson as follows:[52]

"Dear Sir

Mr. Drew is here just starting out to the Council Ground & wishes to extend his trip as far as Washington County [Arkansas]—with a view of procuring meal—for the meeting—on the 4 of Dec.

"If you & the Genl. [Matthew Arbuckle] shall concur—I will close with him at the prices agreed on 3 cts for beef & 75 cts for corn or meal—part of both—as we shall direct—What would you say the relative proportions to start with. That he shall supply at the start.

"I would call down, but am at the moment busy—

"Very truly P. M. Butler

(Written on the back of the above letter, in pencil are the desired directions.)

"The General & myself think that you had better close with Mr. Drew at those prices, 1¼ pounds of beef, & 1¼ pounds of meal to the ration with two quarts of salt to the 100 rations, if corn is issued the ration must bear a relative proportion to the meal.

"Very Respectfully
"Yr Ob St
"B. B. Mason

"Gov. P. M. Butler"

When the council met near Fort Gibson on December 4, there were present 286 Old Settlers and 195 members of the Treaty Party. President Tyler appointed Adjutant General Roger Jones, Agent Butler, and Colonel Mason commissioners.

The following notice was sent to John Drew from Fort Gibson, April 16, 1845:[53]

"Sir

I here with notify you to stop your building & improvements which you are making upon my place at the Dragoon Barracks for I consider it an intrusion upon my rights which the laws of the country will garentee (*sic*) to me.

I am very Respectfully
Your Obt Servt
A. D. Wilson

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[51] Grant Foreman Collection.

[52] Drew Papers in Grant Foreman Collection.

[53] *Ibid.* The *Arkansas Intelligencer* on March 15, 1845, states that the steamboats *Rolla* and *Wabash Valley* were lying at Webbers Falls awaiting an increase of water so that they could ascend to Fort Gibson. The *Arkansas Mail* turned back from Webbers Falls on account of low water. The *Cherokee Advocate* reported on May 8, 1845, that the *Rollo* arrived at Fort Gibson. She was the first boat to ascend the Arkansas for almost a year, but would soon be followed by others, as the river was then "in good boating order."

The May 22, 1945 issue of the *Cherokee Advocate* reported that the steamers *Franklin* and *Ben Franklin* were aground, high and dry, at Webbers Falls. Rich Joe Vann, having been killed in the explosion of his steamboat, the *Lucy Walker* in the Ohio near new Albany, Indiana, his Negroes and horses were advertised for sale in the *Advocate* on June 12, 1845.

The *Cherokee Advocate* commented that James S. Vann, a son of "Rich Joe" Vann, had purchased the steamboat *Franklin.* She was of about 150 tons burden and Vann intended to put her on the Arkansas River trade as soon as there was a rise. Vann was administrator of his father's estate, and every issue of the *Advocate* carried notices regarding the business. On June 5, 1845 Vann advertised that he would hold a sale on June 17 of between thirty and forty "likely young NEGROES and part of the Blooded Horses, belonging to the estate of Joseph Vann, deceased."

The *Advocate* contained the notice of the marriage of Mr. John Drew and Miss Charlotte Scales on August 14, 1845 at the residence of Mr. F. A. Kerr, Illinois District, by the Reverend Thomas Bertholf.[54]

Lieutenant J. W. Abert of the Topographical Engineers, led an expedition in the autumn of 1845 on the upper Arkansas and through the Comanche country. His journal was started at Bent's Fort, Saturday, August 9, 1845 and on Sunday, October 19 he wrote:[55]

"About dark we reached an Indian's house, where we procured a guide, in consideration of remunerating him well, and giving him a mule to ride. Hurrying on, we reached 'Webber's Falls,' as the desired point is termed, about 11½ o'clock. We first went to the store, to inquire there for lodgings, when we were directed to retrace our steps to Mr. Riely's [Riley's],[56] a Cherokee Indian, who met us with gun in hand; but as soon as our voices were distinctly heard, he received us with the greatest kindness. He told us that he had seen us when he first passed, silently moving along, and noticed the glistening of our gun-barrels by the rays of the new risen moon, and suspected us to be the 'Starr boys,' by which name he designated four notorious outlaws, and had despatched two of his negroes to warn some persons who lived beyond him of our approach.

" . . . . We had traveled more than 45 miles on our mules that had been in hard service since the 12th of June. Having been 13 hours in the saddle, we were well prepared to do justice to the supper which our host had set before us; after which, spreading our blankets on the floor, before the blaze of a roaring fire, we were soon asleep, losing all remembrance of the day's difficulties.

"October 20. . . . . On looking around the room in which we were quartered, we noticed newspapers pasted up to keep out the wind, among which was the 'Cherokee Advocate,' containing a proclamation of John Ross, chief of the Cherokee nation, offering $1,000 for the apprehension of two persons named Starr, and $500 for two other persons, who were included under the general appelation of the 'Starr boys.' The reward was for anyone who should take them dead or alive. But, being all young men, and just the number of last night's party, we were not surprised at being mistaken for them.

"In the after noon Lieutenant [William Guy] Peck and I went out to view the environs of Webber's Falls. We found the country around flat and sandy; but the fine large timber shows a good sub-soil. We learned

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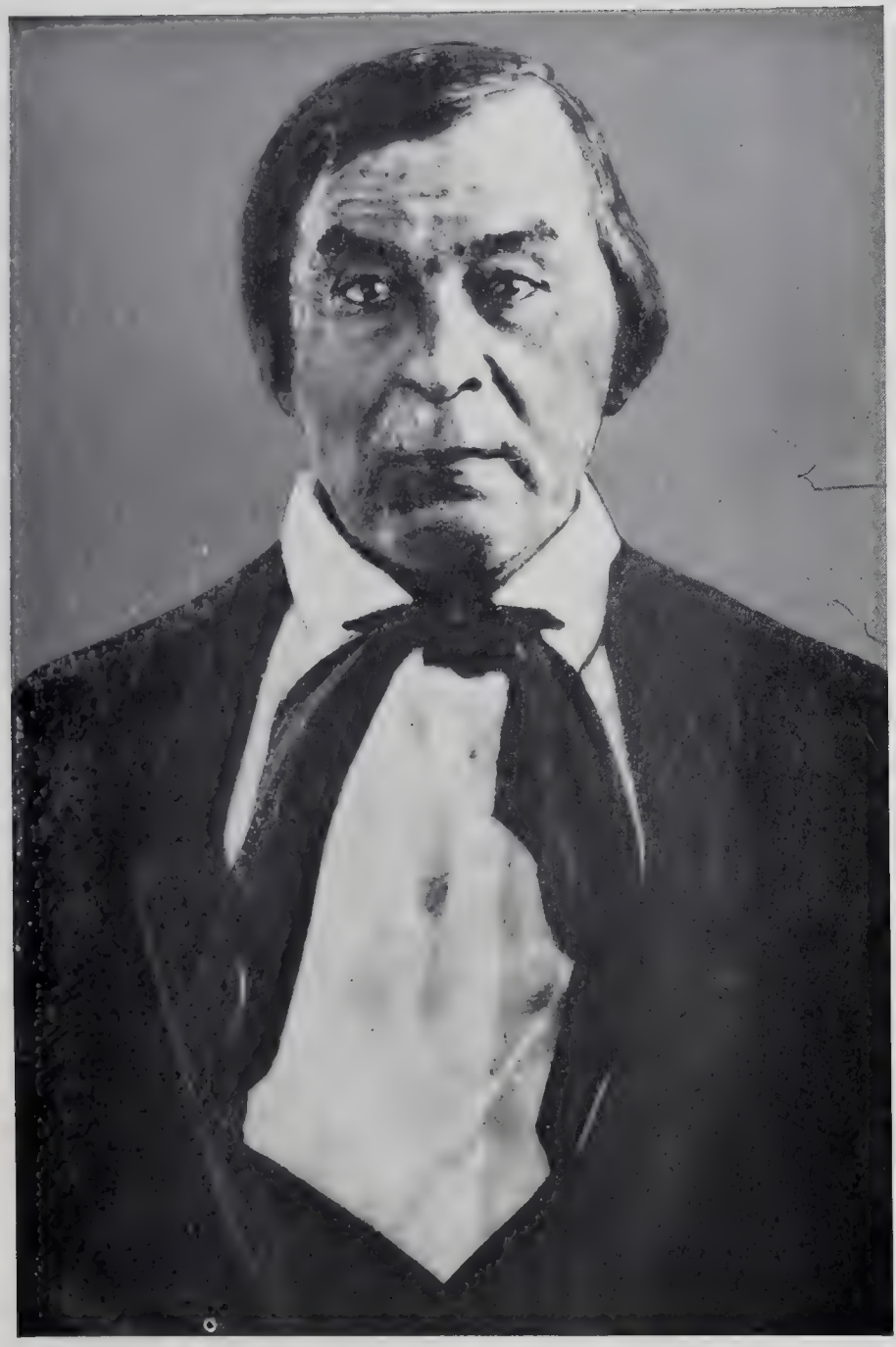
[54] *Cherokee Advocate,* August 21, 1945, 3, col. 3.

[55] Twenty-ninth Congress, first session, *Senate Document* 438, 72, 73.

[56] This was probably Lewis Riley who served as solicitor from Canadian District in 1841 and 1942, and councilor in 1845.

MRS. JOHN DREW (neé Charlotte Scales), OF WEBBERS FALLS



JOHN DREW, CHEROKEE OF WEBBERS FALLS

that the sand had been spread over the bottom by the inundating freshets of the Arkansas.

"The paroquets, 'pistacus Carolinensis,' were very abundant, and numerous flocks of them were constantly darting round, describing large circles through the topmost branches of the tall trees. We had taken a gun with the intention of killing some of them, which were rapidly sweeping around our heads, and uttering screams as if in the highest irritation at our bold intrusion within the precincts of their domain, with such murderous intent. Their principal food consists of cockle bur, which they easily dissect by means of their strong bill. Mr. Riely tells me that their flesh is very pleasant to taste, and is frequently sought for by the inhabitants of the neighborhood.

"We found some of the fruit of the pawpaw, 'annona triloba,' and black walnuts. We noticed among the sylva, the elm, and various species of the oak and hickory—among the latter, the bitternut (*sic*) hicory, 'juglans aurata'—a proof in itself of the inundations which have thrown the sand over the bottoms, as it always grows best in a country subject to be overflowed. We also found the buttonwood and spicewood. . . . .

"The exact mouth of the Canadian is four miles below; but it cannot be approached on account of canebrakes. The river has sometimes been navigated as far as the mouth of the north fork by boats drawing 2½ feet of water, but is, in general, only navigable for flat boats. . . . ."

James Ore, Sheriff of Canadian District, on December 18, 1845, advertised in the *Cherokee Advocate*:

"By virtue of instructions from George Lowrey, Acting Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation the undersigned will lease to the highest bidder, on the 28th day of January, 1846, at the Court House in Canadian District, in accordance with the provisions of the Act relating to Salines, dated Oct. 30th, 1843, the Salt Spring, which is commonly known as Durdee Saline, and located five or six miles from Webbers Falls."

Webbers Salt Works was an important meeting place for customers and it was frequently mentioned in the works of travelers in the early days. The *Cherokee Advocate* of December 25, 1845, carried the announcement:[57]

"There will be sold to the highest bidder on Saturday, the fifteenth of January next at Webber's Salt Works, the following named NEGROES, to-wit: Charlotte; May and her two children; Rachel and her child, and one Negro man. All of which will be sold for the purpose of making an equal division of the proceeds of the said negroes among the heirs of Ruth Phillips deceased. Terms of sale cash. . . . ."

On April 9, 1846, from Fort Gibson, M. du Val, Seminole Agent, wrote Hon. Wm. Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, that in the absence of Cherokee Agent McKissick he was introducing Captain John Drew who was going to Washington on business for himself and others. He described Drew as "one of the first men, in intelligence & otherwise in the Cherokee Nation;—from a long

[57] Grant Foreman, "Salt Works in Early Oklahoma" *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (December, 1942) 485-86. By the treaty of 1828, salt works were taken over by the Cherokee government and the Bean Salt Works which had been operated by Mark and Richard H. Bean, were operated by Walter Webber and his heirs who had possession of them until the Civil War.

acquaintance with Capt. D, I can speak confidently, that on all subjects on which he pretends to give information it may be relied on of the condition, feeling and wants of the Cherokee people, there is no one probably better informed."[58]

The *Advocate* announced the arrival of William Shorey Coodey and John Drew in Washington in the issue of August 6, 1846, where they would be associated with the delegation in its missions.

When the treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Nation was ratified August 8, 1846, Edmund Burke, William Armstrong and Albion K. Parris were the commissioners on the part of the United States while John Drew was one of the duly appointed delegates for the Cherokees, along with Stand Watie, David Vann, Stephen Foreman, Clement V. McNair, Richard Taylor and T. H. Walker.[59] Drew was an executive councilor in 1859:

"Whereas, John Crossland, John Drew & W. S. Coodey having been selected & appointed to settle and close the business of the Estate of the late Joseph Vann decs'd and having set aside a portion of property to pay certain debts still due by the Estate, This Therefore, is to certify that John Drew is fully authorized to dispose of said property & to pay such unsettled debts of the same.

"In witness whereof I have this 3. day of Septn 1847 set my hand &c at Webbers Falls.

Lewis Riley
Judge Dist Court
C, , Dist."

"Know all men by these presents that I William Dutch, of Canadian district, Cher. Na. and late administrator on the Estate of Richd. Stinson deceased, of the aforesaid district, did bargain and agree, as administrator, to give to John Drew a certain negro boy named Jack belonging to said estate, for his services in attending to & defending certain suits instituted against, the estate of the said Rich'd Stinson decs'd, for valuable property; and the said John Drew having performed the services required by agreement in behalf of the interests of said estate,—and no written instrument having been executed by me as evidence of his right and ownership to the above named boy Jack;—This is therefore to secure to & fully vest in said John Drew all legal right, title, claim and interest to a certain negro boy named Jack supposed to be about sixteen years of age, and late the property of Richard Stinson decs'd, the services of said Drew, according to a stipulated agreement, being considered a fair and full consideration for the value of said boy.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed my seal, at Tahlequah Cher. Na. this 5th day of Nov'r 1847.

Witness
J. T. Martin

William Dutch Seal
his X
Mark

Late administrator
Estate Rich'd Stinson Decs'd.

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[58] Manuscript letter in Grant Foreman Collection.

[59] Letters relating to the Cherokee Treaty of are in *Appendix A* at the end of this article.

John Drew paid Sutler Wm. P. Denckla at Fort Gibson $70.26 between February 26, 1846 and December 23, 1847. The prices on the bill were much lower than the same goods bring at the present time: 1 pair shoes; 1.50; 2 hoops 1.25; 10 yards French chintz 6.25; 1 barrel flour 5.00; 10 pounds coffee 1.00 were among the items.

In February, 1848, Cherokee Agent of Salines, James M Payne, advertised a salt works formerly occupied by Akey Smith, generally known as Webber's Salt Works in Illinois District. As early as 1833 this saline, with five others were advertised in the *Arkansas Gazette,* May 27, 1833. The salt works on Dirty Creek were known as the Drew salt works. Before the Civil War Drew sold them to David Vann who operated them during the war, working day and night.[60]

An interesting document in the John Drew collection of papers is one transferring property by him to Amos Thornton[61] on May 27, 1848:[62]

"Cherokee Nation West.

"Know all men by these presents that I, John Drew, of the first part, have transferred, and sold and delivered to Amos Thornton, of the second part, my right, title claim &C which I have and hold to the following described tract of land, or premises to wit, 'Known as the old Dragoon Baracks (*sic*) and some years ago occupied by the Dragoons, as such, and at present in part occupied by William C. Dickson as a licensed Merchant, in the Cherokee Nation, all of which is within the Cherokee Nation, and within Illinois District, of which is to be held, by the said Amos Thornton to the full Extent of the said Claim, and Boundary. Except the Store House, within the Enclosed lot.

"And in consideration when of the said, Amos Thornton of the second part agrees on his part to pay to the said John Drew, of the first part, the sum of Two thousand dollars twelve months after the date hereof, and in order to more fully secure the payment of the above sum of Two thousand dollars, hereby Bargains and Sells to the said John Drew the following described property to wit, 'One Black Boy named John, about twenty years old, one Black girl named Iam, about twenty four Years old, One Mulatto Boy about Eight Years old, named John, and two girls one four and the other three years old, one named Cynthia and the other Georgiana, Seven head of Horses, and about fifty head of cattle, one Wagon, and two Yoke of Oxen, all of which described property is to be and remain the property of the said John Drew, until the above amount of Two Thousand dollars, shall be finally paid, It is however distinctly understood between the parties that the above described is to be and remain in the hands or possession of the said Thornton, and to be used by him until the above debt shall fall due.

"In Witness whereof, we have each of us, hereunto set our hands and affixed our Seals, this 27th day of May In the Year of our Lord One thousand Eight hundred and forty eight.

"John Drew (Seal)
"Amos Thornton (Seal)

"Signed Sealed and delivered to Each
a Copy hereof in the presents of
Wm. J. McMillan, John A. Watie"

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[60] "Sa't Works in Early Oklahoma," *op. cit.*, pp. 496-7.
[61] Judge of Illinois District in 1867.
[62] Drew Papers in Grant Foreman Collection.

Colonel John Drew was in Washington in the winter of 1849, according to a bill sent to him by Doctor The. Miller for professional services rendered him from February 15 to March 9, 1849.[63] John Ross headed a delegation to Washington in 1849, and he was accompanied by John Drew, David Vann, and William Potter Ross. Drew was a delegate to Washington in 1859, with John Ross, Pickens M. Benge, and Thomas Pegg.[64]

John T. Drew, a son of John Drew and Charlotte Scales of Webbers Falls, was born January 18, 1850. He was a nephew of Judge Joseph Absalom Scales, a celebrated member of the Cherokee Nation. His father, a colonel in the Confederate service during the Civil War, died in 1865.

John T. Drew was educated at McKenzie College, Texas and Cane Hill, Arkansas. During the Civil War he was a refugee in the Chickasaw Nation, returning to his own nation after the conflict he devoted his time to farming in the vicinity of Webbers Falls. In 1877 Mr. Drew was appointed district attorney, in 1878 he became clerk of the Cherokee Senate and the following year he was elected attorney general. He was elevated to the supreme court in 1884 and on three occasions he was chief justice. In 1891 Drew became secretary of the treasury and later became Tahlequah town clerk. In 1877 Drew and Miss Molly McCoy, a daughter of James McCoy, were married and they became the parents of five children.[65]

John Drew's daughter Emma first married a man of the name of Bill Robinson, a farmer and stockman. After his death she married Major McCorkle, a native of Mississippi. John Drew had two brothers, William and Charles; the latter died when very young. William was the father of "Aunt" Sue Rogers who lived to a great age in Muskogee.[66]

From Fort Gibson, A. P. Cash wrote a letter October 26, 1852, to John Drew for A. P. Riker which read as follows:[67]

"Know all men by these presents that I David Vann by the authority (*sic*) vested in me by law do hereby Grant John Drew licens (*sic*) to practice law in all of the courts of the Cherokee Nation he having complyed with the law by paying twenty dollars.

David Vann
Treasurer"

Nov 19th 1851

"I do hereby certify that the within was sworn in before me . . . this the 24th Nov 1851

C. B. Bushyhead"
C.C.C."

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[63] Collection Grant Foreman.

[64] Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921), pp. 122, 130, 137, 269, 295.

[65] H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory*, Saint Louis, 1892, 290-91.

[66] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "A Creek Pioneer, Notes Concerning 'Aunt Sue' Rogers and Her Family," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 21 (1943), pp. 271-79.

[67] Autographed signed letter.

"I have this day sold the goods I took from you to Mr. W. C. Dickson for seven hundred dollars. The goods amount to $1552.52
12½% Added 194.06

$1746.58

"I shall come to the falls as soon as practible to settle up the business. Riker thinks you served him damned badly. Below I give you a receipt.

"Recd from Mr. John Drew seventeen hundred & forty six dols. & fifty eight cents in part payment of a note held by A. P. Riker against John Drew.

The firm of M. Mayers & Brother, Fort Smith shipped on June 21, 1854, on "the good Steam Boat Umpire No. 2" to Richard Drew at Webbers Falls the following merchandise: "Ten Bbls Merchandise, One Sk Flour, One Box Saleratus, One Box Hams, One Well Bucket, One Box Mdse, One Box Candles."[68]

For "the sum of two thousand, three hundred dollars" John Drew on April 7, 1857 sold to Charlotte G. Drew of Canadian District, Cherokee Nation, the following property, "A woman named Diana, and aged thirty years—and her five children, Lydia, aged ten years, Fanny, aged seven years, Jim aged five years, George aged three and Joshua aged four months." Drew bound himself, and administrators to warrant and defend the title to the Negroes to Charlotte D. Drew against all and other claimants and the document was attested by J. A. Scales.[69]

The late Mrs. Ella Flora Coodey Robinson of Muskogee gave very interesting information concerning the Webbers Falls school in the Cherokee Nation. She was born in 1847, entered in the second grade when she was eight years old; at that time the Board of Directors in the district was composed of Judge John S. Vann, John McDaniel and William Thompson. The school system in the Cherokee Nation was thoroughly organized but adequate school houses had not been erected and she first attended classes in the Jennings home which was a mile from the village. The pupils sat on benches with no backs. Her first teacher was young William Fields, her mother's brother, who had been recently graduated from the college at Fayetteville, Arkansas. The next year the school was held in the home of the merchant John McDaniel in Webbers Falls with Miss Eliza Holt as teacher. She was the first woman teacher in that part of the country. As teacher of the Canadian River School in 1858, she had forty five pupils in her classes. When she married Mr. Joseph McCorkle she was replaced by Joseph Absalom Scales, a recent graduate from the Arkansas University. He taught only one year as he went into the mercantile business with John Drew at the salt works on Dirdenne (or Dardenne) Creek.

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[68] Foreman Collection.

[69] Manuscript in Grant Foreman Collection. (See Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Joseph Absalom Scales," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4 (Winter, 1950-51), pp. 418-32, for notes on history of Webbers Falls.—Ed.)

After the court house was built in Webbers Falls school was conducted in it. Court was held in the spring and autumn and the students were obliged to move out into the yard for classes under the great old oak trees. All of the pupils brought lunch in little tin buckets and Mrs. Robinson recalled how good country sausage and biscuits tasted at noon. McGuffy's readers were used, together with spelling, arithmetic and geography books. Mental arithmetic really meant that. Slates and pencils and a black board were used, but no paper. The first term of school held in the court house was taught by Miss Rose Tally, a beautiful Cherokee girl who was married to Joseph Absalom Scales after one year; she was replaced by Miss Delia Mosely who boarded in the home of her relative John McDaniel; Miss Delilah Vann, mother of Judge O.H.P. Brewer of Muskogee, taught the Webbers Falls school one year before taking charge of the one on Greenleaf Mountain. John McDaniel was appointed postmaster at Webbers Falls when the postoffice was established there on July 15, 1856. The office was not in operation from July 9, 1866 to May 16, 1870.[70]

In 1859 a school building was erected half a mile from Webbers Falls and it was taught by a recent graduate of the Arkansas University, Sam Adair who boarded in the home of Major I. G. Vore. School continued until 1861, when the Cherokees commenced to leave for the South, trying to save some of their possessions from the invading Federal Army.

Mrs Robinson related that when her mother, widow of William Shorey Coodey, married John Salaule Vann, a son of "Rich Joe Vann", his home was at Webbers Falls which was then only a landing place for steamboats, with a store or two and a postoffice of which John McDaniel was the first postmaster. Mr. Vann built a comfortable house on the ridge about two miles from the Arkansas, in the same neighborhood where were the homes of Vann's brother David and of Israel G. Vore and the Jennings family. Richard Fields was a lawyer and during the two terms of court at Webbers Falls his home was always filled with guests. Court was held in a small log house until the regular court house was erected in 1858.

Israel Vore and Miss Sallie Vann, a daughter of Rich Joe Vann, were married at Webbers Falls in 1851, and they called that town home although Mr. Vore continued in business in his stores at Fort Smith and Pheasant Bluff. He was well known as a leader in the Cherokee Nation, and when events in the States were reflected in local problems at Webbers Falls leading toward the later Civil War, he and John Drew were called upon to maintain order in their community. The following letter sheds much light on the situation:

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[70] George H. Shirk, "The First Post Offices Within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), p. 50.

Jan. 10, 1860.

Capt. John Drew

Dr Sir—permit me to call your attention to the intention of our Sheriff to form a patroll Company in his neighborhood. I wish to tell you what I think and feel of the matter, because I am satisfied you appreciate the great importance of a well organized company in this or any community of negroes. The known unruly disposition of "indian negroes," the convenient access, & high handed workings of abolitions—with Kansas contiguous, makes it in my mind, a bounden duty of every good citizen, to bestir himself in compelling all negroes to know their places—and to form a company under the directions, of nonslaveholders, or young & perhaps disipated men, such as cannot command proper respect & influence, would only lead to dissension with neighbours, with complaints of particiality. the officers, should be slave holders, & men of influence firmness & judgment, & I think there is only two such men amongst us, & to see them Captain & Lieutenant is my desire. I have had a conversation on the subj with the Sheriff—& he is disposed to appoint you & Mr. Vore Lieut.—will you not accept? do not put up the excuse of age &c. the interest of our community calls upon you, & I am satisfied you will not disapoint it. Night riding if necessary could be done by the younger men. This I look upon as of minor importance to other duties of the company—and if every man of the neighborhood, would put a veto upon other negroes gathering about there negro quarters at night, would be in a great measure obviate night riding. Respectfully

John Vann

At the age of forty Vore enlisted in the Confederate service on October 4, 1861. During the time her husband was away at war, Mrs. Vore and her children maintained the home at Webbers Falls. The Federal troops confiscated all of the food and other supplies in the town before applying the torch to all of the other buildings after they had burned Vore's house. Mrs. Vore, with her children and many other citizens of the village had previously left for Fort Washita, where they remained until the end of the war.[71] After the Civil War Major Vore was obliged to start life anew because of his property losses. He rebuilt his home about one mile west and a little south of the present site of Webbers Falls and devoted his time to preaching and missionary work among the Cherokees and Choctaws. Major Vore died January 17, 1887, survived by his wife. Both were buried in the family burying ground at Webbers Falls.[72]

Affairs in the Cherokee Nation were at a fever heat the summer of 1861. The Executive Council composed of John Ross, John Drew, Joseph Vann, James Vann and William P. Ross met on August 1, and opposed all alliance with the Confederacy. A former teacher among the Seminoles, E. H. Carruth who left the Indian Territory for the North reported on July 11, 1861, about the pro-slavery organization "Knights of the Golden Circle," in the Cherokee Nation:

"The half breeds belong to the K. G. C. a society whose sole object is to increase & defend slavery and the full bloods have—not to be outdone—

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[71] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Israel G. Vore and Levering Manual Labor School," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 25, No. 3 (Autumn, 1947), pp. 200-01.

[72] *Ibid.*, pp. 202, 213 and note 49.

got up a secret organization called 'pins' which meets among the mountains, connecting business with Ball-playing, and this is understood to be in favor of Gov't, at least when a half breed at Webers falls raised a seccession flag, the 'pins' turned out to haul it down & were only stopped by a superior force, they retired swearing that it should yet be done & its raiser killed' . . . . ."[73]

In August, 1861, John Drew was in communication with General Benjamin McCulloch who wrote him that as soon as a treaty could be arranged that he would accept Drew's regiment. After Pike withdrew to Red River Stand Watie and Drew left to defend the Nation. Colonel Phillips reported to General Blunt on April 2, 1863, from Park Hill that "Colonel Drew sent over terms of peace, but he has only 40 men and they will come anyhow."[74]

The defeat of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper at Fort Wayne (October 22, 1862) caused the Cherokees to lose faith in the strength of the Confederate army and many of the Indians left for home asserting that they would join the Federal troops at the first chance. In order to secure them Colonel William A. Phillips made his way through the Cherokee Nation in the first week of November, 1862 by way of Tahlequah and Park Hill, to Webbers Falls. He found a most discouraging state of affairs; little food, little clothing and the cold weather had commenced so that the Indians were in a sad state.[75]

In a letter written March 22, 1863 the destitute state of the Cherokees was recorded and the people were in great danger. "The Secesh have crossed at Webbers Falls and robbing at a terrible rate."[76] Joseph Absalom Scales wrote from Webbers Falls, April 12, 1863, that "the country was greatly alarmed by the approach of the enemy; we have been badly treated by Confederate officers who withold our pay—not giving us the protection promised by Pike—the Federals treat our people better than the Confederates do—our people will desert and go over to the North. . . . ."

Colonel Phillips and Stand Watie had an encounter at Webbers Falls on April 25, 1863 in which the Union victory prevented the convening of the secession Cherokee Council.[77] Colonel Phillips, determined to prevent the meeting of the Cherokee Council, crossed the Arkansas River on the evening of April 24, 1863, four or five miles below Fort Gibson with six hundred men belonging to three Indian regiments and a battalion of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry. He made a

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[73] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist*, Cleveland, 1915, p. 86 note 122.

[74] *The War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records . . .* Phillips to Blunt, Series I, Vol. XXII, Part II, 190; Morris L. Wardell, *A Political History of the Cherokee Nation*, Norman, 1938, 164.

[75] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War*, Cleveland, 1919, 216-17.

[76] Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma, op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.

[77] *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War, op. cit.*, 271.

night march and struck the Confederate force at the Falls early Saturday morning, routing the troops, capturing some prisoners, and their camp supplies. The attack at daybreak was a complete surprise and some of Watie's men did not have time to dress. They fled in the direction of Fort Smith and North Fork, leaving their supplies after firing only a few minutes. Phillips followed the Confederate troops only a short distance because of the worn state of his men and animals after the forced march during the night. Besides, the Arkansas was rising rapidly and at that time came well up on the sides of the horses making it dangerous to ford at Webbers Falls.[78]

Colonel Phillips reported to Major General Samuel R. Curtis at Saint Louis: "Ascertained that the rebel loss at Webber's Falls was much heavier than first reported. Two rebel captains killed." He wrote that he lost "two killed." On May 9, 1836 Phillips sent a report to General Blunt in which he told of the killing of Dr. Rufus Gillpatrick when he was on his way to dress the wounds of a Confederate soldier. He was attacked by rebel soldiers who came out of the cane.[79]

Ella Flora Coodey was sixteen when the Battle of Honey Springs was fought on July 17, 1863. At her home in Webbers Falls the young girl heard the cannon fire all day long. After the Federal troops won the battle hundreds of Cherokees who favored the southern cause left for the South in wagons and ox carts and the abandoned village of Webbers Falls was burned by northern sympathizers. Judge Vann and was burned by northern sympathizers. Judge Vann and William Fields were in the Confederate army, and all of the houses in Webbers Falls having been burned by northern sympathizers, Mrs. Vann with her family and a party of neighbors left for Preston, Texas, the middle of August, 1863. Miss Coodey, later Mrs. J. M. Robinson of Muskogee, recalled that after their clothes were burned she was issued some shoes and although they were not mates she was obliged to wear them as she had no others.[80]

Brigadier General Albert Pike wrote to Colonel Drew on July 14, 1864, from Fort McCulloch that he had ordered the quartermaster to send $50,000 to be "paid to such of your men as remain loyal to the Cherokee Government, and true to the Alliance of the Cherokee People with the Confederate States":[81]

"I also enclose a letter to the Chief, requesting him, if the number of such true men requires it, to loan the Quartermaster an additional $50,000 for the same purpose which shall be repaid out of the first moneys received.

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[78] Wiley Britton, *The Union Indian Brigade in the Civil War* (Kansas City, 1922), p. 222.

[79] *The War of the Rebellion . . . Official Records*, Washington, 1888, Series I Vol. 22, Part I, Reports, pp. 314-16. *Ibid.*, Part II, Correspondence, 266.

[80] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "A Cherokee Pioneer," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (December, 1929), p. 371.

[81] Autographed signed letter.

"I have been so thwarted and embarrassed, in my plans and attempts to organize and supply a force with which to protect your Company, as to have been compelled to leave you entirely on your own arms and people for your defence. This has not been the fault of our President or of the Government; but of Generals of higher rank than myself, who have armed, equipped, clothed and paid their commands with the fruits of my labour and exertions, and by plundering the Indians of what was procured for and belonged to them.

"I am sending up to your assistance the little force of troops which I have kept here, rather than send it up [blurred] that its feebleness might not be known to the enemy. . . . .

"Surely the Cherokees are sagacious enough to know that deft as the paw of the panther may be, its treacherous nature will not long allow it to keep its claws concealed. The Northern states will never forgive you. They may profess that, until the war is over, but then, if they hold possession of your country, they will punish you by parcelling out your lands; and licking their lips, will think they have done God good service."

A number of the well to do citizens of Webbers Falls sent their daughters to the Fort Smith convent (Academy of St. Ann) in charge of the Sisters of Mercy to be educated. At the period of the Civil War the school was filled to capacity with girls whose parents had gone as refugees to Texas.[82]

After the treaty of 1866 the Cherokee refugees began returning to their homes. Stand Watie returned to settle near Webber's Falls. "It is refreshing to note that Mrs. Watie so long an exile, suffering from illness, hardship, and anxiety for her loved ones soon recovered her health and spirits, when safe in a home of her own within the limits of her own country." Saladin wrote his father, "Mother steps about like a sixteen year old girl."

Stand Watie wrote his son Saladin R. Watie from Red River Choctaw Nation on June 6, 1867, instructing him to allow John Fallen to have fifteen or twenty bushels of corn. A flood has swept

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[82] Edward Everett Dale & Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers* (Norman, 1939), pp. 224, 251 and note 42, 262 note 69.

Information concerning Webbers Falls contributed by Mrs. S. M. Gatlin, Webbers Falls: St. Joseph's Catholic Mission Church completed December, 1924. First Mass December 27, 1924. Father Omer Beal first mission priest. The young girls who attended St. Anne's Convent (Ft. Smith) were May Ross, Belle Gatlin, and Emma Vann. The following persons were instrumental in starting the Catholic Church: Mrs. J. J. McGrath, and her family; Mrs. David McCorkle, Mrs. M. D. Harmon and Mrs. Gatlin and her family. Previous to the building of the church mass was said in the homes.

The Methodist Church was rebuilt in 1944. It is now rented to Church of Christ. The Baptist Church was rebuilt in 1941 or 1942. The Holiness Church was constructed in 1947.

A flood washed away the bridge across the Arkansas River at Webbers Falls in May, 1943.

The First National Bank was established in 1903 with J. E. Hayes as president and J. C. Buchanan as cashier.

away Stand's corn crop from one hundred acres and he wrote that he would move up to the Cherokee Nation sooner than he had anticipated. Saladin had returned some months earlier and settled near Webber's Falls where he engaged in the merchantile business and farming.

At Webbers Falls on February 13, 1868, Saladin Watie died at the age of twenty-two years. This was a great blow to his parents for only one son and two daughters were now left to comfort their old age. (Another son, Cumiskey had died in 1863.) Saladin had served as aide on his father's staff during the Civil War. His cousin, Charles Webber, who had cared for Saladin during his illness died the following day (February 14, 1868). Charles was a son of Stand Watie's sister, and he was twenty-five years old.

The brilliant William Penn Adair wrote to Stand Watie from Webber's Falls, June 20, 1867, saying that he had reached there on the fifteenth. He had left Richard Fields and Joseph A. Scales in Washington to look after the business of feeding the destitute members of the tribe and the removal of certain of the Cherokees to their homes from the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations. On the return of Scales the people were to be called together for a report.[83]

On New Year's Day, 1869 A. J. Dreas addressed a letter[84] to R. D. Blackstone from Wewoka, Creek Nation [Seminole] in which he related that he had had the pleasure of meeting Major Vore and Colonel Timothy Barnett.[85] "I have never met anyone, that I have formed a more favorable opinion of in so short acquaintance as I do of these two, generous and kind hearted gentlemen. They have treated me [as] though i had known them always. The Col. has given me an order for some Boots & Shoes, and I am going to *try hard to please him*. . . . . I have been detained on account of high Water . . . . . I saw three of your sons in Fort Gibson. I was glad to see them. I was *truly sorry,* to hear of the death of Mrs. Blackstone. But though she has gone home before us her kindness will *never be forgotten*. . . . ."

Clarence W. Turner, when a young man, accompanied his father from Fort Smith to the Indian Territory. They left Fort Smith November 25, 1870, riding two black ponies and the next day they ferried the Arkansas River at the mouth of the Illinois on Bullitt

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[83] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

[84] Grant Foreman Collection.

[85] Timothy Barnett, "the able and educated grandson of Timpoochee Barnard," was a delegate to the council held at North Fork Town in 1861. This council was made up of leading Southern sympathizers within the Choctaw, Chickasaw, Seminole and Creek tribes. Barnett, the big man in the Wewoka District, boarded prisoners awaiting trial at his house; and issued script to pay himself. He had a wife in that district and another in the Greenleaf settlements and he was killed in 1873 after he murdered an Indian for paying attentions to her.—Angie Debo, *The Road to Disappearance* (Norman, 1941) pp. 144, 202-03.

Foreman's ferry and soon arrived at the home of General Stand Watie at Webbers Falls where they were entertained at dinner.[86] According to Mr. R. P. Vann, Webbers Falls, Stand Watie's home was a frame house with two long rooms and a fire place at each end. It was located on the east edge of Webbers Falls.

The National Grange, a farmers' social organization founded in 1867, entered Indian Territory first at Frozen Rock and Webbers Falls in 1876. This proved to be an important factor in Indian community life.[87]

George W. Stidham of Eufaula, Indian Territory, addressed a letter to "Col. Chekotee", whom he called "Dear Relative", regarding a proposed railroad through the Creek Nation. In part he wrote:[88]

" . . . . While in Muskogee . . . . I was informed that some of the would be leaders (white citizens) of Muskogee had held a meeting in the interest of the R. Road, at which no Indian was present, and organized regularly by selecting officers and did actually send a Representative to confer with J. Gould for the purpose of urging upon him to make Muskogee the starting point for a R.R. to Fort Smith.

"Such a high handed measure by United States citizens within our limits should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. Non citizens particularly at that point, have been allowed too many privileges, so much so, that they seem to consider themselves authorized to act for us, and manage affairs as suits them best. This should be looked into, and if the reports prove to be correct, should be invited to leave the country. It matters little whether they are license traders or whatever business they may be engaged. The whole place is built up by non citizens.

"They monopolise every kind of business carried on, our officers are too delinquent in the discharge of their duties. . . . . We are too easy for our own good. We must do better or we shall be overrun by United States citizens. . . . ."

On June 11, Stidham sent a list of the men present at the meeting to encourage the building of the railroad. Persons present were: Major J. A. Foreman, A. W. Robb, J. S. Atkinson, A. B. Case, Dr. M. P. Roberts. Three days later Stidham again wrote to Checote adding the following names of men who were urging construction of the road. "Drs. Cummings and [M.F.] Williams, Mr. Squiers, James Mitchell and Col. Tufts":

"I regret exceedingly that Col. Tufts would tolerate such a move, but this as it may, we must enquire into the matter and report the guilty parties to the proper authorities. It is a duty we owe to ourselves and our country. It is for our own safety. . . . . The Surveyors commenced on Monday morning. Atkinson, Foreman, and I believe Mitchell and the Chief Engineer went down as far as Webbers Falls to look out the best Route and returned Tuesday, when 3 wagons & Teams were engaged and

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[86] C. W. Turner, "Events Among the Muskogees During Sixty Years," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (March, 1932), p. 21.

[87] Norman Arthur Graebner, "Provincial Indian Society in Eastern Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 23, No. 4, (Winter 1945-46), p. 335.

[88] Oklahoma Historical Society, *Creek Railroads.*

the surveyors went on until stopped by Col. [Dennis W.] Bushyhead Cherokee Chief. I am informed they openly declared that the work would commence at once and Road completed by fall.

"I also learn that Maj. Foreman stated that the country would be opened for settlement within twelve months. If such a high handed measure is allowed to pass unnoticed I can also agree with Maj. Foreman."

On June 17, Stidham wrote Checote that Colonel Tufts had not attended the railroad meeting and that Roberts was the ring leader. At a meeting of the merchants he informed them that a strong effort was being made to drive them from the country.

John Q. Tufts, U.S. Indian agent notified Chief Checote that the licensed traders had elected officers and sent a representative to St. Louis to confer with a railroad man about bringing a railroad into the Indian Territory. The Missouri Pacific had determined to build a line from Fort Smith to some point on the Missouri Kansas & Texas Railway and the merchants had met in a store, and talked over the prospect of inducing the road to come to Muskogee instead of going to Fort Gibson. Tufts denied being present at the meeting and added that the merchants disclaimed any intention of showing discourtesy to the Creek Nation.[89]

The Fort Smith *Elevator* announced October 19, 1883, that the Baptist church had been completed at Webbers Falls and it would be dedicated on October 28. The *Indian Missionary,* March, 1885, reported that the Baptist church at Webbers Falls had recently acquired a fine toned bell from Menely & Company, Troy, New York:

"It is pure bell metal and weighs 200 lbs. It can no longer be said of that vicinity

'The sound of the church going bell
'These valleys and rocks never heard.'

"The church has one of the nicest little meeting houses in the Indian Territory and now they rejoice in the addition that has been much needed since the completion of the house."

"The third Sunday in July, 1885, the members of the Baptist church gathered beside the river where five converts were baptised in the presence of a large concourse of people at Webbers Falls.

"Returning to the church the hand of fellowship was extended to those who had been baptised. Several have recently reunited by letter so that the church has doubled its membership during the past two months. The church has called the Reverend G. F. Wilson to the pastorate."[90]

The Cherokee Baptist Association met at Tahlequah October 15 to 17, 1885, and the delegates from Webbers Falls were G. F. Wilson, J. H. James, and W. L. D. Honeycutt.[91] On December 22, 1890 A. J. Essex wrote to the *Indian Missionary* that he had concluded an eight day's meeting with the Baptist church at Webbers Falls,

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[89] Oklahoma Historical Society, *Creek Railroads.*
[90] *The Indian Missionary* (Eufaula, I.T.), August, 1885, p. 1, col. 1.
[91] *Ibid.,* October, 1885, 2, col. 1.

where the attendance was good "and the brothers much revived." There were three valuable additions to the membership and a good contribution to the Home Missionary Society.

R. E. Blackstone, dealer in General Merchandise at Webbers Falls on April 4, 1885 wrote to the firm of Marcum and Burnes, Muskogee attorneys, introducing Robert Tiner who had been arrested for introducing intoxicating liquor into the Indian Territory. "Mr. Tiner is a very steady hard working young man, respected by the good people of the vicinity, and to the best of my belief innocent of the charge. Any assistance you can render him will be appreciated."[92]

From the "Office of R. E. Blackstone Dealer in "General Merchandise and Live Stock," at Webbers Falls, April 16, 1886, J. M. Lynch wrote to "Friend Bullet" Foreman:

"Since my last I will state that U. S. Deputy Marshal [William] Irwin who had started down to Ft. Smith in charge of Felix Griffin[93] was followed and overtaken about six miles south of Canadian river in the Choctaw Nation and killed by Jack Spaniard and a white man named Frank Palmer.[94] The killing took place about Sundown on the 14th inst. and the dead man was not found until the next morning—parties living in the neighborhood heard six shots late that evening. The next morning Irwin was found dead with a bullet hole in the back near the road and his horse grazing nearby. The dead man's pistol was still in his belt and had not been fired. Felix and his resquers (*sic*) has not been heard of since. We are having lots of rains. . . . ."

The Cherokee Advocate, March 2, 1887, contained an interesting communication from Webbers Falls, signed Black Fox (R. T. Hanks):

"The history of the Cherokees should no longer be neglected as the old land marks are fast disappearing from amongst us. I was counting up the other day the old men with well balanced minds and reliable memories who would be able to give us historical facts of great importance. Among the few oldest men we have, as near as I can learn their ages, is old man Thomas Blair who lives on the old Sequoyah place whose age is about 90, Joel Bryan 80, F. A. Kerr 77, O. P. Lipe 75, John T. Adair 74, W. P. Ross 66 and Tom Starr somewhere near 70. If our legislators felt any deep interest in the history of their people they would appropriate money to have it looked after."

At that date the Baptists were preparing to build a parsonage on a lot generously donated by Mr. Claud McDaniel, and the lumber was on the ground. "Black Fox" stated that Mrs. W. P. McClelland would begin a private school at the Baptist church the following week. The steamer *Border City* left the Webbers Falls landing on February 21, 1887, for Fort Smith:

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[92] Grant Foreman Collection.

[93] Head of an outlaw gang. He was later killed while stealing horses. Belle and Sam Starr were associates of Griffin (Fred Harvey Harrington, *Hanging Judge,* [Caldwell, Idaho, 1951], pp. 74, 98.)

[94] Members of Felix Griffin's gang. Palmer managed to escape. Jack Spaniard was hanged by order of Judge Isaac C. Parker in 1889 (*Ibid.,* 98).

"There have been sixteen hundred bales of cotton ginned at this place. Averaging the bales at five hundred pounds to the bale, and making an average of forty dollars to the bale, would give sixty-four thousand dollars. How is that for our neighborhood? Leaving out the cotton seed and corn crop, corn is worth 50c per bu., and bacon 12½c per lb. I don't know anything about the fur business, more than Rabbit Skins are very scarce in these parts.

"Black Fox."

The Vigilant Committee of the Canadian Temperance Society, auxiliary of the Cherokee Temperance Society, sent word to Chief Ross that the annual meeting was held on May 12, 1847. It was attended by a goodly number of the citizens of Webbers Falls. The Reverend W. A. Duncan opened the service with a prayer and addresses were made by Hon. John Thorn, W. A. Duncan, and J. C. McMaster; at that meeting fifteen came forward and became members. The total number, seventy-eight. A constitution was adopted and the following officers elected: J. W. Maxfield, Thomas Maxfield, W. M. Tanner, Charles Chambers, Dennis Bushyhead, I. G. Vore, Secretary.[95]

J. E. McDaniel, who ran the Southern Hotel, Travelers Home, in Webbers Falls, ran in connection with his house, the Mayes Hotel at Illinois Station, on the Wagoner branch. The two houses were connected by a free hack line, and everything was arranged for the accommodation of the public at both places.[96]

For a town of its size Webbers Falls has been well supplied with newspapers. In 1890, William T. Canup established the *Indian* Sentinel and acted as the manager. The paper was edited by R. T. Hanks. Canup moved his paper to Tahlequah the following year. In 1898, J. McCarrell edited and published the *Cataract* which appeared on Saturday with four pages and was sold for $1.00 a year. In 1900 publication day was on Friday. The *Webbers Falls Monitor* was the third newspaper in the town; it was appearing in May, 1901 and M. Phillipi was the publisher in 1902-03. The *Webbers Falls Record*, independent in politics, was started in 1906 with eight pages. Walter E. Head was editor and publisher.[97]

The Cherokee Strip payment began in Webbers Falls on Monday, July 23, 1895. The *Muskogee Phoenix*, July 26 (p. 5, col. 3) stated that the scene of the payment was on the bank of the Arkansas River north of town. Scenes were similar to those at other towns when

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[95] *Cherokee Advocate*, June 22, 1847, 2, Col. 2. A report was handed in by one of the committee appointed November 6, 1846, in which it was claimed that fourteen had violated their pledge. Dennis W. Bushyhead was born March 18, 1826 in Tennessee. He was sent to Washington many times to represent the Cherokees. He spent eighteen years in the far west and on his return home he became treasurer of the nation; in August, 1879 he was elected principal chief and was re-elected in 1883 (H. F. & E. S. O'Beirne, *The Indian Territory*, [Saint Louis, 1892], pp. 117-20).

[96] Fort Smith *Elevator*, April 15, 1889, p. 3.

[97] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints* (Norman, 1936), p. 100.

payments were made.[98] Two weeks previously Fort Gibson was the biggest town in Indian Territory while the payment was being made there. "Has been a great week for the Fort. There have been daily 10,000 people here, and a new city with 125 places of business sprung up in front of the old barracks. . . . ." The Canadian District payment was moving smoothly along. There had been considerable uncertainty until the payment began as to where the money would be paid out. "That district was filled with a very progressive element of people, and it is usually difficult for a stranger to distinguish between Indians and whites."

The *Weekly Elevator* of Fort Smith, July 27, 1894, carried an account of the Cherokee payment being held at Webbers Falls in which the town was described as one of the best in the Cherokee Nation, and alive with people, "in fact the woods surrounding the town were full of them." The payment had begun the past Monday and would close on Saturday. There are thousands of people there—fully as many as attended the Fort Gibson payment. Good order prevails and collectors report reasonably good collections. . . . . On Sunday last a fellow whose name we have been unable to learn, let his shot gun go off accidently, the load first killing a horse and then wounding one woman in the hand and another in the knee." Very little whisky was sold during the payment. Several cases of pints and half pints were captured at the depot and destroyed by officers.

A great attraction during the payment at Webbers Falls was the appearance of the Senter Payton comedy company which played to appreciative audiences. "Miss Lucy Payton is becoming more popular as she grows older. She is destined to some day become a star of more than ordinary brilliance. Wednesday night they played the 'Lightning Rod Agent' . . . . and Saturday night they will play 'Ten Nights in a Bar Room', and should be liberally patronized, especially by the young people, as there is an excellent moral lesson in this play."

Webbers Falls was in the news in November, 1895:[99]

"The first gun of the intruder war as it shifted before the United States court began here Monday, when J. O. Cobb entered suit against Mrs. Susan Lynch of Webber's Falls for $11,000. The suit cites that Cobb

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[98] A large number of Muskogee citizens attended the payment at Webbers Falls where the Indians were paid by checks.

[99] *The Weekly Elevator*, (Fort Smith), November 29, 1895, copied from the *Muskogee Phoenix*, November 21, 1895. A correspondent wrote to the *Fort Smith Elevator* for March 13, 1892, from Tamaha that the largest business transaction in the Cherokee Nation was at Webbers Falls when Jesse Raymond and Fayette Clark bought the land, stock and merchantile business from Blackstone and Hayes. The amount involved was $300,000.00.

Tamaha was a noted steamboat landing between Fort Smith and Fort Gibson; it is on the south side of the Arkansas River. The name is a Choctaw word meaning "town."

was admitted to Cherokee citizenship and he made improvements at Webber's Falls. The Cherokee Nation declared his citizenship void some time thereafter and his property went into the possession of Mrs. Lynch. He sues her for $1000 for the value of the premises and for $10,000 for rental during the time that he has been deprived of the property. The question involves a vital principle to both the Cherokee Nation and many claimants to citizenship, and it is likely to become famous. Denison & Maxey are representing Mr. Cobb."

The *Weekly Elevator,* Fort Smith, May 29, 1896, printed an account of the marriage of Mr. J. C. Buchanan and Miss Della Slaughter at the home of the bride's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Ed Slaughter. The Rev. S. A. Evans officiated at the ceremony and shortly afterward the happy couple left Webbers Falls for a bridal tour. "Mr. Buchanan is one of the most prominent young men of Webbers Falls. He is a flourishing merchant, and possess the confidence of all who know him. His bride is an intelligent and charming young lady, a great favorite with a large circle of acquaintances."

The *Tahlequah Arrow* of April 6, 1899, copied an item from the Webbers Falls *Cataract* saying: "Some of the town boys have been getting hilarious for the past few nights and several houses are reported to have bullet holes in them as a result of the poor aim of the boys who were evidently shooting at the man in the moon for some real or fancied insult offered them by that mythical gentleman."

Congress approved a law June 28, 1898 by which incorporated towns of the Indian Territory were permitted to establish and maintain free public schools, under control of boards elected by legal voters and supported by funds secured by taxation. Under that law Webbers Falls maintained a graded school in 1899.[100] The population of Webbers Falls in 1902 was 250; the area of the village was 80.5 acres.

During the first years of statehood for Oklahoma great interest was manifested by Muskogee men in navigation of the Arkansas River. A number of public spirited men of the city contributed each $500 to a fund of $3,000 with which they purchased a small steamboat named the *Mary D.* that plied between Fort Smith and Webbers Falls to the great benefit of both places. The purchasers placed the boat in service between Muskogee and Fort Smith.[101]

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[100] *Annual Report of the United States Indian Inspector for the Indian Territory . . . . for the Fiscal Year Ended June* 30, 1900, (Washington, 1900), p. 92. See *Appendix B* for proceedings on incorporation during convention at Webbers Falls.

[101] Grant Foreman, *Muskogee* (St. Louis, 1946), pp. 136-37.

APPENDIX A

"Cherokee Agency
Dec-15th 1848.

"To W. Medill Esqr.
Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
M.C. D.C.

Sir:

Enclosed herewith you will please find the original proceedings of a meeting held by the Old Settler Cherokees, at Talo-how-tu-skeo, in the Cherokee Nation, from the 6th to the 8th Dec. 1848, also an original memorial and string of resolutions passed by that body at the same time &c. You will see from the proceedings & Resolutions, that Messrs John Drew & W. S. Coody were appointed Delegates on the part of Western Cherokees. You will also see the powers with which they have been clothed by the Old Settler party of Cherokees, and it is due to the two gentlemen so appointed, & to those who appointed them, to say that a better selection in my judgment could not have been made, for they are both gentlemen of experience, and of high order of talents, & it is more earnestly to be hoped that they will be enabled to have all the business with which they have been entrusted, speedily settled to the satisfaction of the Cherokees & of the United States.

"No one knows, who has not witnessed the fact, how much these people stand in need of their money, which is due from the United States. When we see poor old men, women & little children compelled to trample through the mud, snow and ice—barefoot and partly naked, and then reflect that the Govt- of the United States owes them some *several hundred thousand dollars*, which has been due for some several years, and has at all times been able to pay the same, I do hope and trust it will not be considered out of place, to urge upon the Dept- a speedy payment of the amount found to be due them.

I feel well assured therefore, that the Dept- will afford the delegation every facility that is fair and honorable, to bring this matter to a final close.

Very respectfully
Yr. Obt Servant
R. C. S. Brown
Cherokee Agent.

"P.. S. In place of the original I send you a true copy of each. The originals are on file in my office.

R. C. S. Brown
C. A.

"The foregoing is a true copy of the original on the file of the office of Indian affairs.

J. T. Cochrane Chf Clk
Feby 4th 1849.

Washington, May 22, 1850

Hon. Orlando Brown,
Commr. Indian Affairs.

Sir:

The fifth article of the Treaty, Concluded between the United States and the Cherokees in August 1846, prescribes the mode and manner of ascertaining the Western Cherokees, or "Old Settlers" entitled to percapita money, which may be awarded under the provisions of that Treaty. It is stipulated by this article that the "percapita allowance," thus ascertained to be due, "shall be paid directly to the persons entitled to it, or to *his heirs* or legal *Representatives* by the Agent of the United States authorized to make such payments—" And further, "that a committee of five persons shall be appointed by the President of the United States from the party of "Old Settlers," whose duty it shall be, in conjunction with an agent of the United States, to ascertain what persons are entitled to the *percapita* allowance provided for in this and the preceding article."—

The provision in the 4th or "preceding" article above referred establishes a principle which recognizes as "Old Settlers" or Western Cherokees "entitled under the Treaty, *All those Cherokees west of the Mississippi who emigrated prior to the Treaty of* 1835."

The attention of the undersigned has been called to the report made by the United States Agent, Acting in Conjunction with the Cherokee Committee appointed as above stated, by Complaints received from inteligent and influential Cherokee Citizens, who allege that Manifest wrong would be inflicted upon various families and individuals, by the adoption of that report, and making the accompanying Report of Names, the *pay roll*, in distributing the *percapita* money among the "Old Settlers". It appears that the name of persons, entitled as "Old Settlers" and living at the date of the ratification of the Treaty in August, 1846, but who had *died* before the action of the Committee in the summer of 1849, are omitted by the Committee, in their register, exhibiting the names of persons "entitled to the percapita allowance."

The undersigned believe it to be only necessary to call your attention to this matter, to procure an order for a review of the proceedings of the Committee. If the Treaty did not provide for Contingences of the character adverted to, in express terms, Yet upon every principle of law, justice or equity, every Cherokee living at the ratification of the Treaty of 1846, became entitled to their proportionate share of the *percapita* Money, or other property accruing to them Under its provisions. The estate thus created vested in them on that day, and in the event of their death before a distribution took place, their share became the property of their children or heirs, according to the laws and Customs of the Cherokee Nation. But the Treaty upon this point is too plain to admit of Misconstruction.— The 5th article, already cited, expressly declared that the money to which the "Old Settlers" are entitled, "Shall be paid directly to the persons entitled to it, *or to his heirs or legal representatives.*" Yet in this plain common sense stipulation, the Committee and Agent, to whom the duty was assigned of ascertaining & Reporting the names of the persons entitled, have even omitted the name of the Captain *Dutch*, one of the most celebrated & distinguished Chiefs of the "Western Cherokee," and one of the signers of the Treaty of 1846, who died in the fall of 1848.

It will also appear, by reference to the report of the government Agent having charge of the business alone refered to, that but *four* Cherokees served on the Committee instead of *five* as stipulated for by the Treaty. The Undersigned therefore, respectfully ask that the Committee be fully organized by the appointment of an additional member & that the report in the case in question be refered back for Reconsideration, with such instructions to the United States Agent, as will procure jusice to be done to all parties concerned in having the Treaty of 1846 faithfully executed.

With Much Regard
Your friend & Obe & Servt.
John Drew
Delegate & S. C. Stambaugh.
Counsil for "Old Settlers."

Washington October 2, 1850.

Sir

The Undersigned have been permitted to read a letter addressed to your Department by Wm. Butler Esqr. Agent for the Cherokee Nation, dated August 30, 1850, with a Report of the Committee which had been Constituted to revise the Census which had previously been taken of the "Old Settlers" Cherokees" in pursuance of the stipulations of the 5th article of the Treaty of 6th. August 1846.

The letter of the Agent, with the enclosed Report, is a reply to an application made to the Commissioner of Indian affairs, on the 22nd May 1850, Signed by "*John Drew and S. C. Stambaugh,*" on behalf of the Western Cherokees or Old Settlers," in which they complain that the first "Census roll" above refered (sic)

to, was not taken in *accordance with the provisions of the Treaty* which directed it to be taken—for the following reasons:—

The Committee refused to embrace in the Census, all persons, or the heirs or legal representatives of such persons, who have died *since* the ratification of the Treaty of August 1846.

The Undersigned believe this to be a palpable violation of the plain provisions of the Treaty, which will be found in the 4th & 5th articles thereof. The 4 articles, in adopting a principle by which to effect a settlement with the old Settlers, Stipulates, in the last clause of the 2nd paragraph, as follows:—

"The principle above defined shall embrace all those Cherokees west of the Mississippi who emigrated *prior* to the Treaty of 1835."

The 5th article of the Treaty, Stipulates that the money which may be found due the "Old Settlers," Shall be paid to each *individual* belonging to that party or *head of family*, or his *legal representatives* &c" Again the same article proceeds—"and it is further agreed, that the *per capita* allowance shall not be assignable, but shall be paid directly to the persons entitled to it or to his *heirs* or *legal representatives*, &c."

The Undersigned now respectfully submit the question to you as it stands Controverted, between them and the Committee appointed to take the Census. The *question they believe is fully stated in the Communication addressed to you by John Drew & S. C. Stambaugh,* above refered to, which they ask you to consider as part of this Communication.

The question involved, is one of great importance to the Cherokees interested, and if it is left unsettled by the Government, as trustee for the faithful distribution of the fund appropriated, serious wrongs may be inflicted.

They therefore, earnestly beseech, that, under the sanction of the Secretary of the Interior and President of the United States, you will decide, "Whether every individual liveing (sic) in the Cherokee Nation, belonging to the old Settler portion, at the date of the Treaty of August 1846, *did not become possessed of their share of the percapita* Money; and whether, if they have since died, *their heirs or legal representatives are not entitled to their share?* And, also, "Whether those individuals now in the Nation, but who were not born, or otherwise entitled at the date of the Treaty aforesaid, can be now entitled under the provisions of that Treaty?

The Undersigned will conclude by Saying that they have but one object in view that is a desire to have the Treaty, under which their people are to receive their money, *faithfully Carried into effect.* They desire that full justice shall be done to their whole people, & in doing so the United States will impress a salutary lesson, which teaches that all Compacts fully made, Should be Complied with in good faith.

In hast your friends
& Obt.Servts.
John Drew
Aaron Hicks
John L. McCoy.

APPENDIX B

At Webbers Falls, Indian Territory, April 3, 1903, the conservative citizens of the town met in convention at the Knights of Phythias Hall, at eight o'clock in the evening. D. W. McCorkle was temporary chairman. "The following committee was appointed to draft resolutions on platform. S. L. Miligan, D. M. Dickey, G. B. Harwell.

"Committee reported, and upon a motion by J. C. Harrison, following resolutions were adopted:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
WESTERN DISTRICT INDIAN TERRITORY,
INCORPORATED TOWN OF WEBBERS FALLS, I.T.

"We the committee appointed by D. W. McCorkle temporary chairman of this convention: Beg leave to offer resolutions as follows:

"To elect nominees for One Mayor, One Recorder and Five Aldermen for the ensuing year. (SIGNED) D. M. Dickey,
S. L. Miligan,
G. B. Harwell.

"Nominations being in order, following nominations were offered for Mayor—
C. C. Tittle,
S. L. Miligan.

"C. C. Tittle made a motion that the ballot be declared closed and ballot taken, motion carried.

"Jas. Farmer made a motion that a standing ballot be taken, motion lost.

"Temporary chairman appointed J. C. Harrison and G. B. Harwell tellers.

"C. C. Tittle made a motion that the qualified electors be counted, motion carried, and P. A. Walker and Buck Fields appointed by temporary chairman McCorkle to count them and number reported to be twenty five.

"Proceeded to ballot and C. C. Tittle declared elected as nominee for Mayor.

"Nominations for Recorder being in order following nominations were offered—
P. C. Singleton,
S. L. Miligan.

"C. C. Tittle made a motion that the ballot be declared closed and ballot taken, motion carried. P. C. Singleton declared elected.

"Nominations for Alderman being in order, the following nominations were offered—

Geo. Pollard,
T. M. Looper,
G. B. Harwell,
Cal Hanks,
Will Gibson,
J. T. Neal,
B. F. Newton,
D. W. McCorkle.

"Will Gibson made a motion that the nominations be declared closed Motion carried.

"P. A. Walker made a motion that all the nominees be voted upon at one time and the five receiving the greatest number of voted (*sic*) be declared elected. Motion carried.

"Proceeded to ballot and following declared elected—

Geo. Pollard,
T. M. Looper,
Will Gibson,
J. T. Neal,
Cal Hanks.

Chairman McCorkle appointed McAlister, Pollard and Walker executive Committee, with McAlister chairman—

"McAlister and Tittle were appointed a committee to draft resolutions of thanks to the Uniform Rank K. of P. in allowing the conservative party the use of the Hall this their regular monthly meeting night.

"By order of the Chair the name of P. C. Singleton was stricken from the roll as nominee for the place of recorder, and upon a motion by N. D. Woods, S. L. Miligan was elected by aclimation as nominee for Recorder in Singletons stead.

"There being no further business before the convention the meeting was declaired (*sic*) closed.

(SIGNED) D. W. McCORKLE President Pro. tem.
(SIGNED) R. F. HUBBARD Sec'y Pro tem. (112)

TERRITORIAL MAGAZINES

*By Esther Witcher**

* Esther M. Witcher is Periodicals Librarian in the University of Oklahoma at Norman. A native of Oklahoma, she received her A.B. and B.L.S. degrees from the University of Oklahoma, and an M.S. in library science in the University of Illinois. Her contribution on "Territorial Magazines" in this number of *The Chronicles* represents careful analysis of the issues of the journals in this category, as well as personal visits to libraries which are the sole possessors of the more rare issues. Mrs. Witcher has particularly requested that acknowledgments be made here to the Associate Editor of *The Chronicles*, Muriel H. Wright, for her encouragement and suggestions in the compilation of this article.—Ed. (C. E.)

The early Oklahoma magazines which began publication during pre-statehood days offer a valuable source of material for the research scholar, and interesting reading for the general public. Unfortunately only incomplete files, and in some instances only fragments, or no files at all, are available. Only one complete file was found available in any library, that being located in the Oklahoma Historical Society Library, while the other complete files are privately owned by individuals. Therefore, for the people living in this region scarcely any complete holdings of territorial magazines are available. Since the author had access to only one complete file, in some instances it has been impossible to determine for the incomplete runs, the dates when changes in editors, frequency of publication, or changes in title were made.

The publications which appeared during the territorial days reflected the history of the development of Indian Territory into the present state of Oklahoma. The territorial period is confined, for the purposes of this article, to the years from 1830 to 1907. The Indian Removal Act[1] of May, 1830, authorized the President to set aside territory west of the Mississippi River not included in any state, for the use of the Indian tribes to be removed from the eastern part of the United States. Four years later an act[2] was passed establishing Indian Territory. After 1890 with the passage of the Organic Act[3] the western half of Indian Territory became known as Oklahoma Territory, all Indian owned lands within its borders, as opened to white settlement, to be organized as part of this territory. The two territories became popularly known as the "Twin Territories," though different in their government organizations. There was agitation to admit Oklahoma Territory to statehood soon after its establishment.[4] In 1898 a bill was introduced in both houses of

[1] Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma*, 1803-1906, (Berkeley, 1917), p. 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 160.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

MISTLETOE LEAVES.

VOL. I. KINGFISHER, OKLA., AUGUST 5, 1893. NO. 1.

Oklahoma Press Association.

President..... J. E. Quein, Edmond.
Vice-Pres.....E E. Brown, Oklahoma City.
Secretary.....H. C. Gilstrap, Chandler.
Treasurer..... Effie Gilstrap, Chandler.
Hist. Custodian W P. Campbell, Kingfisher.

PAPERS ON FILE—DAILIES.

Guthrie Capital	El Reno Eagle
Guthrie Leader	El Reno Herald
Guthrie News	Topeka Capital
Ok City Ti's-J'rn'l	Kansas City Mail
Arkansas City, Ran., Dispatch.	

WEEKLIES.

Artoka Citizen	Arapahoe Argus
Arapahoe Bee	Beaver Democrat
Beaver Advocate	Chandler News
Cloud Chief Herald	Chic'go Sunday Sun
Conway Sp'gs Star	Edmond Sun
Edmond Democrat	El Reno Courier
El Reno Eagle	Guthrie Populist
Guthrie Capital	" West & South
Guthrie Rustler	Hardesty Herald
Hardesty Times	Hennessey Clipper
Hennessey De'ocrat	Kingfisher Times
Lyndon P,p Herald	" Free Press
Minco Minstrel	Mulhall Chiet
Marlow Magnet	Norman Transcript
Ok City Roadb'ild'r	Okarche Times
Purcell Topic	Purcell Register
Perkins Bee	Perkins Journal
Stillwater Rep'lican	Stillwater Gazette
Taloga Citizen	Tecumseh Herald
Talequah Advocate	Watonga Republi'n
Tecumseh Republ'n	Kingfisher Constitution.
St. Marys, Kan., Star	
Westmorland, Kan, Recorder.	
Wamego, Kan.; Times.	
Wellington, Kan., Journal.	
Wichita Kansas Commoner.	

MISSING NUMBERS.

Arapahoe Bee. June 8.
ElReno Daily Eagle, July 28.
Guthrie Daily Capital June 24.
Guthrie Daily News, June 4, July 7, 9.
Guthrie Rustler June 24 to date.
Okla. City Roadbuilder July 20, 29.
Purcell Register June 30. July 14.
Stillwater Republican June 29.
Watonga Republican July 5.
Tecumseh Republican July 27.
Norman Transcript June 9.
Hardesty Times, 1890, No. 1, 6, 8, 9, 11.
St. Marys Star July 27.

N. B.—Missing numbers desired.

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED.

J. E. Quein, Edmond—original manuscript of May-day speech of the late Milton Reynolds, first congressman elect of Oklahoma. Course of study adopted by Edmond school board Dec. 26, 1891. Collection from territorial university.

J. C. Neil, Stillwater—Collection of cards, views, bulletins and circular of the Stillwater experiment station and agricultural college. Photograph of self. Rules and roll call of the tertorial council, 1893.

F. G. Adams, Topeka—Photograph of self, (Sec. Kansas historical society), eighth annual report of Kansas historical society. Collection of circulars of Kansas historical society from its organization in 1875 to present time.

John Sebastian, general passenger agent C. R. I. & P., R. R., Chicago—large photo view of Colorado Springs, frame and glass.

John W. Noble, ex-secretary of the interior, St. Louis—28x36 photograph of self, frame andglass.

Hoke Smith, sec. interior, Washington, D. C.—Steel engraving of self.

J. S. Ross, Kingfisher—View of Buffalo Springs camp, morning of Oklahoma opening; copies of the New World, published by donor in 1890.

A. B. Campbell, Topeka—Adjutant general's report of Kansas, 1861-5.

Mrs. J. E. Hobbs, El Reno—Collection of poems by donor; American Cyclopedia of History, Biography and Travels, 1856—illustrated. This rare book was "presented to J. E. Hobbs by her grandma, Mrs. Cyrene Boulding of Northview, Webster county, Mo. Forney, Texas, June, 1883."

Rev. John H. Aughey, Mulhall, copy of "Topela", a bound volume of

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 4.)

Congress for the Union of the Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory prior to their admission as a state.[5] Not until Nov. 16, 1907 was Oklahoma finally admitted to statehood.

In an attempt to ascertain which of the territorial magazines are most plentiful in Oklahoma Libraries at the present time, a basic list was compiled in which were included those titles given in *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1907,* by Carolyn Thomas Foreman; *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890,* by Lester Hargrett; and the titles held by the University of Oklahoma Library. This list was sent to twenty-two college and public libraries in the state with a request that the librarian indicate holdings of each title included. Only five librarians replied that their library held any of the magazines on this basic list. Using the findings of these inquiries from the five libraries plus those of the University of Oklahoma Library, including the Phillips Collection, the Oklahoma Historical Society Library, and those included in the *Union List of Serials,* edited by Winifred Gregory, the following selective list of territorial magazines is discussed here in chronological order according to their beginning date of publication: *Cherokee Messenger, Our Brother in Red, Indian Missionary, Buckskin Joe's Emigrant Guide, Oklahoma Magazine, Mistletoe Leaves, Historia, Twin Territories, Kiowa Chief,* and *Sturm's Statehood Magazine.*

The purpose of this article is to point out the research value, content, contributors, and special features, and location of available files. The footnotes below give for each magazine: change of title, change of editors, date established, date ceased publication, by whom established, where published, frequency of publication, and location of holdings indicated by symbols.[6] The findings of the location of holdings in Oklahoma Libraries reveals that for the ten territorial magazines selected only one has complete files, that is the *Cherokee Messenger.*

Cherokee Messenger

The complete files of the *Cherokee Messenger* are located in the Oklahoma State Historical Society Library. The earliest territorial magazines were established by various denominational Indian missions. The *Cherokee Messenger*[7] was established in August 1844, and was published for almost two years at the Cherokee Baptist Mission near the present town of Westville. It is sometimes erroneously re-

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 199.

[6] Key to symbols used to indicate libraries in which holdings are located: OKU—University of Oklahoma; OHS—Oklahoma Historical Society; OKU-P—Phillips Collection in the University of Oklahoma Library; OKMu—Muskogee Public Library; OKB—Bacone College, Muskogee; OKW—Southwestern Institute of Technology, Weatherford; OKTU—University of Tulsa.

[7] The *Cherokee Messenger* was established by the Cherokee Baptist Mission located at Westville, I.T. The Reverend Evan Jones was editor. It ceased publication in May 1846. A file is located in the Thomas Gilcrease Foundation, Tulsa, and a complete file in OHS.

ferred to as the first newspaper in the Indian Territory, but since it did not have the technical characteristics of a newspaper including regularity, and continuity of publication it cannot be listed as a newspaper. Its publication dates called for its publication each month but the issues were irregular. It was briefly revised in 1858. The contents consisted almost entirely of reprints from the Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress,* lessons in Cherokee grammar, translations of religious and temperance articles from contemporary periodicals, and items regarding missionary work in Indian Territory. The Reverend Evan Jones, of the Cherokee Baptist Mission was its editor, and H. Upham was the printer.[8] Jesse Bushyhead was a joint editor with Reverend Jones, and a series of articles about the former appeared in the next pre-statehood magazine mentioned, *Our Brother in Red.* The text of the *Cherokee Messenger* was printed in Cherokee and consisted primarily of translations of well-known books. A few news paragraphs in each issue were printed in both Cherokee and English.

Our Brother in Red

One of the first of several strictly religious periodicals published in Indian Territory was *Our Brother in Red.*[9] This monthly journal was established at Muskogee in September, 1882, by the Reverend Theodore Frelinghwysen Brewer[10] who owned the printing plant and who published the magazine in behalf of the Indian Mission Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Although the conference had been holding annual meetings for over forty years, this is the earliest separate publication now known of its Minutes.[11] This official organ of the Indian Mission Annual Conference had as its motto, "Christian Education, the Hope of the Indians." Ten years later the "paper" was turned over to the Conference, and after a few years its publication was suspended.

Associated with Reverend Theodore F. Brewer in editing *Our Brother in Red,* was the Reverend F. J. Thompson, who was librarian of the Carnegie Library at Tahlequah in 1928. In 1921, Reverend Brewer was a member of the University of Oklahoma board of regents. News from the nearby communities signed by correspondents, who, in most cases, were missionaries appeared in this publication. There

[8] Grace Ernestine Ray, *Early Oklahoma Newspapers; history and description of publications from earliest beginnings to* 1889, (Norman, 1928), p. 17.

[9] OHS has Vol. 1-5 and Vol. 9-11 of *Our Brother in Red.*

[10] Reverend Theodore Frelinghwysen Brewer was born in Gibson County, Tennessee on January 30, 1845. He was educated in his native state. In November 1866 he was admitted to the Memphis Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and in 1878 was transferred to the Indian Mission Conference which included the area of the old Indian Territory. Here he spent many years of devoted service to his church and community. He became the principal teacher in the Asbury Manual School for Creek Indians at Eufaula. At Muskogee he founded Harrell International Institute, a school for girls, which later became Spaulding Female College (See "Necrology—Reverend Theodore Frelinghwysen Brewer," in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IX, No. 3 (September, 1931), pp. 349-50.

[11] Lester Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints,* 1835-1890, (New York, 1951), p. 198.

were reports of missionary work at Wapanucka Institute, Claremore, and Sallisaw. A portion of the magazine was devoted to Harrell Institute started in Muskogee in 1886. Rachel Sixkiller and Sudie Crabtree, Indian students of that institute, were editors of this department. The publication reprinted material from such periodicals as the *Boston Globe, Golden Argosy, Young Reaper, Methodist Advance,* and the *Chicago Herald.* "These reprints consisted largely of carefully selected human interest, and animal interest feature stories, humorous, harmless quips, and brevities, and other mildly entertaining matter."[12]

Articles by various missionaries stationed in Indian Territory were printed in the department titled, "Items from the Brethren." Practically all of the news of events in the Territory was printed in the form of signed articles from teachers, preachers, Indian leaders, and men active in the affairs of the tribes. Reports were printed regularly from the conference secretaries in the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Pauls Valley, Muskogee and Seminole districts. The scope of contents was later broadened to include the following: Household hints, a department for women and children, religious news, notes for the Indians, poems, stories, obituaries, sermons, appointments of preachers, and a series of articles on Jesse Bushyhead. Advertisements were included in most issues. An advertisement from Harrell Institute appearing in the September 6, 1887 issue signed by the Reverend Theodore F. Brewer, mentioned that the annual term was divided into two sessions of five months each. Ancient and modern languages and calisthenics were taught without extra charge. Board including washing and lights cost ten dollars per month. Tuition ranged from one dollar and fifty cents to four dollars. About 1886 the publication began a department of news from Harrell Institute headed, "Harrell Institute Locals." A quotation which appeared in the same issue summarizes the purpose of this magazine as "devoted to the promotion of the cause of education, temperance, and religion in the Indian Territory."

In September 1887, *Our Brother in Red* was changed to a weekly publication at the request of the Indian Mission Conference. In the same year, the place of publication was changed from Nashville, Tennessee, to Muskogee, Indian Territory. The Reverend M. L. Butler and the Reverend E. W. Brodie become corresponding editors. In 1893, the magazine was printed in English and Cherokee. After serving eleven years as editor Reverend Brewer asked to be relieved of editorship in 1893, and was succeeded by the Reverend William M. Baldwin. The magazine was moved to South McAlester in 1895, and two years later to Ardmore with the Reverend F. M. Moore as editor. The place of publication was moved in 1899 to Oklahoma City when the magazine was sold to the Reverend J. H. Lovett. It was consoli-

[12] Ray, *op. cit.,* p. 75.

dated with the *Arkansas Methodist* at Little Rock, Arkansas about 1900, and was called the *Indian Oklahoma Methodist.*

Indian Missionary

Another of the denominational organs was the *Indian Missionary*[13] established by the Baptist Mission. The Reverend W. P. Blake of Eufaula, Indian Territory, and the Reverend A. Frank Ross of McAlester, were editors. This monthly which was originally published at Eufaula and McAlester first appeared in August 1884. Since only a few issues of this publication are preserved it is difficult to give all the facts regarding its publication. Bacone College Library has miscellaneous issues appearing between the years 1884 and 1890.

The *Indian Missionary* for January 1887 mentions as its rivals *Our Brother in Red,* the Methodist organ, and the *Indian Record,* a Presbyterian mission newspaper. The first issue of the *Indian Missionary* states, "above all other uses the 'paper' shall be used to give the pure word of God to our Indian people. The 'paper' will of course be friendly to education, and farming will not go unnoticed."[14] A later issue,[15] states further that the "publication will build up Bible religion, temperance, and education." A study of the contents of these available issues reveals that they were devoted largely to editorials on religious matters, and to articles concerning missionary work in the Territory. The local news consisted mostly of brief news items, and personals about students, teachers, and preachers in the various schools and churches. There were departments for Indian news in the Choctaw language. Sometimes the English translations were published also, but more often only the Indian version was given. Long signed articles on the interpretation of the scriptures were printed in installments. Many signed letters from teachers and preachers were published in each issue.[16] In his effort to appeal to women readers and to young people, the editor conducted a "Children's Corner," a "Temperance Department," a "Household Department," and a "Woman's Missionary Department," which in addition to mission items, included recipes for making soda biscuits. There were also Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Muskogee, and Seminole departments. The Atoka Baptist academy furnished at least a column of local news, and there was a column of Muskogee news; and a department in the Seminole language.[17]

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[13] The *Indian Missionary* was published monthly until 1891 when it ceased publication with Vol. 7, 1891 No. 8. Daniel Rogers was editor in 1885. The Reverend J. S. Murrow was editor 1886-1891. Printed at Atoka from Vol. 3, 1886. One issue for November, 1885 is located in OHS. OKB has: Vol. 1, 1884-85 and Vol. 5, 1888-89, No. 2 February.

[14] *Indian Missionary*, Vol. I, (1884) No. 1, August.

[15] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, (1885) No. 5, January.

[16] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

In December 1886, the *Indian Missionary* was sold to Reverend J. S. Murrow, who with his wife conducted the magazine for a number of years, until it merged with a weekly Baptist paper started in McAlester. Mrs. J. S. Murrow had charge of the Woman's Missionary, Household, Temperance and Children's departments. A supplement appeared in the issue for August 1889, by Reverend J. S. Murrow titled, "A Mission Tour."[18] This supplement contained the narrative of a journey from Atoka to Anadarko by way of Norman and Oklahoma City made by a party of Baptist missionaries. In 1891 J. S. Murrow retired as editor and W. H. Nichols became editor and business manager.[19] At this time the frequency of publication changed to weekly, and it more nearly resembled a newspaper in form and frequency. However, the character of the publication as a religious organ was not changed for it continued to cover thoroughly the news of mission work in the Indian Territory, and to print signed religious articles and editorials. It is not known how long the *Indian Missionary* continued publication in this form.

The Emigrant Guide

The religious magazines were succeeded by those devoted to the encouragement and promotion of settlement of Indian Territory. One such magazine was, *The Emigrant Guide*,[20] the official monthly organ of Buckskin Joe's Texas Oklahoma Colony." Buckskin Joe" was the frontier sobriquet of Joseph Seduval Works, a typical pioneer of the promoter type. Very little is known about this colorful figure. Dr. E. E. Dale, Research Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, described Buckskin Joe's appearance[21] by saying he was a "tall, spare individual who always bore a buckskin shirt, and his hair in long curls reaching to his shoulders." His nickname was derived from his most unusual dress, a buckskin shirt. According to the portrait sketch of him appearing on the front of the majority of the issues it would be assumed that for special occasions he wore his best checkered suit. In addition to his long curls he also wore an ample mustache and goatee.

Joseph S. Works was an ex-Union soldier[22] who became interested in organizing a "boomer movement" agitating for the opening of the Oklahoma country to white settlement. Specifically, he planned for the opening of a "colony" in old Greer County, at Navajoe in 1887. Here he erected for himself and family a small house of "half dug-

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[18] Hargrett, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

[19] Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[20] *Buckskin Joe's Emigrant Guide* was established and edited by J. S. Works. It was published at Fort Worth until it ceased publication in September, 1888. OHS has an incomplete file from Vol. 1, 1886-87 to Vol. 2, 1887-88.

[21] Edward Everett Dale, "Old Navajoe," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Summer, 1946), pp. 128-45.

[22] "Edwin Williams Engineer" (footnote No. 3) *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. X, No. 3 (September, 1932), p. 332.

out type"[23] which he asserted cost only thirty-five dollars to build. In addition he built a hotel to accommodate land settlers.

Greer County[24] is defined as the disputed territory between Texas and the United States. This county was ninety miles long and fifty miles wide lying between the north and south forks of the Red River on the Southwest corner of the Indian Territory. Navajoe was situated one and one-half miles south of the North Fork of the Red River, and twenty-five miles north of the South Fork, a site at the foot of the Navajoe mountains, a spur of the Wichita range of mountains in Greer county, Indian Territory.

The first issues of *The Emigrant Guide* in 1886 were titled, "Report of the Texas Oklahoma Homestead Colony." The object of this colony was to bring together in one body people in the United States who wanted homes so that by working in unison they could avoid hardships. There was a phrase in their charter which did discriminate against Negroes for they were not admitted to membership. White people were permitted to join the union by recommendation and payment of a fee of two dollars. The later issues were devoted to the interests of the Oklahoma Union which consisted of the unification of the Ft. Worth Real Estate Company with the Texas Oklahoma Colony. The object of the Oklahoma Union was to unite the interests of the railroads, the farmers, and the business men into one great enterprise for settlement of Greer County.[25]

After Joseph S. Works visited Navajoe, he told such an alluring tale of the future of Greer County that Texas businessmen, who hoped to supply merchants along the line to Greer County, supplied him with funds for the printing of many thousands of copies of his little publication, *Buckskin Joe's Emigrant Guide,* which was issued monthly for more than a year. In this he extolled the beauty and fertility of Greer County in general and the area about Navajoe in particular. It was intended to furnish information to members of the Texas Oklahoma Colony, suggesting routes and railroad and wagon fares for those interested in making excursions to Greer County. An excursion announced in the September 1887 issue stated that the round trip wagon fare from Ft. Worth to Navajoe was two dollars and forty cents. Hotel rates were one dollar per day, and meals twenty-five cents each. The July, 1887, issue stated that land could be taken up under the Homestead Law amounting to 160 acres for the head of a family, and 80 acres for single persons over eighteen years of age. Most of the articles were written and signed by J. S. Works. *The Emigrant Guide* was published from September 1886 until November 1888. The title was changed in October 1887 to *Buckskin Joe's Emigrant Guide,* and again changed in January

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[23] Dale, *op. cit.,* pp. 130-31.
[24] *The Emigrant Guide,* Vol. II, (1888) No. 3 March.
[25] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, (1887) No. 3, November.

1888 to, *Navajoe Emigrant Guide.* Navajoe, which once had a population of two hundred people and a United States Post Office, has disappeared.[26]

Oklahoma Magazine

By the year 1889, the scope of the magazines had been broadened from the single purpose of dissemination of religious news, or promotion of settlement, to a multi-purpose. The contents included information on local history, history of Indians, illustrated articles on various citizens, buildings and towns in both Oklahoma and Indian Territories, and entertainment in the form of stories. One such magazine with a broad coverage was, *Oklahoma Magazine,*[27] established in 1889 in Oklahoma City. The publication was advertised as "an independent" weekly magazine for all people.[28] After the publication had appeared for eight years the title was changed to the better known title, *McMasters' Magazine: An Illustrated Monthly of Oklahoma and Indian Territory.*

One of the primary values of this monthly is its sources of biographical information on early day Oklahomans. Each article is profusely illustrated in the section titled, "Our Illustrations." Additional illustrations are the many views of the cities in the territory. Further, *McMasters' Magazine* is noted for its incisive, crisp and original articles, many of them documents of historical interest for Oklahomans.[29] The front cover of the *Oklahoma Magazine* carried a picture of an Indian and a white settler holding a blanket with the caption beneath the picture stating, "We won't split this blanket." Frank McMasters, who owned and edited this journal, came to Oklahoma at the time of the opening of the territory.[30] Territorial contributors were: The Editor, Frank McMasters, Mr. H. H. Howard, Mr. Will T. Little, and Mr. E. J. Humphrey. One outstanding non-territorial contributor was the late Washington Irving whose, "A Tour on the Prairies," was published serially. The only complete file of this magazine in Oklahoma was owned by the late Mr. Walter Ferguson of Tulsa.[31]

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[26] Hargrett, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[27] The *Oklahoma Magazine* began publication in Oklahoma City in 1889. The title was changed to *McMaster's Magazine*, with the August issue 1897. The former title was published weekly then changed to monthly. The latter title started as a monthly in 1893 then changed in 1895 to a weekly. It ceased publication in June 1900. The following incomplete files were found: OKTU has Vol. 1-4; OKU has Vol. 8-11; OHS has Vol. 2-4 and Vol. 8-12.

[28] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, *Oklahoma Imprints*, 1835-1907, (Norman, 1936), p. 241.

[29] Luther B. Hill, *A History of the State of Oklahoma*, Vol. II (Chicago, 1908), p. 107.

[30] Foreman, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 241.

Mistletoe Leaves and its Expansion into *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*

In 1893 occurred the greatest of all land openings that of the Cherokee Outlet. A significant publication appeared in this year. The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized[32] at the annual meeting of the Oklahoma Press Association held at Kingfisher, Oklahoma, on May 27, 1893. The first publication of the Historical Society was, *Mistletoe Leaves*,[33] a forerunner of the present *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* This weekly listed newspapers on file in the Society, contributions including the names of donors, news items of other state historical societies, and personal news items. Several issues included such unusual information as railroad time tables and a section titled, "Poseygraphs", containing poems. This publication was a small leaflet consisting of four pages.

The immediate predecessor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma* was *Historia*,[34] which succeeded *Mistletoe Leaves* in 1910, and was published until after the issue of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* in 1922. Mr. W. P. Campbell, Custodian in charge of the Oklahoma Historical Society was publisher of both of these forerunners of the *Chronicles.* The purpose of *Historia*[35] was similar to that to that of *Mistletoe Leaves.* It was concerned primarily with the advancement and success of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and especially the augmentation of its collection. It included an acknowledgment of items received, names of the donors, lists of newspapers, and other publications received, and a review of library donations. Its scope was broadened to include a new section titled "Old Letter Files," which carried short paragraphs about national political items, the annual report of the Oklahoma Historical Society, definitions of Cherokee words, and biographical sketches of pioneers. The July 1, 1919 issue of *Historia* gave a lengthy article on Sam Houston in Indian Territory. A most sensational issue appeared in the same month in 1922 carrying the bold caption, *Oklahoma, Mecca for Men of Mystery.* This entire issue was devoted to sidelights on Wilkes Booth. Some readers may recall the rumors that Wilkes Booth was supposed to have lived in Oklahoma under the alias of David George and that he committed suicide in Enid in January, 1903. Among the personal news items are found statements that Honorable Joseph S. Works,[36]

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[32] "Notes and Documents," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1945), p. 72; Angie Debo, "Early Publications of the Oklahoma Historical Society," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (Autumn, 1948), pp. 325-28.

[33] *Mistletoe Leaves* was edited by W. P. Campbell, Historical Custodian. It was pub'ished at Kingfisher, Oklahoma, and was succeeded by *Historia* in 1910. Only two issues of *Mistletoe Leaves* are located in any Oklahoma Library and these two issues of Volume I are in OHS.

[34] *Historia* was published quarterly in Oklahoma City. OHS has Vol. 1, 1911, and Vol. 13, 1922. OKU (Archives) has Vol. 4, 1913 No. 3, July 1st, and Vol. 8, 1921, No. 8, October 1st.

[35] *Historia,* Vol. VIII, (1920) No. 5, October 1, p. 1.

[36] *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, (1915) No. 9, January 1.

known as "Buckskin Joe," made his first visit to Oklahoma City in 1888, and another one in 1915. He originated the publication, *Buckskin Joe's Emigrant Guide,* discussed earlier in this article. Another personage mentioned was, Dick T. Morgan,[37] founder of the *Kiowa Chief,* to be described later. He loaned to the Oklahoma Historical Society a pen used by President Taft in signing the bill opening to settlement the Darlington reservation lands near El Reno.

Not only were more articles of local historical interest included, but also articles containing information of national scope. Mr. W. P. Campbell described his visit to the Pacific coast[38] in 1921 in the article titled, "To the Golden State through lands that lie between." This issue carried a note stating that the Historical Society's President, Jasper Sipes, would furnish the magazine with a brief description of his trip abroad in a succeeding issue.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, with *Mistletoe Leaves* and *Historia* as forerunners, has the distinction of being the only periodical which originated during the territorial period.[39] The late Dr. J. S. Buchanan, a member of the faculty of the University of Oklahoma, was the first editor, and Dr. E. E. Dale, now Research Professor of History in the University of Oklahoma, nationally known historian and author, and for more than thirty years a member of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, was the first associate editor of *Chronicles.*[40] This quarterly journal of the Oklahoma Historical Society has as its purpose the recording of all phases of Oklahoma's development that contribute to the knowledge of its history. Its objective is to publish reminiscences of early day residents, rare journals and diaries, and other manuscript and documentary materials pertaining to the State's history. Educational institutions that further research and writing in Oklahoma history as well as writers of local history are invited to contribute original articles for publication.

The present editor of *The Chronicles,* Dr. Charles Evans, makes this statement regarding this quarterly journal:

"It is well to say that the early founders of the Oklahoma Historical Society saw clearly that the Society must have a medium of approach to Oklahomans. This was disclosed in the founding of *Mistletoe Leaves* and its successor, *Historia.*

"After the Society grew from its birth in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893, into strong proportions, there was a need for a larger, higher exponent. So *Chronicles of Oklahoma* was set up in January, 1921. As the Society has expanded with its Annual and Life memberships, reaching into every state of the Union, into Europe and other foreign countries, it has become the oldest

[37] *Ibid.,* Vol. I (1910) No. 5, September 1.
[38] *Ibid.,* Vol. VIII, (1921) No. 8, October 1.
[39] "Chronicles of Oklahoma," (Introduction) *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1921), p. 3.
[40] *Ibid.,* p. 3.

historical journal of continuous publication in Oklahoma and is ranked among the leading historical journals in America.

"The government of the State of Oklahoma through legislative appropriations expends something like $10,000 annually in providing for the editing, publishing and disseminating of *The Chronicles.*

"Its editors, beginning with James S. Buchanon, have been Joseph B. Thoburn, J. Y. Bryce, Dan W. Peery, James W. Moffitt and Charles Evans.

"It is issued quarterly and is composed of historical articles, chiefly on Oklahoma, by the highest authorities."

Twin Territories

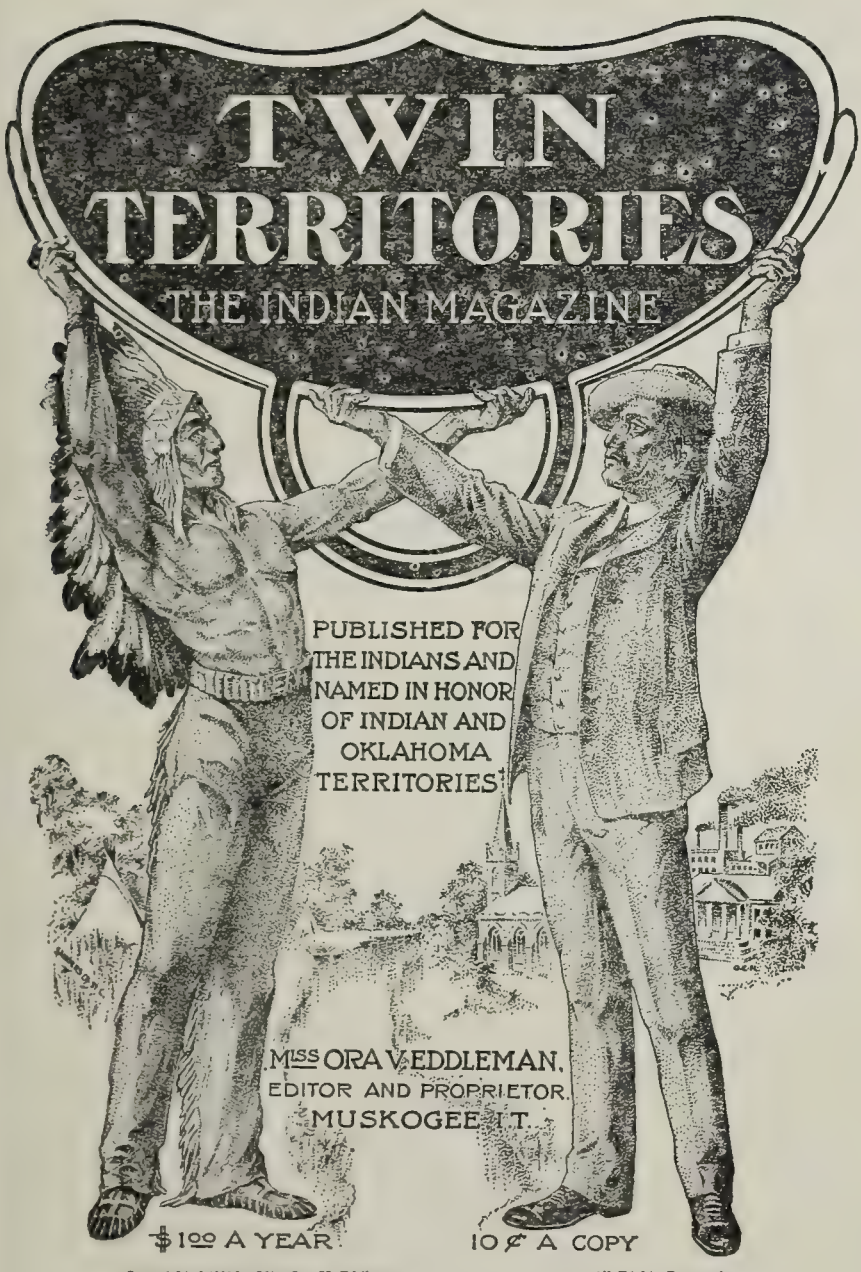
The first territorial periodicals were edited by missionaries, preachers, teachers, promoters, or journalists belonging to the white race, and were designed for both whites and Indians, but with the magazine, *Twin Territories,*[41] one was established which had the distinction of being the only one in the United States that was founded, edited, and published by an Indian, a twenty year old Cherokee girl, Miss Ora V. Eddleman. The subtitle was *The Indian Magazine* which indicated that the primary purpose of the magazine was for the Indians, and written by the Indians. The Sams Publishing Company at Muskogee, began publishing this magazine in December 1898. Miss Eddleman had financial difficulties in maintaining its publication, and by September, 1903, E. C. Dighton became the manager and James Erle Duna, the Editor. The new editor was a member of the Powhatan Indian tribe. This magazine was published for a period of six years, beginning in 1898, was named in honor of the two territories, *Oklahoma Territory* and *Indian Territory.*

Twin Territories began as a mere pamphlet containing Indian legends, and folklore, poems, editorials, short stories, a farmer's department, and a section titled "Growing Towns of Indian Territory," with excellent illustrations. Factual articles, serials, some of which were contributed by Mignon Schreiber, pen name for Ora V. Eddleman, are of historical interest. Other departments which have not appeared in any of the previously discussed magazines, are: "What the curious want to know" which included inquiries and answers, "Books and Periodicals" section, and a section titled, "Some Prominent Men" devoted to biographical sketches and portraits of noteworthy pioneers.

There were articles on the Five Civilized Tribes and territorial news items of a general nature. The scope of contents of the magazine was continually broadened with a series of articles by early day residents begun in March, 1900. One article in this series was, "My First Year in the Indian Territory, May 1835 - May 1836", by Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson of Muskogee. Illustrated articles about out-

[41] *Twin Territories* was a monthly published from December 1898 until May 1904. The following libraries have incomplete files: OHS has Vol. 1-6; OKMu has Vol. 1-6; OKTU has Vol. 4-6 and Vol. 10. Mrs. Ora Eddleman Reed of Tulsa owns a complete file.

April, 1903.



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THE MAGAZINE OF OKLAHOMA AND INDIAN TERRITORIES.

Title page of *Twin Territories*, The Indian Magazine

standing homes were included in the section, "Pretty Homes of the Territory." News items regarding cattlemen and the cattle business were found in the section, "Hoofs and Horns." Education was not neglected, for by September, 1900, a series of articles appeared on "Schools of the Territories," giving historical facts about the University of Oklahoma, the Agricultural and Mechanical College at Stillwater, and the state teachers' colleges. Ore Eddleman edited a department titled, "Round the Center Fire of the Wigwam," which included Indian literature, stories, poems, folklore, and stories for children.

No complete file of *Twin Territories* is listed in any library in Oklahoma, but there is a privately owned file held by Mrs. Ora Eddleman Reed of Tulsa. Some of the Territorial contributors to this magazine were: Florence Bledsoe Crafford, who contributed poems and stories; Clarence B. Douglass, Editor of the Muskogee Phoenix newspaper; J. R. Gregory; Joshua Ross; Mignon Schreiber, pseudnonym for Ora Eddleman; Reverend T. F. Brewer, editor of *Our Brother in Red;* Mrs. Mabel W. Anderson, Mrs. Kate Burwell, and Dr. Charles N. Gould. Non-territorial contributors were: Hamlin Garland and Elbert Hubbard.

Kiowa Chief

The Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Reservation was opened to settlement by citizens of the United States in 1901.[42] This reservation adjoined Greer County to the west. The *Kiowa Chief*[43] began publication the same year of the opening. Dick Thompson Morgan,[44] a pioneer lawyer who later was elected member of the House of Representatives of the 61st Congress, founded the *Kiowa Chief* magazine in Perry, Oklahoma. Its object, which resembled a newspaper in format, was to give its readers all of the news concerning the opening of the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache lands for settlement. Legal questions pertaining to the opening of these new lands were discussed in each issue. On the front of each issue at the center top

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[42] Gittinger, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[43] *Kiowa Chief* was established in August 1900. Dick T. Morgan was editor. The frequency of publication was monthly until July 1901 when it was changed to a weekly. It is not known when it ceased publication. The only files found were an incomplete run of Vol. 1, 1900-01 in OKU.

[44] Dick Thompson Morgan was born at Prairie Creek, Vigo County, Indiana in 1853. A lawyer by profession he accepted a position as attorney for the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad at Garden City, Kansas and retained that position until the opening of Oklahoma, April 22, 1889 at that time settling in the city of Guthrie. He resided there until 1893 when he moved to Perry, and in 1901 transferred to El Reno. In 1904, President Theodore Roosevelt appointed him to the position of register of the U. S. Land Office at Woodward. In 1908 he was elected to membership in the House of Representatives of the 61st Congress, and was re-elected for four terms. Mr. Morgan was the editor of a book, "*Land Credits.*" He also wrote, "*Morgan's Manual of the United States Homestead and Townsite Laws,* 1890", and Morgan's "*School Land Manual,* 1901", (See Joseph Bradfield Thoburn, *A Standard History of Oklahoma,* Vol. IV, [Chicago, 1916], pp. 1673-76.)

was a picture of a Kiowa Indian chief's head with a picture of a covered wagon on one side, a party of cowboys on the other. Sometime after July 1901 the place of publication was moved to Ft. Sill, and the frequency of publication changed to weekly. No issues after this date are known to be available in Oklahoma. Not having had access to long consecutive runs of the *Kiowa Chief,* it is impossible for the author to supply information about changes in frequency of publication, and changes in places of publication. As far as it is known, the University of Oklahoma Library is the only library in the state holding even fragments of this magazine.

Sturm's Statehood Magazine

A monthly which began publication three years prior to the admittance of Oklahoma to statehood, was, *Sturm's Statehood magazine.*[45] The magazine is most appropriately named as it began publication immediately preceding the admittance of Oklahoma to statehood. It was first published and edited in Tulsa, in 1905, then later moved to Oklahoma City where it was published until May 1911. The front cover is distinctive in that it carries a picture representing Uncle Sam joining in marriage Mr. Oklahoma and Miss Indian Territory. Like the *Twin Territories*, this magazine included topics which were largely local to Oklahoma and Indian Territories, but its scope was broadened to include western literature, frontier history, and information pertaining to world affairs a tlarge. In the latter category it included articles on national tribes of Indians, national points of interest including parks, cities and even the fine arts. The former editor of *Twin Territories,* Mrs. Ora Eddleman Reed, edited the sections titled, "Indian Department," and "History Department," both of which give evidence of much preliminary research. Included in these two departments were Indian legends, folklore, and sketches of famous Indians. Like two preceding magazines this one also included a series of articles on early towns in Oklahoma. This section is titled, "Oklahoma's Live Young Cities." Further, the contents included, fiction, biographical sketches, poems, scores of music, reprints of serials, editorials, and fashion notes. Mabel Washburne Anderson edited the section, "Sketches of famous Indians."

The value of *Sturm's Magazine* is emphasized by a statement in the January 1906 issue: "Its matter concerning Indian history and conditions is invaluable to all who desire to be well informed on these subjects. It also treats fully the wonderful resources of the two territories and furnishes an invaluable fund of information to those who are now residents, or expect to become residents of the state." A special feature is mentioned in the November 1911 issue, "for a

[45] *Sturm's Statehood Magazine* was established and edited by O. P. Sturm. The title was changed to *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine* with the July 1906 issue. Incomplete holdings are in the following libraries: OKU has Vol. 2-11; OKTU has Vol. 1-2 and Vol. 4; OKMu has Vol. 1-11; OKU-P has Vol. 1-3 and Vol. 6-12; OKW has Vol. 5-11; OHS has Vol. 1-12.

Allotment Maps

Everybody
Must Have One!

(illegible)

Only 25 Cents.

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Do Not Wait.

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DICK T. MORGAN,
Perry, Oklahoma.

Morgan's Manual,

With Supplement
Containing the...

President's Proclamation.

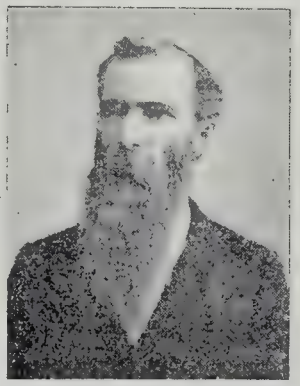
With All the Rules and Regulations Governing the Opening, and COMPLETE INSTRUCTIONS Thereunder.

(illegible)

DICK T. MORGAN,
Perry, Okla.

DICK T. MORGAN,

Lawyer and Land Attorney.



.....AUTHOR OF.....

"MORGAN'S MANUAL,"

Of the United States Homestead, Townsite and Mining Laws, and of "Morgan's Digest of Oklahoma Supreme Court Decisions."

PERRY, OKLAHOMA.

AFTER THE OPENING, OFFICE AT

... FT. SILL AND EL RENO. ...

(illegible)

Do You Want Advice Now? (illegible)

Homestead and Soldiers' Papers (illegible)

Have Your Papers Ready. (illegible)

DICK T. MORGAN, Perry, Okla.

The Kiowa Chief, Vol. 1, No. 12, page 4,
Published at Perry by Dick T. Morgan.

PERRY, OKLA., JULY, 1901.

PROCLAMATION EXTRA.

PRESIDENT McKINLEY'S OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION.

Opening the Kiowa, Comanche Apache, Wichita and Caddo Indian Reservations to Settlement.

REGISTER AT EL RENO AND FORT SILL LAND OFFICES

PRESIDENT McKINLEY

The Kiowa Chief, Periodical Published at Perry, Oklahoma Territory, by Dick T. Morgan

number of years we have issued as our April number a magazine whose leading features concerned the 'opening' with stories by and about pioneers or 89ers.'' Distinctive departments were: ''People in the Public Eye'', ''Home Building Department'', and ''In a Lighter Vein.''

Territorial writers made prolific contributions to this magazine. Some of the outstanding contributors were: Mrs. Ora V. Eddleman Reed, Mr. Walter Ferguson, Mr. O. P. Sturm, Dr. Roy T. House, Dr. Charles N. Gould, Mr. Joseph B. Thoburn, Dr. Joseph F. Paxton, Mrs. Jennie Harris Oliver, Mr. Earl Everett Sneed, Mr. A. S. Chaney, Mr. N. F. Gates, and Mrs. A. E. Perry. The readers who are familiar with the book, *Oklahoma Place Names,* By Dr. Charles N. Gould (Norman, 1933), will be interested to know that an article in his series, ''Origin of Oklahoma Names,'' first appeared in the November 1907 issue of *Sturm's Statehood Magazine.* Joseph B. Thoburn contributed articles on military and Indian history that are now classic in Oklahoma. Nationally known contributors were: F. D. Pittman, S. R. Stoddard and Frederick S. Barde, besides reprints of Washington Irving's works.

In conclusion the representative territorial magazines described here include much material which should interest the general reader and the research scholar. It is appalling how scarce the files of the pre-statehood magazines are in Oklahoma Libraries. Only fragmentary runs ranging up to one complete file was found among the library resources in the state.

The *Kiowa Chief* journal was acquired recently by gift by the Archives Department of the University of Oklahoma Library. It was considered a rare item, and is now in the Treasure Room Collection of this library. Possibly, more valuable files of pre-statehood magazines may be found among pioneers in this state, and could be donated to a public library, or a library of an educational institution where the general public might have access to these files.

An appeal is made to all readers of this article among early day settlers if they possess any magazines in this category which they would be willing to donate to state or local libraries. It may not be too late for Oklahoma to preserve additional issues of this valuable type of source material for Oklahoma.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE MICROFILM LIBRARY
OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S NEW PROJECT

The Oklahoma Historical Society set up recently a film library. The purpose set forth by the Board of Directors is defined as a forceful and immediate expansion of the gathering, classifying and making available by purchase and exchange of historical films for research.

To this end, the Board appointed Colonel George Shirk, one of the directors of this Society, as a leader in this field. Valuable films have been secured in a rather desultory way in past years. Under the present Secretary of the Society, special stress on filming began some years ago. Many have been collected.

In order to place before the reading public and research workers throughout Oklahoma and America what has been done, it was thought well to ask Mrs. O. J. Cook, Custodian of Newspapers of this Society, to prepare a summary of the past collections and to make a report on the films now in the possession of the Society. This report is set forth:

Report on the Progress of Microfilming

November 8, 1951.

Dr. Evans:

You asked me to give a written report on our microfilming. On December 14, 1940 the following list of microfilms of newspapers were purchased from the Library of Congress:

Recordak Film #1—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), May 10, 1865—January 4, 1866
Recordak Film #2—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), January 5, 1866—September 20, 1866
Recordak Film #3—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), September 21, 1866—April 12, 1867
Recordak Film #4—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), April 13, 1867—October 26, 1867
Recordak Film #5—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), October 27, 1867—May 23, 1868
Recordak Film #6—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), May 21, 1868—December 17, 1868
Recordak Film #7—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), December 18, 1868—July 18, 1869
Recordak Film #8—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), July 20, 1869—February 12, 1870
Recordak Film #9—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), February 13, 1870—September 10, 1870
Recordak Film #10—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), September 11, 1870—April 18, 1871
Recordak Film #11—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), April 19, 1871—November 19, 1871
Recordak Film #12—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), November 21, 1871—June 15, 1872
Recordak Film #13—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), June 16, 1872—January 8, 1873

Recordak Film #14—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), January 9, 1873—August 3, 1873
Recordak Film #15—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), August 5, 1873—March 15, 1874
Recordak Film #16—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), March 17, 1874—October 20, 1874
Recordak Film #17—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), October 21, 1874—May 25, 1875
Recordak Film #18—*Arkansas Gazette* (Daily), May 27, 1875—December 30, 1875

Recordak Film #1—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), November 20, 1819—May 8, 1823
Recordak Film #2—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), May 13, 1823—August 22, 1826
Recordak Film #3—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), August 30, 1826—November 10, 1829
Recordak Film #4—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), November 17, 1829—November 28, 1932
Recordak Film #5—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), December 5, 1832—March 15, 1836
Recordak Film #6—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), March 22, 1836—September 4, 1839
Recordak Film #7—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), September 11, 1839—August 10, 1842
Recordak Film #8—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), August 17, 1842—April 6, 1846
Recordak Film #9—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), April 13, 1846—November 8, 1849
Recordak Film #10—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), November 15, 1849—July 15, 1853
Recordak Film #11—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), July 22, 1853—February 21, 1857
Recordak Film #12—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), February 28, 1857—June 16, 1860
Recordak Film #13—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), June 16, 1860—December 3, 1866
Recordak Film #14—*Arkansas Gazette* (Weekly), December 11, 1866—November 17, 1868

MISCELLANEOUS LIST

Arkansas Intelligencer—Vol. February 15, 1845—June 28, 1847. Date: March 13, 1857—October 1, 1858

Doaksville Choctaw—*Intelligencer*, June 16, 1850—January 7, 1852
Choctaw Telegraph, May 3, 1849—December 20, 1849
Northern Standard (Texas), October 15, 1842 (Vol.). Date: March 4, 1848—September 29, 1849.

Union Census of 1890 in Union Memorial Room. (Purchased in 1949—Compiled through courtesy of National Archives, Washington, D. C. "Muster-Out" rolls of First, Second and Third Regiment of *Indian Home Guard.*)

In the Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, January 25, 1945, Page 92, "The President read a letter from the Missouri Historical Society in regard to a microfilm of the *St. Louis Republican* for the archives of the Society at the cost stated in the letter; and that the Secretary be authorized to secure information as to how to proceed." Dr. Evans stated for various reasons the microfilm was not purchased.

At your request I compiled a report April 9, 1946 which you read at the regular Board meeting April 22, 1946. Excerpts from this report states: "On March 30, Mr. Van B. Phillips, 2536 NW 31st Street, Oklahoma City, Representative of the Recordak Corporation, Subsidiary of Eastman Kodak Company, was in the office and stated he had just completed a sale for a reader for the University of Oklahoma. He said a few years back, the University had purchased four cheap readers, these readers had been unsatisfactory because of their poor optical vision and they had scratched and blistered their valuable films. He also compared his microfilming prices with other companies who have been in the department. . . . . He pointed out the fact that after purchasing reader we could save money by ordering direct from the paper itself as many of the leading newspapers over the state are microfilming their papers." I should like to state that all microfilming companies have a master vault in which the negative of every film is stored for future use. These companies, at your request, furnish you a complete list of all papers in the United States that they have microfilmed. At that time the Recordak reader was selling for $363.00 fob, Dallas, Texas when order accompanied a Tax Exemption certificate.

At this official Board meeting, April 22, 1946, page 243, the following is recorded: "The Secretary reported on the matter of microfilming of newspapers and books belonging to the Society, and the purchase from the Recordak Company of a Reader to read said films, at a cost of $380.00. Mr. W. J. Peterson moved that the Society purchase a Reader at a cost not to exceed $380.00. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion. Carried."

The following regular Board meeting, July 25, 1946, page 389, I quote the following: "Mr. George L. Bowman made the motion that the Historical Society purchase a Spencer Microfilm Reader from the American Optical Company, Buffalo, New York, at a cost of $41.00, plus the following listed attachments at $22.15:

Roll Film Attachment with one 100 ft Film Reel	$15.28
100 Foot Film Reel, 35-mm	.55
100 Watt, 115 Volt, G161/2 Spotlight Bulb MCP	.90
Extra Screens (package of six)	1.65
Glass Film Book	.80
16mm. Accessories for use with Roll Film Attachment, including 4 spacers, one aperture mask and one 100 Foot Film Reel, with instructions	2.75
100 Foot Film Reel—16mm.	.55
	$ 22.15

"Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion which carried unanimously."

The Reader was purchased and never used because of its poor optical vision and it scratched and blistered the films. Mr. Hudson, State Librarian, ordered a new roll of films for the Union Census of 1890 and stated he had the Recordak Readers in the State Library and when it was necessary to use a reader to come over and he felt sure one would be available. Remington Rand, Oklahoma City, has the agency for the American Optical Company and one of their representatives spent the morning with me working on our Reader. He finally told me he could adjust it for 16mm films, but it could never be used for newspapers which requires a special 35mm especially manufactured to assure sharp, clear pictures and it is impossible to enlarge the optical vision to a greater degree on the Spencer Reader. The test showed a 16mm film can be read and with minor adjustments without scratching the film.

At the same Board meeting on July 25, 1946, on page 390, Judge Robert L. Williams reported that he had authorized the Librarian of the Society to take the Territorial Census of Oklahoma, 1890, which is very old and valuable, to Dallas, Texas, to be microfilmed by the Recordak Company, five films to be made, two for the Historical Society, one for the Library of Congress, one for the A. & M. College, Stillwater, and one for the State Library, Oklahoma City; that the total expense was

$11.91. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that the cost of $11.91 for filming the Oklahoma Territorial Census, 1890, be paid. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

The following is a list of microfilm records placed in the microfilm case in the newspaper division:

Film No. B-40—Brackenridge, Henry Marie. *Views of Louisiana: Journal of a voyage up the Missouri River,* in 1811, pp. 304.
Film No. B-61—Brand, George W.—In the Senate of the U. S.—*The petition of George W. Brand, a citizen of the Cherokee Nation* 1837
Film No. C-37—Cushing, Caleb. *Overland Expedition* . . . . . 1840, p p.144.
Film No. C-38—Cutler, Jervis. *A topographical description of the state of Ohio, Indiana Territory and Louisiana . . . a concise account of Indian tribes west of Miss. . . . a journal of Chas. LeRaye,* pp. 219.
Film No. D-14—Dunn, John. *The Oregon Territory and the British North American fur trade: . . . habits and customs of native tribes on the northern continent,* pp. 236.
Film No. E-3—Edwards, Frank S. *A campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan,* pp. 184.
Film No. E-4—Edwards, Frank S. *A campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* 1847, 1848, pp. 134.
Film No. F-9—Filson, John. *The discovery, settlement, and present state of Kentucky . . . . adventures of Col. Daniel Boone . . . minutes of Piankashaw council,* 1784 . . . . account of the Indian nations in U. S., 1784.
Film No. J-11—Jacobs, J. G. *The Life and Times of Patrick Gass* . . . . 1859. pp. 280.
Film No. L-9—Lee and Frost. *Ten years in Oregon* . . . . 1844. pp. 344.
Film No. F-20—Fremont, John Charles. *A report on an exploration of the country between the Missouri River and the Rocky mountains* . . . . 1843. pp. 207.
Film No. L-24—*An account of Louisiana — boundaries, history, cities, towns.* 1803, pp. 78.
Film No. J-6, J-7, J-8—(three reels) Jefferson, Thomas. *Message . . . . . communicating discoveries . . . . by Captains Lewis & Clark and other.* 1806. pp. 171.
Film No. L-13, L-14—Lewis and Clark. *Travels . . . . . to the Pacific Ocean.* (2 reels) 1804-1809.
Film No. M-4, M-5 (2 reels)—McCoy, Isaac. *First and second annual register of Indian affairs in the Indian Territory* . . . . 1835, 1836. pp. 48, 88.
Film No. H-7—"Indian Territory" *Journal of a tour* . . . 1844. Harris N. Sayre.
Film No. R-2—Reese, David M. *Letters . . . American colonization and anti-slavery societies* . . . 1835. pp. 120.
Film No. S-68—Smith, Isaac. *Reminiscences of a campaign in Mexico* . . 1848. pp. 116.
Film No. T-53—Tubbee, Okah. *A sketch of the life of Okah Tubbee, alias William Chubbee* . . .1848.
Film No. 10—Wilkes, George. *The history of Oregon, geographical and political* . . . . 1845. pp. 127.
Film No. C-13—*Cheyenne Indians, massacre of* . . . (38th Cong. 2d sess. House, 1865)
Film No. P-27—Pendergrast, Garrett E. *Sketch of Mississippi Territory, Lower Louisiana, West Florida.* 1803. pp. 34.
Film No. K-9—Kingsbury, G. P. *Washington,* 1836.
Film No. S-48—Stephens, I. I. *Washington,* 1858.
Thorp, Jim . . . . (In Library Reading Room—South filing case)

Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, January 29, 1948, page 117, the following is recorded: "The Secretary reported that Mr. Ralph Hudson, Librarian of the State Library in the State Capitol, had recently purchased a Microfilm Machine and had offered the use of it to the

historical society at any time. Judge Robert A. Hefner made the motion that Mr. Hudson be thanked for this offer. Dr. Emma Estill Harbour seconded the motion which passed unanimously."

In the Session Laws of Oklahoma 1949, page 440, Title 67, Records, Chapter 4—Microfilming of Records . . . . An Act authorizing the micro-filming of certain public records. . . . .

Since this law went into effect Mr. Hudson has microfilmed the following papers:

Recordak Film #1—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate* — 1845-1876, 1876-1878 — Vol. 1-2
Recordak Film #2—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate*—1878-1880—Vol. 3-4, 1880-1881—Vol. 5-6
Recordak Film #3—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate*—1881-1882 — July 27, 1881-May 5, 1882, 1882-1888—Vol. 7-13.
Recordak Film #4—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate*—1889-1893 — Vol. 13-22, 1877-1888, June 15, 1887—October 8, 1879
Tahlequah Telephone 1887-1888
Recordak Film #5—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate* 1899-1906—Vol. 23-29
Recordak Film #6—January to December 1894 (*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate*)
January to April 13, 1895
June to December 1893
January to December 1903
Recordak Film #7—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate* 1901
Buckskin Joe's *Emigrant Guide* and the *Morning Star* 1884-1885
Cherokee Advocate Jan. to Dec. 24, 1904
Recordak Film #8—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate*, January 7, 1905—Dec. 2, 1905
Oklahoma Stray Republican, Vol. 13
Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate, Jan. 4, 1902—May 10, 1902 and continued on roll #9.
Recordak Film #9—*Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate*, May 10, 1902 and *Tahlequah Cherokee Advocate*, 1880-1881.
Recordak Film—*Guthrie Daily State Capital*, May—December 1889.

The labor for microfilming is paid for by the State and the Society, though Mr. Hudson, buys the film wholesale.

In my October report, 1949, I stated that we had valuable papers that should be preserved and I had talked to Mr. Hudson and he had informed me 3500 newspaper pages could be microfilmed for approximately $80.00. $105.00 had been saved from the newspaper binding fund and from this fund we have been purchasing films for microfilming. We have to wait our turn in microfilming but we have purchased $63.00 of 35mm film and when Mr. Hudson has finished his emergency work in other state departments, he is calling me and I hope to microfilm the Oklahoma Territory papers.

In my report, April 18, 1951, I mentioned that the Micro-Photo Service Bureau, Cleveland, Ohio was sending to the Newspaper Division 1200 feet of microfilm of the *Enid Wave*—on April 24, 1951 the films arrived. Enid papers contracted with the Micro-Photo Service Bureau to microfilm their papers. Mr. M. Mandel, Cleveland, Ohio, was sent to the Society by the Enid paper to microfilm its papers. I showed every courtesy and Mr. Mandel reciprocated by sending films on papers microfilmed from newspaper files. The following is a list of films received:

Film 1-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—December 13, 1893-December 17, 1894
Film 2-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—December 18, 1894-April 8, 1896
Film 3-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—April 9, 1896-December 31, 1897
Film 4-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—January 6, 1898-November 10, 1899
Film 5-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—November 11, 1899-February 14, 1901

Film 6-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—February 15, 1901-April 24, 1902
Film 7-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—April 25, 1902-July 9, 1903
Film 8-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—July 10, 1903-September 15, 1904
Film 9-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—September 16, 1904-November 18, 1905
Film 10-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—November 20, 1905-January 7, 1907
Film 11-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—January 8, 1907-February 7, 1908
Film 12-A—*Enid Daily Wave*—February 8, 1908-February 29, 1908

The Indian Archives Division received this film October 15, 1951: Unsigned Memorandum dated November 12, 1906, concerning coal and asphalt leases, in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, gift of Mr. Gene Aldrich, Norman, Oklahoma.

Respectfully submitted,
Mrs. O. J. Cook,
Newspaper Department
—Charles Evans, Secretary

Fairfield Mission Revisited

The recent article[1] in the Chronicles of Oklahoma on Fairfield Mission would certainly arouse the reader's desire to actually visit the exact site of this once busy place and to pause in the old mission cemetery long enough to study and perhaps photograph some of the oldest marked graves in Oklahoma.

Several different land descriptions have appeared from time to time in print as to the exact location of the mission, so of course the search for the exact site should begin with the allotment plats of the Cherokee Nation.

The allotment of the Northwest Quarter of the Northeast Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of Section 35, Township 15 North, Range 24 East contains an exception of one acre for cemetery purposes. This was a portion of the homestead allotment of Lizzie McLemore, Cherokee Roll, No. 2452.

This seems to be about the right location, so the hunter's next step would be to make an "on the ground" visit to the spot and make local investigation. Starting several miles south of Stilwell, and using the new Fairfield Mission Historical Marker as the send-off for the expedition, a good country road leads off to the south and west to the little town of Lyons.

A pleasant surprise in Lyons is to find that the allottee, Mrs. McLemore, is the town's "senior citizen," and not only that, but that she is a great-granddaughter of Chief John Ross. She knew many details of the old Mission and had often heard her parents tell

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[1] Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Fairfield Mission," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXVII, No. 4 (Winter, 1949-50), pp. 373-88.

of the early days there. Her own story is best told in a letter subsequently received from her:

"Route 1, Box 100
Stilwell, Okla.
May 21, 1951.

"Dear Sir,

The old Fairfield Mission site was on my Indian allotment. I do not live on this allotment at the present time.

What I know about the old Fairfield Mission was told to me by the old folks that lived in the community where the Mission was located. It was established some time about when the Indians came from the old Country or before, probably when the old settlers came before the Trail of Tears.

My mother-in-law told me that she went to school at the Mission long enough to learn her A.B.C.s and to spell a little. So when the Civil War broke out the missionaries left and she did not know where they went. She said bush whackers located on the Mission property. They destroyed everything they could destroy. The McLemore "older people" lived on there after the War. Mrs. McLemore told me they picked up partially burned Bibles. I have a rock in my yard now that was used by the Mission people. My mother-in-law said she and the other little girls washed dishes for the Mission. It was used for a kitchen sink.

As time went on and the McLemores lived on the place and handed it down from their generation on down. It was a long story to tell what has been told me. I have been in the family 59 years and knew all the McLemores. Not many living now. I've went walking many times with my husband and his father and mother over the old Mission grounds. All the folks I knew have passed away. I can tell people better than I can write.

Now about myself. I was born Feb. 21, 1874, in Flint District, Cherokee Nation, a long time before statehood. My father's name was John Ross. His father was Lewis Ross, Chief John Ross's son. My father was an officer of Indian Home Guards stationed at Ft. Gibson, Ind. Ter, during the Civil War. My father died Feb. 20, 1880. You see I was small when my father died. If I should tell you all I know you would get tired hearing all.

Respt.
Mrs. Lizzie McLemore"

The site is easy to find and is quite accessable by automobile. Some two miles south and then six miles west of Stilwell is Lyons, a stop on the Kansas City Southern Railway. From Lyons the visitor should take the county highway, a nice graveled road, to the southwest. About a mile from the town the road cuts sharply to the left, crossing the railroad and then fording Sallisaw Creek. From the ford one should proceed on south .7 miles, and then through an old gate by turning right off of the road.

From this gate it would be perhaps best to proceed on foot as the lane is overgrown and not designed for the modern automobile. Walking due west perhaps 100 yards over a slight crest and down the other side of the slope the visitor will come upon the old cemetery.

Although high with weeds and giving little indication of its past importance, a visit to the mission graveyard is adequate reward for

the time required in its discovery. Its venerable age is well demonstrated by the still legible inscription on three of its slabs:

Erected by Moses Alberty
in memory of his wife
Sarah
who departed this life
June the 18, 1830
Age 37 years

Theodosia Johnson
Died Sept 27, 1832
Aged 11 years

Rev S Aldrich
Died 28 Nov. 1835
Age 27 years

It is a trip well worth the effort.

—George H. Shirk.

Oklahoma Historical Marker on the Famous "Dodge City Trail"

The Vici Chamber of Commerce, Guy Beck, Secretary, in co-operation with Melvin Harrel, of Cheyenne, and others interested in the fascinating history of Western Oklahoma succeeded in having erected an official Oklahoma Historical Marker to mark the site where U.S. Highway #60 crosses the trace of the old Texas Cattle Trail, also known in history as the Western Trail" or "Dodge City Trail." This marker is located on U.S. Highway #60, three and a half miles west of Vici, in Dewey County. The Vici Chamber of Commerce supplied the funds to purchase the plaque, and the Oklahoma Historical Society supplied the inscription which is as follows:

DODGE CITY TRAIL
Crossed here

Over this famous Western Trail, 11,000,000 cattle and horses were driven from Texas through Indian Ter. to Kansas. First drive, 1874; the last, 1893, with the opening of this country as part of the Cherokee Strip. The herds supplied shipping from Dodge City, besides thousands of head driven to ranches in the Northwest and Canada.

This marker was placed on the site west of Vici by the Engineering Office of the State Highway Department co-operating with the Oklahoma Historical Society in the state-wide Historical Marker program.

The plaque with its history of the Dodge City Trail was unveiled at its location in a special ceremony on October 11, 1951, when

Northwestern Oklahoma celebrated the opening of the final link in U.S. Highway #60 with more than 5,000 people participating in the day's festivities. Vici was host to the crowd celebrating the completion of the paving of this highway that crosses the northern edge of the state and paved road between Arnett, in Ellis County, and Vici, in Dewey County. A big parade on Vici's main street—the route of U.S. #60—featured bands from Vici, Arnett, Seiling, Fairview and the Panhandle A. and M. College, Goodwell, with the roundup clubs of Leedey and Seiling taking a prominent part. Noon barbecue lunch for the thousands in attendance was followed by an address by Governor Murray who drove a golden wedge in the final strip of paving and snipped the bright ribbon opening the highway to traffic. Melvin Harrel, who is a member of the Historical Society and an enthusiastic promoter of Western Oklahoma history, made the principal address in the afternoon's program that included the unveiling of the Historical Marker and a colorful pageant with five Ellis County cattlemen participating—Willis Espy, John Irwin, Roy Krows, Pope Patterson and Chet Smith, all of whom had driven cattle over the old Dodge City Trail sixty years ago.

M.H.W.

Carolyn Thomas Foreman's Article on "John Gunter and His Family"

An interesting article on "John Gunter and His Family," by Carolyn Thomas Foreman, was published recently by the State Department of Archives and History in *The Alabama Historical Quarterly,* Vol. 9, No. 3. This is a valuable contribution and will interest many descendants of the prominent Gunter family of the Cherokee Nation, in Oklahoma. Guntersville, Alabama, was named for John Gunter.

Dr. Grant Foreman's Latest Book on the Beginnings of Protestant Church Work in Oklahoma

Beginnings of Protestant Christian Work in Indian Territory, by Grant Foreman, dedicated to the memory of the late Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson and to the Reverend Walter G. Letham, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Muskogee, is published in pamphlet form (Star Printery, 1951) as a remembrance for Dr. Foreman's friends of the Presbyterian Church in Muskogee. The subject covers an account of the missionary work at Union Mission (opened in 1820) among the Osage in Oklahoma, compiled from the original Journal of Union Mission now in the Oklahoma Historical Society collections and from the files of the Congregational House of Boston now in Houghton Library at Harvard College, Cam-

bridge, Massachusetts. The text of this publication was first prepared and delivered as a paper at the first anniversary of the first Presbytery in session at Fort Gibson, Oklahoma, on September 11, 1933. Dr. Foreman has made a fine contribution in this, and his tribute to the missionaries and the missions in his conclusion is worthy of special notice. He says:

"An adequate account of the early religious activities in this country has never been attempted. If it shall ever be written it will require volumes to record the tremendous story of devotion and achievement of these early laborers. For it will include the history of scores of missions of several churches through all the Five Civilized Tribes; and it will detail the sacrifices and services of hundreds of ministers and missionaries whose names are even unknown to the present generation. Yet they exerted a tremendous influence upon the spiritual and material welfare of the Indians and other early residents of this country. And that influence was not merely temporary. It exists today to make this a better country in which to live and rear our children, to make our surroundings more wholesome and to develop our citizenship to the present state of which we are so justly proud."

Reports on Oklahoma Archeology from the Department of Anthropoly in the University of Oklahoma

The fine work in Oklahoma archeology carried on by the Department of Anthropology, The University of Oklahoma, Dr. Robert E. Bell, Chairman, is revealing much of Oklahoma's wonderful prehistory. Dr. Bell's "Archeological Newsletter" sent out in mimeographed form, illustrated, at regular intervals gives interesting accounts and up-to-the-minute reports on the field activities of his department in the state. Particularly important and enlightening are two recent issues of this "Newsletter": Vol. II, No. 5 (September, 1951) reports the work in excavating the Vanderpool and Morris, archeological sites near Tahlequah, an area that will soon be flooded with the completion of the Tenkiller Dam on the Illinois River; and Vol. III, No. 1 (January, 1952) is devoted to comments and remarks on Indian arrowheads.

A reprint of "A Survey of Oklahoma Archeology" by Robert E. Bell and David A. Baerreis, from Volume 22, *Bulletin of Texas Archeological and Paleontological Society* (Lubbock, Texas) has been received by the Editorial Department. The introduction to this survey states in part:

"The prehistory of Oklahoma is not well represented in the archeological literature, and much of the published information is not readily accessible. Therefore, it seems desirable to bring together in a summary fashion the information available about the various archeological manifestations found within the state. . . . . This synoptic survey of Oklahoma archeology is based upon the present status of research. In some cases, earlier concepts have been accepted; in others, some questions have been raised, and in a few instances new interpretations are hereby offered. . . . .

"Within the last few years, great progress in archeology has been made in the Mississippi valley. The overall sequence of events is becoming

clear but the details remain obscure and uncertain. In this general picture, Oklahoma is merely part of a larger unit and the trend of prehistoric events more or less duplicates that found in other sections of the Mississippi basin. However, it is also clear that eastern Oklahoma, although a portion of the Caddoan Area, presents developments which are different and more regional in character. It is in this regional development that Oklahoma reflects its individuality and distinctive features, and the role played, with respect to the broad trend of events, remains controversial and unsettled."

An illustrated, published report on the Stamper site of Western Oklahoma is available, titled *The Optima Focus of the Panhandle Aspect: Description and Analysis,* by Virginia Watson. It contains 60 pages, 4 full page plates and 2 figures, and may be ordered from the University of Oklahoma Museum or Robert E. Bell. (Published, September, 1950, Price 45¢.)

The James Forrestal Fellowships in Naval History

The United States Naval Academy announces Fellowships for research in naval history. Eligible are candidates who have an interest in naval and military history and have demonstrated ability in research. Appointments are made for one year on a renewable basis. Stipends will be adjusted to the needs of the individual fellows and are expected to vary between $3,000 and $8,000 per annum. Fellows are selected by a committee consisting of naval officers and civilian historians.

While fellows are expected to carry on their research chiefly at the Naval Academy, they are allowed appropriate freedom for travel in connection with their research projects. Fellows are provided office space and clerical assistance at the Naval Academy.

Definite plans for their proposed research must be presented by all candidates. The Forrestal Fellowships as a long-range project are intended to organize the field of naval history as an aid to better understanding of current and future problems of national defense. The Committee will appraise initial projects with particular attention to their potential contribution to understanding of the value of sea power to the security and stability of the United States. Those appointed to Fellowships will be expected to occupy themselves, on a full-time basis, with studies in the specific areas of their choice. In addition, it is hoped that fellows will be available from time to time for discussions with faculty members and midshipmen of the United States Naval Academy concerning their research.

The first Forrestal Fellowship was awarded in 1951 to Mr. Willard C. McClellan, a graduate student at The American University, for his proposed study entitled "The Development of United States

Military Sea Transportation." This research is exploring the history of shore-to-shore logistic support from the Spanish-American War to the present, reviewing both Army and Navy sea transportation activities.

Each fellow must deposit with the Naval Academy three copies of each monograph produced by him on the subject of his research; but all author's rights, including royalities, remain with the writer.

The Fellowships are made possible through privately subscribed gifts and are not supported by government funds.

History and political science faculties are invited to bring this project to the attention of promising research men and women.

Forms of application will be mailed on request addressed to: The Superintendent, U. S. Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

Applications must be received not later than 15 April 1952. Choice of Fellow will be made not later than 1 July 1952.

NECROLOGIES

CHARLES WILLIAM KERR
1875—1951

Charles William Kerr, son of Mr. and Mrs. T. A. Kerr, was born in Slippery Rock, Pennsylvania, on April 2, 1875 and died in Tulsa, Oklahoma, on July 18, 1951.

He spent his youth in Slippery Rock and attended the public schools and graduated from the State Normal School there in 1893. He soon moved to Parker's Landing where he taught school for two years, and studied under Dr. J. Walker Miller, pastor of the Presbyterian Church. In 1895 he entered Western Theological Seminary in Allegheny, Pennsylvania. He transferred in 1897 to McCormick Seminary in Chicago, for his senior year. After graduating in May, 1898, he went to Edmond, Oklahoma Territory, as pastor of the Presbyterian Church. He was married to Miss Annie Elizabeth Coe of Parker, Pennsylvania on September 6, 1898.

In February, 1900, he was called to Tulsa, Indian Territory, as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church that had less than one hundred members, over half of whom were Indians. The Presbyterian Home Mission Board paid $375 of his $800 salary at first but the church became self-supporting in 1904. It grew with the city, becoming one of the largest churches in the Presbyterian denomination. Dr. Kerr served with distinction, as its pastor in Tulsa until April, 1941, when he became Pastor Emeritus.

Dr. Kerr was a builder, not only of things spiritual for under his pastorate a new church building was erected on the corner of 7th and Boston Avenue in 1909; and in 1925, the addition of the beautiful auditorium was completed. Under his ministry four new Presbyterian churches were organized in Tulsa.

Always a busy man, Dr. Kerr ministering to his growing church and to need whenever and wherever he found it, in tents, in covered wagons, in the hills, or on the prairies of the surrounding country. With sympathetic understanding for anyone in need or distress, he was ready to render every service possible. As President and Manager of Tulsa's first chartered hospital, the writer had occasion to observe Dr. Kerr in many of his ministrations of mercy. He was the first to arrive to care for members of his own church, or for anyone in need of his ministrations.

From the beginning of his pastorate in Tulsa as a young man in Tulsa, he found time from the regular churchly duties to visit shut-ins, invalids and the elderly people of the community. His kindly interest in them coupled with his genial personality brought to many comfort and renewed interest in life. When any parshioner suffered a loss there were always visits and letters of condolence to comfort.

One example of Dr. Kerr's compassionate love and service is shown in an incident which happened in 1901. In February of that year, a friend and minister who was a guest in his home became ill with smallpox. The attending physician prescribed quarantine quarters, but Dr. and Mrs. Kerr had the patient remain in their home for better care. All of them were quarantined, but the sick man was nursed and cared for until his recovery. Instances like this could be related in multiple for all through the years for he was always serving others. During the Negro riot in 1923,

REVEREND CHARLES WILLIAM KERR

Dr. Kerr opened the doors of his church for shelter and comfort to several hundred Negro women and children, until arrangements could be made for their safety. In World War II, Dr. Kerr kept in personal touch with the 584 Service Men and Women of the church. Once each quarter letters of city, church, and personal interest were sent every one of them.

After his resignation as pastor in 1941, he became Chaplain of Hillcrest Memorial Hospital and continued that work until 1950 when he suffered a disabling illness. Dr. Kerr was a Tulsa Booster and Builder. He was one of the men who helped bring Kendall College to Tulsa in 1907. This College later became the University of Tulsa, and Dr. Kerr was an active trustee of the institution for forty-three years. When he resigned because of ill health he was made an Honorary Trustee.

His influence was felt not only in his beloved Oklahoma but throughout the Nation. In 1923, Dr. Kerr was elected Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. He was a member of the General Council of the Presbyterian Church and various other Boards and Committees. He is listed as an honoree in the Hall of Fame of Oklahoma, and his biography is in *Who's Who in America*. In Tulsa, he was an active member of Y.M.C.A., The Commercial Club which later was the Chamber of Commerce, the Pioneer Association, The Rotary Club, the Tulsa Club, the Knife and Fork Club, an Honorary member of Pi Gamma Mu, and a 32nd Degree Mason.

Dr. Kerr is survived by his wife, Mrs. Charles W. Kerr, of 2404 E. Woodward Boulevard, Tulsa; a son Hawley Coe Kerr, of 3153 S. Utica Avenue, Tulsa; a daughter, Mrs. Margaret Kerr Hendrick of Amarillo, Texas, and four grandsons.

Dr. Kerr was Tulsa's longest and best loved pastor, a power for good in the community with an undying devotion to home, country, and God.

Fred S. Clinton, M.D.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

EDWARD ROSS JONES*

1881—1951

Edward Ross Jones, on Sunday, February 25, 1951, at the age of sixty-nine, surrendered the honored place which he had for so long occupied in the ranks of the membership of this Bar at Muskogee, Oklahoma. His vacant seat will long be noted and the imprint of his character will forever remain upon the memory of all of us who knew, respected and loved him.

Ross Jones was born in Moberly, Missouri, on December 21, 1881. After attending the public schools in this Missouri town, he entered the University of Missouri where, in 1902, he graduated with the degree of Bachelor of Laws. He had a brother in Beaumont, Texas, and after his graduation from the University he went there with the idea of engaging in the practice at that place, but after spending a few months in Beaumont he decided against making Texas his permanent home and following a short time in Nevada, Missouri, where his parents were then living, he came to the Indian Territory in February, 1903, selecting Muskogee as his choice of location. In the latter part of 1903, he entered into a partnership with Preston C. West, the firm later being enlarged into West, Mellette & Jones when W. M. Mellette became a member. In the early part of February, 1910, he withdrew from the partnership and set up his own offices, moving into the Surety Building on February 26, 1910, upon its being opened to tenancy.

* Report of the Committee on Necrology, Muskogee Bar Association.

Those were still pioneer days in the new state, and E. R. Jones contributed a not inconsiderable share to the work of development. At the time of his withdrawal from the partnership in February, 1910, he became general attorney for the Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf Railway Company, whose line of rails was being rapidly pushed south from Allen, Oklahoma, to Denison, Texas. Construction then began from Wagoner north to Baxter Springs, Kansas.

All of the thousands of legal details incident upon the acquisition of two hundred miles of right-of-way, by condemnation and otherwise, the work of construction with its innumerable contracts and adjustments, as well as the railroad company's corporate management and financing, not to mention the swelling number of lawsuits which inevitably follow such an operation, were his responsibility. And the burden of this responsibility he bore with credit to himself and benefit to his clients. He continued to serve as general attorney for this railroad until March, 1923, when he gave it up on account of press of other more lucrative business, but meanwhile he accompanied the corporation through two receiverships and through Government control during the first World War.

Although all through the period of intense activity from 1910 to 1920 and beyond, Ross Jones was in extremely bad health and was subjected to constant and severe physical suffering, yet by the exercise of a tremendous courage and an indomitable spirit he forced himself to rise above mere physical limitations and to carry on through the years, giving every job the best he had.

While serving as general attorney for the M. O. & G., later K. O. & G. Railroad, from 1910 to 1923, E. R. Jones had built up a considerable outside practice. He directed and protected the investment of half a million dollars of French capital in the Henryetta coal fields and to the day of his death he ably represented a number of coal mining companies in that field and in the Eastern Oklahoma semi-anthracite fields. He was in charge of the examination of titles and all legal aspects of probably the first investment of the Royal Dutch Schell in this country's oil fields.

Under his legal guidance was carried through an operation involving the purchase of more than 100,000 acres of timber in Northeastern Oklahoma, the building of the logging town of Kenwood, Oklahoma, the placing in operation of a 40,000 feet saw-mill and construction of a twenty-mile railroad, the Oklahoma & Arkansas, to serve the project. The details of this work alone were almost infinite, extending over a period of some three years.

At about the same time he undertook and handled to completion all details of the incorporation, organization and construction of the Miami Mineral Belt Railroad, still operating in Northern Oklahoma.

Simultaneously, his work extended into almost every phase of the civil practice. He was at his best in the guidance of his clients through the most intricate details of corporate management, financing and refinancing.

The writer of this paper was intimately associated with Mr. Jones over a period of twenty-two years, probably coming to know him better than any other person. He has no hesitancy in saying that no problem was presented to be reduced into a workable arrangement, no matter how extended and interwoven its ramifications, that the mind of Mr. Jones did not quickly and surely arrange its scattered details into a complete, understandable framework and at the same time contrive a method of procedure which would bring about the desired result.

He unquestionably was possessed of a "keen intellect." He was firmly and deeply grounded in the law. It sometimes seemed that he arrived at

EDWARD ROSS JONES

the answer to a legal problem by intuition. He was intellectually designed by nature for the work he undertook and carried on so well. At the same time Ross Jones was a man with happiness in his heart, a good companion and a firm friend. He was much of a philosopher. From time to time he gave expression to his philosophical meditations in certain wise pronouncements of which the following are but a few examples:

"It doesn't matter how much money you spend, if you make more.
"Remember that to every client his individual problem is more important than all your other business.
"Don't carry personalities into a lawsuit; your opponent today may be your client tomorrow.
"Your client doesn't want you to tell him what he **can't** do, but how to do what he wants to do.
"It is always extremely difficult to do an unlawful thing, lawfully.
"Mistrust a man who unnecessarily protests his honesty.
"Everyone who comes into a law office expects to be charged a fee."

In closing it may be said that no better proof of the personal and business character of Edward Ross Jones can be brought forth than to say that those who, as partners, were associated with him in the legal practice over the years: Preston C. West, W. M. Mellette, J. C. Perkins, of Alabama, James C. Wilhoit, later with the Tidal Oil, Howard Lee Smith, now of Tulsa, and the one who prepared this paper, (not mentioning his son, Preston W. Jones, his last partner), remained to the day of death his closest friends and admirers.

Signed: L. W. Randolph
Forrester Brewster
Claude W. Garrett
Members of Necrology Committee,
Bar Association.

Muskogee, Oklahoma

MINUTES OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

November 1, 1951

The meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City, at ten o'clock A.M. by General W. S. Key, President, presiding.

The Secretary called the roll which showed the following members present: Gen. W. S. Key, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Judge Baxter Taylor, Judge Redmond S. Cole, Dr. I. N. McCash, George L. Bowman, Thomas J. Harrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Judge Robert A. Hefner, Justice N. B. Johnson, H. Milt Phillips, Col. George H. Shirk, Mrs. Anna B. Korn and Judge Edgar S. Vaught.

The President reported that Mrs. J. Garfield Buell, Thomas A. Edwards, Thomas G. Cook, Dr. E. E. Dale and Mrs. Jessie R. Moore had sent to the President and Secretary letters of excuse for their non-attendance at the meeting.

Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the absentee members who had notified the President and Secretary be excused as having good and sufficient reasons for their absence. Judge R. A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Gen. Key reported that on the preceding day he had personally visited all departments of the Society and was deeply gratified at the progress and condition of all the various divisions and departments of the Society. He said he wished to urge each Director of the Board to make frequent visits to the Society in order to observe the work and advancement of the various departments and to confer with the department heads.

The President reported that Col. George H. Shirk had recently returned from Washington, D. C. where he had gone at the request of the Board of Directors to the National Archives to determine the feasibility of establishing a microfilm library in the Society. President Key recognized Col. Shirk and asked that he tell of his observations while visiting the National Archives, and also give his recommendations as to what procedure should be followed in building a microfilm library for the Society.

Col. Shirk stated that the project was discussed in detail with Dr. Philip Bauer, Acting Director of the National Archives, and Dr. Bauer made the entire facilities of the Archives completely available for his investigation. Col. Shirk emphasized the fact that any document or paper in the Archives may be microfilmed for approximately 3¢ per exposure and that vast quantities of material exist that could be profitably microfilmed and placed in the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society. In summing up his findings, he stated that he wished to recommend to the Board of Directors that a microfilm library be established as an adjunct of the Oklahoma Historical Society, to be on a continually expanding basis and to be under the supervision of a standing committee to be appointed by the President; that a minimum of $500.00 of currently appropriated funds, according to Bill No. 247, be expended for microcopies and microfilms from the National Archives; that the Board of Directors establish on a continuing basis the expenditure of certain of the private funds of the Society for the continued expansion of the microfilm library, and that as the project develops, the Committee give consideration to the microfilming of the worth while material in collections and libraries other than that of the National Archives.

Dr. I. N. McCash made the motion that on the recommendation set forth by Col. Shirk relating to the establishment of the microfilm library for the Society, a committee of five be appointed with Col. Shirk as its Chairman to determine the selection of material, to make arrangements for the microfilming of the material, and to supervise the project.

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made an amendment to be incorporated in the motion by Dr. McCash that the committee be permitted to act without final action of the Board of Directors. An additional amendment was made by Judge Edgar S. Vaught that the committee be composed of Col. Shirk as its Chairman, the President, the Secretary, and two others to be appointed by the President.

Judge Robert A. Hefner seconded the motion of Dr. McCash with its attached amendments. The motion was passed unanimously. President Key appointed Dr. E. E. Dale and Judge Edgar S. Vaught to serve on said Committee with Col. Shirk as Chairman and the President and Secretary.

The Secretary reported on the recent valuable material that had been secured for the Museum and Indian Archives of the Society. He stated that the Indian Archives had recently received a valuable collection consisting of 32 letters written by Susan Comstock Requa, the wife of W. C. Requa of Hopefield Mission, dating from 1824 through 1836. Along with this collection, the department had also received a number of Indian Claims Commission petitions, answers, briefs, etc., in the cases of the Chickasaw Nation, Choctaw Nation, Creek Nation, Kaw Tribe of Indians, Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Tribes of Indians, and Otoe and Missouria Tribe of Indians vs. the United States of America, 30 documents in all. Also received for the Indian Archives had been a roll of microfilm secured by Mr. Gene Aldrich, a graduate student of the University of Oklahoma, of an "Unsigned Memorandum dated November 12, 1906, concerning coal and asphalt leases in the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nations, "containing approximately 250 pages. Dr. Evans stated that among recent gifts to the Museum were those portraits of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Charles F. Colcord, C. N. Haskell and Thompson McKinney, all of which were very valuable portraits and in need of restoration.

Mr. George L. Bowman moved that $200.00 of the private funds of the Society be expended for the purpose of restoration of these portraits. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously. President Key authorized the Secretary to carry out said motion.

The Secretary reported the need of the Society for $100.00 to be authorized for the Petty Cash fund. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that this amount be made available. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The President asked that Mr. Thomas J. Harrison present a final report on the financial status of the expenses of the Oklahoma Historical Day celebrated at Salina, Oklahoma on October 10, 1951.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison stated that the total expenses of the occasion amounted to $863.00. Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour moved that approval be given to this claim of $863.00 and said amount be paid by the Society, according to House Bill No. 60. Judge R. A. Hefner seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Due to the absence of the Treasurer, Mrs. Jessie R. Moore, the President read the financial report of the Treasurer. Mr. George L. Bowman made a motion that the report of the Treasurer be accepted, and thanks be extended to Mrs. Moore for the report of the present finances of the Society. Mrs. Anna B. Korn seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

Mr. Thomas J. Harrison reported that the former barracks building of Fort Gibson, now the property of the Society, should be insured. He further stated that Mr. R. M. Mountcastle had done a great deal toward the protection and care of this building and was familiar with its condition and need of insurance coverage. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle reported that the Old Fort Club had recently advised him that they would consider occupying the building, and if they did so, they would make repairs on the building and care for it.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that Mr. Mountcastle be authorized to insure the building at Fort Gibson and endeavor to secure a tenant, and make a report at the next meeting of the Board on a possible tenant for the building's occupancy. Dr. I. N. McCash seconded the motion and it was passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported that the following gifts and pictures and books had been received: Wichita Metate made from a tree knot, donor, Rev. Hobert D. Ragland; Coffee Mill, donor, John C. Conrad; Chinese Mandarin coat and Persian Mullah's robe, two music books, donor, Dorothea Owen; Swastika, an emblem from a German plane, donor, Col. Peter J. Grimmer; two shuck horse collars, donor, H. B. Driver; Indian ball clubs, donor, Mr. and Mrs. Tom Hayes; Bridle made by Snake Woman, donor, Mrs. Henry Meagher; Catholic manual, owned by Thomas Fitzpatrick, donor, Mrs. Henry Meagher. Large crayon portrait of Thomas Fitzpatrick, large crayon portrait of Virginia Fitzpatrick, four photographs of Virginia Fitzpatrick, photograph of Margaret Poisal Fitzpatrick, photographs of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Meagher, photograph of John Meagher, photograph of an ox train, donor, Mrs. Henry Meagher; photograph of Anna L. Dawes and the Dawes Commission, donor, Mrs. Henderson Jacoway; photograph of Travis Franklin Hensley, donor, Claude Hensley; large photograph of The Supreme Court Judges of Oklahoma Territory, donor, Mrs. F. A. Rittenhouse; oil portrait of Charles F. Colcord, donor, Mrs. Mildred Ruple; photograph of Mrs. Nettie Dodson, donor, Mrs. Nettie Dodson; large framed photograph of Dr. V. V. Grant; donor, Mrs. V. V. Grant; oil portrait of Gov. Roy J. Turner, donor, Gov. Turner; oil portrait of Senator Ed Moore, donor, Mrs. Ed Moore; photographs of the Indian capitols, cypress tree and Wheelock Church, donor, Jess Griffin, Planning and Resources Board. Invitation to reception at The White House, January 23, 1917, invitation to the inauguration of the President, March 5, 1917, and program of the inauguration ceremonies, March 5, 1917 (Woodrow Wilson) presented by Barritt Galloway. *Documentary history of education in Florida, 1822-1860*, presented by the author, Nita Katherine Pyburn; *The Story of TVA* by John Gunther and *Andrew Johnson National Monument* leaflet, presented by Judge Baxter Taylor; *Historic Galveston Homes* by The Galveston Historical Society, presented by David M. Warren; Charles H. Tompkins presented the following books: *A Rider of the Cherokee Strip*, by Evan G. Barnard; *No Life for a Lady*, by Agnes Morley Cleveland; *Springs from the Parched Grounds*, by Bruce Roberts; *My Autobiography*, by H. H. Halsell; *A Texas Cowboy*, by Charles A. Siringo; *Who Could Ask for Anything More*, by Kay Swift. Mrs. Iva Gibson presented the following: *Oklahoma City Star*, First Methodist Church edition, May 26, 1950; *The Westminster Magazine*, Autumn 1949; Winter, 1950-51; *The Friend*, April 1948, January 1949; *Fidelis Sparks*, November 1949; November 13, 1949; November 20, 1949, November 27, 1949, April 9, 1950; *The Red Earth*, Release No. 1; *Stanza*, Spring, 1949; *Daily Meditation*, July 1951; *Clear Horizons*, Summer, 1950; *The Upper Room*, May-June, 1951; *The New Life*, Poems by Iva Gibson; *American Poetry Magazine*, July-August, 1949; September-October, 1950; May-June, 1951.

Judge Baxter Taylor moved that the gifts and pictures be received. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Anna B. Korn and passed unanimously.

Dr. I. N. McCash presented a blood-letting instrument which was used by early-day physicians, the gift of Frank L. Hamilton.

Col. George H. Shirk presented a group of pictures of early day Oklahoma, presented by the E. B. Johnson family of Norman.

Judge Robert A. Hefner made a motion that the gifts as presented by Dr. McCash and Col. Shirk be accepted and thanks be sent to the donors. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary reported the following list of applicants for membership: LIFE: Roger J. Bainbridge, Oklahoma City; Virgil Browne, Oklahoma City; Cecil C. Crider, Tulsa; O. W. Davison, Norman; Mrs. J. H. Lasley, Stigler; Wm. D. McBee, Oklahoma City; Don McBride, Alexandria, Va.; Wm. B. Moore, Muskogee; Will Rogers, Jr., Beverly Hills, California; C. R. Ross, Okmulgee; Joe A. Smith, Wood River, Illinois.

ANNUAL: Grover C. Adams, Ardmore; T. E. Allen, Pawhuska; T. Roy Barnes, Tulsa; Robert P. Blair, Clayton; Andrew Boatman, Okmulgee; R. G. Boatright, Cushing; Mrs. Golda Braueun, Sasakwa; Wm. E. Brogdon, Tishomingo; Hicks G. Brunson, Tulsa; Mrs. J. C. Cobb, Arlington, Texas; Mrs. J. B. Cox, Tahlequah; Richard Fitzgerald, Wyandotte; B. C. Goodwin, Jr., Norman; Edith Greiner, Inglewood, Calif.; John Hunt, Oklahoma City; Wm. C. King, Richmond, Va.; Patrick W. Laurie, Camp Gordon, Ga.; Charles McClain, Tulsa; Mrs. Roy Maines, Tulsa; Mrs. L. S. Moore, Spiro; Mr. O. L. Morgan, Newhall, Calif.; F. W. Pearce, Uncas; Mrs. T. O. Piersall, Catesby; Marvin Polin, Catesby; Worth S. Ray, Austin, Texas; J. B. A. Robertson, Jr., Stillwater; Joe N. Shidler, Tulsa; Mrs. Lewis V. Smith, Los Angeles, Calif.; Thomas G. Taylor, Wewoka; J .W. Thurman, Tulsa; A. W. Tolleson, Eufaula.

Mrs. Anna B. Korn made a motion that all the applicants be received and accepted as members of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

The Secretary stated that a request had been received from Mr. C. R. Ross of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, for bound volumes of *The Chronicles*. The Secretary reported that there were at the present time, a limited number of the complete volumes in the library of the Society. The President directed the Secretary to supply Mr. Ross with the desired volumes and also to ascertain the cost of printing additional volumes of *The Chronicles* and present such a quotation to the Board at its next meeting with a view to accommodating other members wishing to purchase said volumes.

The President reported the need for the election of four directors as a result of the vacancies now existing on the Board. After nominations were made by the Directors, and the suggestion made that the vote be taken by written ballot until four nominees received the majority of votes cast, the following were elected to the position of Director: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. H. L. Muldrow, deceased; Mr. H. B. Bass, Enid, to fill the unexpired term of Mrs. Blanche Lucas, deceased; Dr. T. T. Montgomery, Durant, to fill the unexpired term of Edward C. Lawson; Mr. R. G. Miller, Oklahoma City, to fill the unexpired term of Jim Biggerstaff, deceased.

The President authorized the Secretary to write letters to those elected apprising them of their election on the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society.

Mr. George L. Bowman stated that the President and Secretary of the Society had recently received high honors in the Masonic World. He further stated that General W. S. Key had been elected Grand Inspector General of the State of Oklahoma, the highest honor that can be bestowed on a Mason

in the State, and that Dr. Charles Evans had been elected to the honor of Knight Commander of the Court of Honor. Mr. Bowman Moved that a vote of commendation be given to the President and Secretary by the Board of Directors as evidence of the appreciation of the Historical Society. Judge Edgar S. Vaught seconded the motion that said commendation and resolution be made a part of the record. Motion was seconded, and passed unanimously.

Judge Robert A. Hefner stated that he wished to present the name of John Easley of Ardmore and make a recommendation that the Board of Directors request that Mr. Easley's portrait be hung in the Portrait Gallery of this Society. Judge Hefner stated that Mr. Easley was a leading citizen of Ardmore and for many years had been the editor of the *Daily Ardmoreite* of that city, and had contributed a great deal to the building of the State of Oklahoma.

Judge Edgar S. Vaught made a motion that Mr. Easley's portrait be requested. Col. George H. Shirk seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

At this point, Mr. Thomas J. Harrison suggested that Justice N. B. Johnson be called upon to tell the members of the Board of the National Congress of American Indians of which he is an active participant.

The President recognized Justice Johnson, who in turn made the following remarks: "There are in the United States today some 400,000 Indians living in various stages of the economic scale. Some are rich, some poor, some are using the primitive way of making a livelihood and the condition among many is very deplorable. For 115 years, the Indian Bureau had been the controlling factor over all tribal Indians and had dealt with every phase of the life of the Indian. Their policy had been completely unsatisfactory. The laws governing the American Indians had been inadequate, but the Indians had seemed content to let Congress formulate the program and progress of the tribal Indian. To elevate the conditions among the primitive Indians, a plan was advanced to formulate the organization of the National Congress of American Indians.

"After a great deal of correspondence and communication, the first convention of The National Congress of American Indians was called at Denver, Colorado in November 1942, to be held for a period of four days. I was at first reluctant to go because I thought it might be another of the Indian Bureau movements, but I decided to go and I spent the four days in Denver along with others, as for instance, Ben Dwight and J. B. Milam.

"At this Convention, a general discussion was held and some very shocking things and conditions were disclosed. Among other things, we learned that there were five states in the Nation that denied the Indian the right to vote. An American Indian was called upon to fight for America, the country he loved, yet, upon returning home, he was denied the right to vote in the five states. We learned too, that the tribal Indian had no court in which he might try tribal cases and claims. At that time, it took a matter of years to get a Tribal Indian claim adjudicated before the United States. It was also brought to the attention of the Convention that the United States Social Security benefits were being unfairly administered.

"It is gratifying to state that in the eight years that have passed since our first convention, we have seen an Indian Claims Commission appointed that has fulfilled the obligation of immediately adjudicating all tribal Indian claims. Indians may now vote in every state of the Union. The Supreme Court of the State of New Mexico held it unconstitutional that the Indian could not vote in that state; The Arizona Supreme Court also held such a law unconstitutional and very quickly, the other three states fell in line in making it legal that all Indians should have the privilege and right to

cast their vote. As a result of the formation of the National Congress of American Indians, a long, hard fight was waged on the United States Social Security matter, and it is now administered fairly in all states of the Union. It was at this time, that the American people gave proof that they were ready and willing to help the American Indian in any and every way possible, and were vitally interested in the problem of the Indians.

"At the Convention's first meeting, a constitution for the proposed organization was formulated and adopted. In this, and the councils of the organization, the accent was upon the establishment of such a court of adjudication of tribal claims as has been formed and is an actuality today.

"We of the National Congress of American Indians are very proud of our organization and the results that have come about because of its formation. Other organizations have contributed a great deal to our organization and we are indebted to many for the help they have given and the contribution they have made to the furtherance of the National Congress of American Indians. Our organization now publishes a monthly magazine and our membership consists of tribal memberships, group memberships and individual members. We hold a convention annually and are going steadily forward in advancing the American Indian.

"I would like to conclude by saying that in addition to our organization, there has been formed The Governors Inter-State Indian Council. This is a sixteen state council and was formed in Oklahoma City two years ago."

Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour made a motion that Justice N. B. Johnson, the esteemed Director of the Oklahoma Historical Society, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Oklahoma and a member of the Cherokee Tribe, be given a vote of thanks for his address and for acquainting the Board of Directors with the National Congress of American Indians. Mr. George L. Bowman seconded the motion and it was passed unanimously.

Mr. R. M. Mountcastle made a motion that Justice Johnson be requested to prepare an article on the subject he had just discussed on the National Congress of American Indians for publication in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* in a subsequent issue. Mr. Harrison seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

At this time, Judge Baxter Taylor made the motion that the President declare the meeting adjourned. Mr. R. M. Mountcastle seconded the motion which passed unanimously.

WILLIAM S. KEY, *President*

CHARLES EVANS, *Secretary*

THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 26, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures, and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

The Chronicles of Oklahoma, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes, etc. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the editors and the Publication Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history, and for librarians. The annual dues are $2.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* A free sample copy will be sent upon request. Life membership may be secured upon the payment of $25.00. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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